



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Services des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

CANADIAN THESES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

**THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED**

THÈSES CANADIENNES

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE**

**THE FEMALE JUVENILE CRIMINALIZATION PROCESS:
DISCRIMINATORY ENFORCEMENT?**

FAYE E. McWATT

Submitted to the Department of Criminology,
University of Ottawa, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts, 1983.



Faye E. McWatt, Ottawa, Canada, 1984.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Ottawa Police Force for their assistance. Without the co-operation of officers at the executive, administrative and patrol levels, this study would not have been possible. Further, the contribution made by Dr. C.H.S. Jayewardene cannot be over emphasized. During my tenure as his student, he showed patience and understanding while I put other academic pursuits before this work. It could easily have fallen by the wayside but for his persistence and support. Finally, I would like to thank Peter A. Shoniker with whom I have worked and attended university for the past four years. Without his encouragement and his insistence on shouldering the bulk of the workload and responsibility in our business and professional pursuits, I could never have completed this work.

Faye E. McWatt

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER</u>		<u>PAGE</u>
CHAPTER ONE	THE FEMALE JUVENILE CRIMINALIZATION PROCESS: DISCRIMINATORY ENFORCEMENT?	1
CHAPTER TWO	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	24
CHAPTER THREE	RESULTS OF THE DELINQUENCY	51
CHAPTER FOUR	CONCLUSIONS	90

LIST OF TABLES

		<u>PAGE</u>
TABLE 1	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Age and Sex"	52
TABLE 2	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by How Reported and Sex"	53
TABLE 3	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Age and How Reported" ...	55
TABLE 4	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Offence and How Reported"	57
TABLE 5	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Previous Involvement and How Reported"	59
TABLE 6	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Residence and How Reported"	61
TABLE 7	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Home Address and Location of Occurrence"	63
TABLE 8	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Police Disposition and How Reported"	65
TABLE 9	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Age and Police Disposition"	67
TABLE 10	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Police Disposition and Sex"	69
TABLE 11	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Offence and Police Disposition"	70
TABLE 12	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Previous Involvement and Police Disposition"	73

TABLE 13	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Residence and Police Disposition"	75
TABLE 14	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Court Disposition and Age"	78
TABLE 15	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Court Disposition and Sex"	80
TABLE 16	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Court Disposition and Sex"	82
TABLE 17	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Court Disposition and How Reported"	83
TABLE 18	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Seriousness of Delinquency and How Reported"	84
TABLE 19	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Offence and Court Disposition"	85
TABLE 20	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Court Disposition and Previous Involvement"	87
TABLE 21	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Court Disposition and Residence"	89
TABLE 22	"Probability of Delinquency Identification According to Manner of Referral to the Juvenile Justice System"	94
TABLE 23	"Probability of Delinquency Identification According to Age of the Juvenile"	95
TABLE 24	"Probability of Delinquency Identification According to Sex of the Juvenile"	97
TABLE 25	"Probability of Delinquency Identification According to Offence"	99
TABLE 26	"Probability of Delinquency Identification According to Previous Involvement History"	100

TABLE 27	"Probability of Delinquency Identification According to Residence of Juvenile"	101
TABLE 28	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Offence and Sex"	102
TABLE 29	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Previous Involvement and Sex"	103
TABLE 30	"Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Residence and Sex"	105
TABLE 31	"Delinquents Dealt with Informally in Stage Two by Sex and How Reported"	106
TABLE 32	"Delinquents Dealt with Informally in Stage Two by Age and Sex"	108
TABLE 33	"Delinquents Dealt with Informally in Stage Two by Offence and Sex"	109
TABLE 34	"Delinquents Dealt with Informally in Stage Two by Sex and Previous Involvement"	110
TABLE 35	"Delinquents Dealt with Informally in Stage Two by Sex and Residence"	111
TABLE 36	"Delinquents Dealt with Formally in Stage Two by Sex and How Reported"	112
TABLE 37	"Delinquents Dealt with Formally in Stage Two by Age and Sex"	113
TABLE 38	"Delinquents Dealt with Formally in Stage Two by Offence and Sex"	114
TABLE 39	"Delinquents Dealt with Formally in Stage Two by Sex and Previous Involvement"	116
TABLE 40	"Delinquents Dealt with Formally in Stage Two by Sex and Residence"	117
TABLE 41	"Public Generated Cases in Stage One by Age and Sex"	119
TABLE 42	"Public Generated Cases in Stage One by Offence and Sex"	120
TABLE 43	"Public Generated Cases in Stage One by Sex and Previous Involvement"	122

TABLE 44	"Public Generated Cases in Stage One by Sex and Residence"	123
TABLE 45	"Police Generated Cases in Stage One by Age and Sex"	124
TABLE 46	"Police Generated Cases in Stage One by Offence and Sex"	125
TABLE 47	"Police Generated Cases in Stage One by Sex and Previous Involvement"	126
TABLE 48	"Police Generated Cases in Stage One by Sex and Residence"	127

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

PAGE

DIAGRAM "A"	The Juvenile Justice Processing System	48
-------------	--	----

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Much of the literature on juvenile delinquency concerns males rather than females. The reason for this, Edmund Vaz claims, lies in assumptions about the volume and nature of female delinquency: "... official sources indicate that girls constitute a small proportion of the total number of delinquents . . ." so that "female delinquency is considered a fruitless area of research."¹ In addition to this, it is commonly held that girls commit predominantly noncriminal or status offences: "... many young girls are brought to court for offending our propriety and refusing to conform to parental discipline, while the great majority of boys are brought to court for destroying property or harming other people."² In recent times, however, with an increase in official rates of female delinquency and new considerations about the nature of female behaviour, there has been a proliferation in the amount of literature on the topic. In the United States, reports of startling changes in the female crime picture have generated great interest in the female delinquent whose official rate of arrest has increased by 253.9 percent as compared to a 60.2 percent increase for women in the same period.³

There has been some evidence to suggest that official reports of juvenile delinquent offences do not realistically represent the situation regarding female offenders. Studies by Clark and Haurek (1968),⁴ Wise (1967)⁵ and Martin Gold (1970)⁶ indicate that:

... official statistics, on which almost all studies of female delinquency have been based, consistently underestimate the frequency of female delinquency and overestimate the proportion of female delinquents involved in sex-related offenses (running away, incorrigibility, curfew, sex delinquency).⁷

Delinquent girls are more frequently thrust into the juvenile justice system for status offences than for other acts of delinquency. Martin Gold has attributed this preponderance to literature which he feels has perpetuated the belief that these activities are 'girls' offences, and he questions this assumption with his discovery, based on self-report delinquency data, that the status offences account for only 8 percent in girls' delinquent acts. In comparison, status offences constituted 6 percent of the delinquent acts of boys.⁸

Barbara Landau, former Senior Psychiatrist in Toronto's Provincial Court (Family Division), says this about the female delinquent:

Who is the adolescent female offender? Statistically speaking, she is 14 or 15 years old, likely to be of average or low average intelligency, living in a high crime rate area, having behavioural and academic difficulties in school, not a virgin, and running away from a family situation replete with marital conflicts, economic difficulties, criminality and alcoholism. That sounds like an interesting description of an adolescent female offender, but what type of offence brought her into the justice system? In many cases, the answer to the question is that she hasn't committed any criminal acts. According to United States statistics, if she were either an adult or a male, she probably would never appear in court.⁹

Landau is asserting that the criminal justice system treats female and male delinquents differentially drawing girls into the system for status offences but not boys.

Richard Flaste asked, "Is Juvenile Justice Tougher on Girls Than on Boys?", in an article in the New York Times. Adverting to research done by the American Bar Association, the article quoted the research as claiming that "at every point in the juvenile justice system the female juvenile is treated differentially and usually more harshly than the male juvenile."¹⁰ Others also make similar claims with some giving reasons for the situation. Schlossman and Wallach (1978), asserted that traditional theories and stereotypes of women as the weaker and more dependent sex "rationalize, indeed even legitimate discriminatory correctional practices in the name of humanitarianism." They also assert that a chivalrous attitude engendered from belief in these stereotypes causes "earlier intervention and longer periods of supervision for delinquent girls than boys."¹¹

The Juvenile Delinquency Act and state law in the U.S. have conferred a certain amount of discretionary power to segments of the juvenile justice system for the arrest, detention and institutionalization of adolescent offenders who violate not only statutes dealing with the respective acts but also standards of behaviour which society sustains as normal behaviour for adolescents. In Canada, section 2(1) of the Juvenile Delinquency Act defines a "juvenile delinquent" as:

...any child who violates any provisions of the Criminal Code or of any federal or provincial statute or of any by-law or ordinance of any municipality, or who is guilty of sexual immorality or any similar form of vice, or who is liable by reason of any other act to be committed to an industrial school or juvenile reformatory under any federal or provincial statute;¹²



This definition of a juvenile delinquent affords much discretion to the justice system in terms of those adolescents who are suspected of "sexual immorality or any similar form of vice". The basic tenets on which the juvenile court system is anchored maintains tremendous discretionary power for officials dealing with youth brought before them.

...this court system was designed to treat and rehabilitate young people and prevent them from engaging in adult criminal activity. The judge is to operate in the role of parent and protector rather than a dispenser of punishment with the result that adolescents, who are not acting in what society feels are their best interests or who are uncontrollable by their parents, come under the jurisdiction of the courts. Since society reacts more with applause than condemnation to a boy who engages in normal intercourse and since there is a great deal more laxity on parental restrictions on boys (e.g., in curfews, choice of dates and friends, use of cigarettes and alcohol), there is far less chance of a boy being brought to court for the same reason as a girl. Also, the danger of venereal disease, pregnancy and adult prostitution arouse great public concern in the case of adolescent girls, but far less anxiety in the case of boys, even though the threat of VD, parenthood and pimping could also be tied to boys' interest in heterosexual relations.¹³

The discrimination results in the overrepresentation of adolescent female offenders as status offenders, placing them into the custody of the justice system presumably for their own protection¹⁴ and exposing them to the discretionary powers of paternalistic and oftentimes harsh authorities.¹⁵ The notion of *parens patriae* is the philosophy of this phenomenon and is best described by Meda Chesney Lind:

Parens patriae — the solicitous father figure protecting young people from themselves — that's the role that society, the police, the courts, and parents themselves

assume in relation to young women, setting a double standard that makes their actions illegal while similar behaviour in boys is not only permitted but sanctioned.¹⁶

Many of the theories of female crime and delinquency have contributed to this double standard of treatment manifested throughout the juvenile justice system. A belief in innate sex differentials has, for a long time, steered the research which has advanced widely accepted characteristics about the nature of female criminal deviancy. Despite their inadequacies in terms of providing a complete explanation for this form of criminal behaviour, they are, today, still influential in the treatment of adolescent offenders.

The earliest theories upheld physiological and psychological traits, asserted as universally inherent in the constitution of the female, as causal factors of female crime. With little exception, most theorists saw female criminality solely as the result of these individual characteristics maintaining that they were universal and pervasive rather than subject to a specific historical and cultural framework.¹⁷ Some attention was also given occasionally to environmental factors: these factors, however, were always linked with and never considered independent of the physiological and psychological components.¹⁸ Tests of these theories took the form of examining the cranial capacity, height, weight and other biological features that separated the criminal from the normal woman and the woman from the man. Pauline Tarnowsky, in her study of Russian peasants, concluded that there was definitely a quantitative sex differential influencing the

commission of crime and that this differential was due to biological and social influences.¹⁹ Luke Owen Pike's historical study of crime led to the premise that females were biologically conditioned against committing criminal acts because of their physical weakness.²⁰ Louis Proal's work, published in 1892, presented the theory that females committed less crime than males owing to their innately superior moral dispositions.²¹ Ely van de Warker attributed female criminality to social and sexual conditions. "Social conditions included occupation, opportunity, and marriage; sexual conditions referred to an almost biological need of women to secure the permanent attentions of one man. The drive was so strong that the female would commit serious crimes to achieve it."²² Differing from this general trend were two studies concentrating on the social rather than on the biological aspects. First, a Dutchman, Cornelis Loosjes, posited that women's lower crime rates were due to social inequalities, and he predicted that as women gained social equality with men, their rates would rise correspondingly.²³ George Ellington, in his study entitled The Woman of New York, attributed the disproportionately low official rate of female crime not to the actual amount of crime committed but to the reluctance of victims to report females as criminals, thus making the official female crime rates represent a fallacious image of actual female criminality.²⁴

Carol Smart refers to the classical studies of female criminality as consisting of investigations by Cesare Lombroso and William Ferrero, W. I. Thomas and Otto Pollak.²⁵ Cesare Lombroso and William Ferrero, in their study The Female Offender, continued the earlier vein of inquiry where sexual and biological characteristics were used to explain crime. In

addition, they called on the concepts of atavism and social Darwinism as causal factors in female criminality.

The concept of atavism refers to the belief that all anti-social or criminal elements in society are in fact biological throwbacks from an earlier evolutionary stage in human development. . . .

Social Darwinism on the other hand refers to the belief that individuals or groups can develop necessary physical or psychological characteristics to enable them to function more efficiently in their predetermined roles. Thus, for example, Lombroso argued that prostitutes evolve in a way that makes them unusually attractive when young while in contrast murderesses or violent women evolve an unusual strength.²⁶

Lombroso's theory of female criminality overlapped with his theory of male criminality, attributing all the criminal qualities of the male to the female and adding the worst of female characteristics which he envisaged as being cunning, spiteful and deceitful. Going even further, Lombroso and Ferrero argued that female criminals were an "unnatural" combination of both sexes and lacked a maternal instinct proving that they were genetically more male than female.

This want of maternal feeling becomes comprehensible when we reflect on the one hand upon the union of masculine qualities which prevent the female criminal from being more than half a woman, and on the other, upon that love of dissipation in her which is necessarily antagonistic to the constant sacrifices demanded of a mother. Her maternal sense is weak because psychologically and anthropologically she belongs more to the male than to the female sex.²⁷

Some of the other characteristics of females attributed by Lombroso in his explanation of female criminality are women's physiological immobility and psychological passivity, their adaptability to surroundings and capacity for

survival as being superior to that of men, and also woman's amorality and consequent practice of manipulation of the male sex urge for ulterior motives. Lombroso, Pollok claims, cemented a tradition that would continue for some time, especially in terms of female criminality; for although newer theories were initiated by his work in the study of male criminality, "research on female crime shed his influence less rapidly."²⁸

William I. Thomas incorporates psychological and social factors as causal in female juvenile delinquency and, to a certain extent, abandons the biological arguments proposed by Lombroso and others. However, as Klein points out, the most sophisticated explanations of female crime at this time relied on implicit assumptions about the biological nature of women,²⁹ and Thomas' treatise was no exception. In The Unadjusted Girl, he portrays females as "the passive opposites of males, who were the active dynamic sex."³⁰ He proceeds from the assumption that basic to both sexes are the wishes: 1) the desire for new experience; 2) the desire for security; 3) the desire for response; and 4) the desire for recognition. The actualization of these desires is controlled and somewhat tempered by societal agencies. Depending on the individual's experience, social or anti-social ends may result from wish expression.

There is no individual energy, no unrest, no type of wish, which cannot be sublimated and made socially useful. From this standpoint, the problem is not the right of society to protect itself from the disorderly and antisocial person, but the right of the disorderly and antisocial person to be made orderly and socially valuable. The problem of society is to produce the right attitudes in its members.³¹

Thomas' study of delinquent girls refuted the Lombrosian biological perspective which maintained that there were "crime prone" individuals and asserted the autonomy of the individual as the product of his/her environment which the state was capable of altering.

Much of female delinquency is expressed in sexual acting out, maintains Thomas. This behaviour is due to the need for expression and fulfillment of the four basic desires. In his own words:

The beginning of delinquency in girls is usually an impulse to get amusement, adventure, pretty clothes, favorable notice, distinction, freedom in the larger world. . . . The girls have usually become "wild" before the development of sexual feelings. Their sex is used as a condition of the realization of other wishes. It is their capital.³²

In this he has been supported by other theorists of this Classical school such as Davis (1961) and Pollak (1950). However, as Lombroso does, Thomas supports the theory of women as manipulators who use sex as their bartering commodity.

Much of the research work that followed Thomas' maintains the physiological, psychological and social causal factors of female delinquency. Freud's theory of penis envy had previously corroborated women's role as one of passive receptor for males as espoused by Lombroso and Thomas. A healthy girl maintains this role while an unhealthy girl is aggressive and rebels against her womanhood in attempts to be a man.³³

Otto Pollak's The Criminality of Women (1950), postulates the theory of "hidden" female crime to account for "what he considers unreasonably low official rates for women."³⁴ This idea was earlier supported by Ellington (1864). Pollak makes two contentions. First, he claims that women commit crimes that are not readily detectable and then he claims that because men were socialized to protect women, the tendency was for them not to report being the victims of a female offender. Pollak attributes low female crime statistics to the notion of a chivalric criminal justice system. As Thomas had, Pollak notes that women are differentially treated by the law because of the generally protective attitude that men have for women. As well as victim's distaste for accusing women of crime, "police officers dislike to arrest them, district attorneys to prosecute them, judges and juries to find them guilty, and so on. . . ."³⁵

The works of Gisela Kanopka (Adolescent Girl in Conflict, 1966), Clyde Vedder and Dora Sommerville (The Delinquent Girl, 1970), J. Cowie, V. Cowie and E. Slater (Delinquency in Girls, 1968) and Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (Five Hundred Delinquent Women, 1934) represent the notable studies of the contemporary period. They are riddled with theoretical concepts from the era preceding them and continue to view female juvenile delinquency through a framework of the medical model. Cowie, Cowie and Slater, as well as the Gluecks, proposed a genetic explanation for delinquency in girls. Cowie and his colleagues state:

The chromosomal difference between the sexes starts the individual on a divergent path, leading either in a masculine or feminine direction. It is possible that the methods of upbringing, differing somewhat for the two

sexes, may play some part in increasing the angle of this divergence.³⁶

Similar contentions have been made by Lombroso,³⁷ Healy (1926),³⁸ and Edith Spaulding (1923).³⁹ This difference has sometimes got itself epitomized as lower female intelligence,⁴⁰ inherent dependency upon males,⁴¹ as well as scores of other acclaimed inherent psychological traits such as loneliness,⁴² the need for emotional gratification⁴³ and acceptance.⁴⁴ The views of deviancy in girls expressed in the studies of Kanopka as well as of Vedder and Sommerville resembles that of Thomas. These authors see female delinquents as "extending femininity in an illegitimate fashion rather than rebelling against it."⁴⁵ Kanopka reaffirms the differences in sex roles:

Special attention should be given to girls, taking into consideration their constitutional, biological and psychological differences, and their social position in our male dominated culture. The female offender's goal, as any woman's, is a happy and successful marriage; therefore her self-image is dependent on the establishment of satisfactory relationships with the opposite sex. The double standard for sexual behavior on the part of the male and female must be recognized.⁴⁶

These assumptions about women's goals and needs create small parameters for the definition of normal female behaviour. Inconsistent behaviour in terms of this female role could lead to the labelling of delinquency for certain acts. Vedder and Sommerville believe that sexual promiscuity (antithetical to the role of a normal woman) is a result of emotional deficiency due to insufficient acceptance in the home. Inappropriate sexual

behaviour is the result of this rejection and compels the young girl to engage in sexual acts which she fantasizes to be an expression of another's love.⁴⁷

The overriding thread of thought through this body of literature is that female crime is intrinsically bound to female sexuality. It becomes obvious that the early theorists left an indelible mark on the study of the female criminality. Threads of similar thought run from them through the so-called Classical period of female criminality literature into the more contemporary period. In the notable studies of this later period, the three causal factors discerned by earlier research still predominate. In the works of this later time, even though delinquent girls are seen as deviating from a natural female role, influenced by social factors, the physiological and psychological factors still play a dominant role in the explanation of female delinquency. As Klein puts it:

The economic and social realities of crime — the fact that poor women commit crimes, and that most crimes for women are property offences — are overlooked. Woman's behavior must be sexually defined before it will be considered, for women count only in the sexual sphere. The theme of sexuality is a unifying thread in the various, often contradictory theories.⁴⁸

The first real attempt to try and understand female delinquency in other than biological and psychological terms comes in the form of role theory.⁴⁹ Dale Hoffman-Bustamante, in "The Nature of Female Criminality", develops from a sociological perspective in her paper, five major factors important for understanding the sex differential in crime and delinquency. These are:

... (1) differential role expectations for men and women, (2) sex differences in socialization patterns and application of control, (3) structurally determined differences in opportunities to commit particular offenses, (4) differential access or pressures toward criminally oriented subcultures and (5) sex differences built into the crime categories themselves.⁵⁰

She asserts that differences in crime rates and actual criminal acts are due to these factors. Other theorists who have recognized the limitations of the past trends of literature and who have studied female delinquents through such social differential factors are Heidensohn (1968)⁵¹ and Rosenblum (1975).⁵² They also support the idea of social role playing as a dominant part in female criminality. Ruth Wilkinson disagrees. Yet she concludes that although sex role conformity is not the major explanation for delinquent behaviour in girls, it deserves to be incorporated into the general explanation for juvenile delinquency.⁵³ Her study noted that, for girls, other factors played an equally important part. "In general, delinquent acts are associated with lower socio-economic status (primarily for girls), having sisters, the absence of natural parents. . .".⁵⁴

Freda Adler and Rita Simon, focusing on the recent increase in female criminality, attribute it to the abandonment of dated notions of femininity and the unwillingness of more and more females to play out older, established female roles. According to Adler, both the amount and nature of female crime will become more and more similar to that of men as females become emancipated and their role approximates that of the male.⁵⁵

Young, has utilized data from victim surveys to test this sex role convergence hypothesis and has found some supportive evidence for it while Bartel found no such evidence utilizing the economic model of crime developed by Ehrlich to study the determinants of female participation in criminal activity.

The sex role convergency hypothesis has however been criticized by Meda Chesney Lind who claims that this factor alone is an unsatisfactory explanation of the statistical rise in the rate of female crime and delinquency.⁵⁶ Lind claims that the behaviour of the delinquent is not the only process which must be seen as causal in producing rates of crime: "the organizational activity which produces a unit of the rate of deviant behavior (the rate producing processes) is an important factor."⁵⁷ Lind's contention is supported by a number of empirical studies. Study of police dispositions of juvenile offenders in Philadelphia, conducted by Monahan, revealed that

... police were more likely to release a young woman than a young man they suspected of a crime, equally likely to apprehend males and females suspected of running away, and more likely to arrest girls they suspected of sex offences.⁵⁸

A study by DeFleur investigating informal dispositions of males and females suspected of drug offences showed that police were more likely to avoid arresting girls who acted in a conventionally feminine way: arrest did occur only if the female was hostile or aggressive.⁵⁹ Lind herself suggests that the police are selectively arresting young women who are acting out sexually or those who are behaving in an unconventional and nonrational fashion while ignoring those suspected of actual criminal offences.⁶⁰

The court and judges also play an equally important role in determining the nature of female delinquency. Landau's study revealed that 68 percent of the girls sent to training schools were admitted for displaying such behaviour as unmanageability, truancy, running away from home, or sexual immorality, whereas 72 percent of boys sent to reformatories were charged with criminal code offences.⁶¹ A 1972 study by Weiller showed that institutionalization for boys charged with status offences had declined, but that the rate for girls had almost doubled. The study also showed that 50 percent of institutionalized female adolescents had never appeared in court previously, while only 27 percent of boys were placed in reform schools after their first court appearance.⁶² The part played by Juvenile Judges is described by Lind in her explanation of this discrimination:

Juvenile court judges... seem to participate enthusiastically, though perhaps unconsciously, in the judicial enforcement of the female role. Part of their behaviour, while discriminatory, is understandable. Their legal background provides them with clear guidelines when confronting youths charged with crimes. Standards of evidence are clear, elements of the crime are laid down by statute, and the youth's civil rights are, at least to some extent, protected by law.

But in the case of a young woman or man charged with incorrigibility or ungovernability, the court is without legal guidelines. Many of these judges find themselves in a legal never-never land and, in this void, fall back on the role of a benevolent but harsh parent, which is built into the juvenile justice system.⁶³

The discrimination apparently does not end here. Once inside reform institutions, girls are reportedly incarcerated for longer periods than boys. Schlossman and Wallach attribute this to a Progressive Era belief in custody as a form of treatment. By locking away precocious young girls

until they reach the legal adult age, they could be prevented from committing further socially unacceptable behaviour.⁶⁴ In a study done by Kristine Rogers comparing male and female juvenile institutions in Connecticut, it was found that girls were almost assured of an 18 month stay while boys usually only remained 6 to 7 months for the same offences. At the same time, she found discriminatory practices in education of institutionalized youth. Boys were taught trades and allowed physical activity while girls were taught general home economics and were restricted to their rooms in free time. Visiting and communication were such that girls remained almost cut off from their parents and the outside world.⁶⁵

Clearly, every aspect of the juvenile justice system can be seen as somewhat responsible for discriminatory handling of adolescent female offenders. Each of these units of official response creates certain perceptions of the nature of female delinquency. In the process, young females may in fact be carrying "a disproportionate share of the burden of injustice."⁶⁶ Influenced by traditional notions about the nature of females, justice officials, maintaining traditional role expectations for females, may be enforcing the laws more frequently and harshly in terms of female status offences and ignoring, to a certain extent, actual female criminal acts. Lind supports this position with reference to studies of self-reported delinquency. She says:

There seems, then, to be considerable difference between the official version of female delinquency and the unofficial picture that emerges from the self-report data. Perhaps some of this difference could be attributed to the court's tendency to sexualize female offences.⁶⁷

Kratoski and Kratoski studied the problem with the aid of a self-report delinquency questionnaire administered to students in the 11th and 12th grades in different academic tracts. The responses tended to support many of the traditional assumptions about delinquent behaviour of males and females. Males did tend to get involved in behaviour of a more aggressive nature. However, on items that were postulated as being typically female delinquencies, the self-report data showed only very slight male-female differences. For juvenile status offences, there was only a very small male-female difference: an average of 3.5 for males as compared to 3.2 for females. A recent study by Steffensmeier and Steffensmeier using national arrest statistics, juvenile court data, self-report data and observational data to evaluate current conceptions of the changing nature of female delinquency shows that the patterns of female delinquency as revealed in non-official sources of evidence have changed very little in recent years while the patterns revealed in the official sources tend to indicate change. Whatever the direction of change may be, the study supports the view of the operation of a selection factor.

In this light, Lind's contention that further study of the phenomenon of female delinquency must direct itself to the investigation of "the organizational activity which produces a unit in the rate of deviant behavior" makes sense.⁶⁸

An investigation of these "rate producing processes" would require that both the court's routine handling of female delinquents and the assumptions that underlie these routine procedures be subjected to scrutiny.⁶⁹

Lind explains that official record keeping is complicated in nature and sensitive to changes within law enforcement agencies so that the behaviour and attitudes of those within these systems must also be scrutinized when changes in rate of arrest are manifested.

... rates of deviant behavior are produced by actions taken by personnel within agencies who are empowered to define, and record certain behaviors as deviant or criminal. If these individuals choose to ignore a particular behavior it will not appear as a unit in the set of rates the sociologist attempts to explain. Likewise, these individuals could choose to label a deviant or criminal behavior which had previously been ignored. This perspective argues that changes in the volume and character of female arrests should not be assumed, automatically, to mirror changes in adolescent behavior.⁷⁰

However, before an accusing finger is definitely pointed at any one or all the segments of the criminal justice system, it must be remembered that parents and the public make up the beginning unit of the justice processing and consequently could conceivably constitute a discriminatory process for female delinquents, in itself. It has been maintained that parents accept wider parameters of behaviour for their sons than for their daughters, and that parental complaint of unacceptable behaviour on the part of a daughter is often all that is necessary to initiate police and court activity.⁷¹ The justice system allows for considerable discretion on the part of parents, and Linda Riback has noted that many of the adolescent female offenders in the system were "turned in" by parents or relatives rather than "arrested" by the police.⁷²

Riback also believes that:

The segment of the police force which enforces juvenile morals statutes is made up of men who have much the same role expectations of juvenile behavior as those of society in general, and this tends to lead to discriminatory enforcement of morals statutes.⁷³

Police officers make independent decisions about the disposition of juvenile delinquents at two points: first the decision to arrest or not to arrest must be made and then the decision as to whether the adolescent should be referred to family court must be made.⁷⁴ But these decisions are made after an initial decision has been made by parents or the public to set the law enforcement machinery into motion. As a consequence, an interesting aspect of the problem appears to be the relative contribution that the public, the police and the courts make to the concept of a female delinquent produced by official statistics.

References

1. Vaz, Edmund W. (1967). Middle-Class Juvenile Delinquency (New York: Harper & Row Publishers), p. 179.
2. Landau, Barbara (1975). "The Adolescent Female Offender: Our Dilemma", Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections, 17, No. 2, p. 147.
3. Lind, Meda Chesney (1978). "Young Women in the Arms of the Law", in L. Bowker, Women, Crime and the Criminal Justice System (Toronto: Lexington Books), p. 171.
4. Clark, J.P., Haurek, H. (1966). "Age and Sex Roles of Adolescents and Their Involvement in Misconduct: A Reappraisal", Sociology and Social Research, 50, pp. 496-508.
5. Wise, Nancy (1967). "Juvenile Delinquency Among Middle-Class Girls", in E. W. Vaz, Middle-Class Juvenile Delinquency (New York: Harper and Row).
6. Gold, M. (1970). Delinquent Behavior in an American City (Belmont: Brooke/Cole Publishers).
7. Lind, Meda Chesney (1973). "Judicial Enforcement of the Female Sex Role: The Family Court and Female Delinquent", Issues in Criminology, 8, No. 1, p. 51.
8. Gold (1970), op. cit.
9. Landau (1975), op. cit., p. 146.
10. Flaste, R. (1977). "Is Juvenile Justice Tougher on Girls Than on Boys?", The New York Times, Sept. 6, p. 48.
11. Schlossman, S., Wallach, S. (1978). "Crimes of Precocious Sexuality: Female Juvenile Delinquency and the Progressive Era", Harvard Educational Review, 48, No. 1, p. 67.
12. Martin's Annual Criminal Code (1979). (Agincourt, Ontario: Canada Law Book Limited), p. 726.
13. Landau (1975), op. cit., p. 147.
14. Rogers, K. (1972). "For Her Own Protection. . . : Conditions of Incarceration for Juvenile Offenders in the State of Connecticut", Law and Society Review, 7, p. 245.
15. Flaste (1977), op. cit., p. 48.

16. Lind, Meda Chesney (1979). "Whom is She Offending?", Liaison, 5, No. 2, p. 10.
17. Klein, D. (1973). "The Etiology of Female Crime: A Review of the Literature", Issues in Criminology, 8, No. 2, p. 4.
18. Pollock, J. (1978). "Early Theories of Female Criminality", in L. Bowker, Women, Crime and the Criminal Justice System (Toronto: Lexington Books), p. 25.
19. Tarnowski, P. (1908). Les Femmes Homocides (Paris: Felix Alcan).
20. Pike, L.O. (1876). A History of Crime in England (London: Smith, Elder and Co.).
21. Proal, L. (1892). Le Crime et la Peine (Paris: Felix Alcan).
22. Van de Warker, B. (1876). "The Relations of Women to Crime", Popular Science Monthly, 8, pp. 1-16.
23. Loosjes, C. (1894). Bijdrage Tot De Studie van De Criminaliteit Der Vrouw (Haarlem: De Erven Loosjes).
24. Ellington, G. (1864). The Woman of New York (New York: The New York Book Company).
25. Smart, C. (1977). Women, crime and Criminology: A Feminist Critique (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul).
26. Lombroso, C., Ferrero, W. (1920). The Female Offender (New York: Appleton).
27. Ibid.
28. Pollock (1978), op. cit., p. 33.
29. Klein (1973), op. cit., p. 11.
30. Thomas, W.L (1976). The Unadjusted Girl (New York: Harper Torchbooks), p. 6.
31. Ibid., p. 232.
32. Ibid., p. 232.
33. Klein (1973), op. cit., p. 17.
34. Ibid., p. 21.
35. Pollak, O. (1961). The Criminality of Women (New York: A.S. Barnes

& Company Inc.), p. 151.

36. Cowie, J., Cowie, V., Slater, E. (1968). Delinquency in Girls (London: Heineman), p. 171.
37. Lombroso and Ferrero (1920), op. cit.
38. Healy, W., Bronner, A. (1926). Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking (New York: Macmillan and Company).
39. Spaulding, E. (1923). An Experimental Study of Psychopathic Delinquent Women (New York: Rand McNally).
40. Glueck, S., Glueck, E. (1965). Five Hundred Delinquent Women (New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation), p. 94.
41. Klein (1973), op. cit., p.. 24.
42. Ibid., p. 24.
43. Thomas (1976), op. cit., p.. 109.
44. Vedder, C., Sommerville, D. (1975). The Delinquent Girl (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas Publishers), p. 109.
45. Klein (1973), op. cit., p.. 26.
46. Kanopka, G. (1966). The Adolescent Girl in Conflict (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall), p. 153.
47. Vedder and Sommerville (1975), op. cit., p.. 109.
48. Klein (1973), op. cit., p.. 27.
49. Bertrand, M.A. (1969). "Self-Image and Delinquency A Contribution to the Study of Female Criminality and Woman's Image", Acta Criminologica, February, p. 74.
50. Hoffman-Bustamante, D. (1973). "The Nature of Female Criminality", Issues in Criminology, 8, No. 2, p. 117.
51. Heidensohn, F. (1968). "The Deviance of Women: A Critique and an Enquiry", British Journal of Sociology, 19, No. 2.
52. Rosenblum, K.E. (1975). "Female Deviance and the Female Sex Role: A Preliminary Investigation", British Journal of Sociology, 26, No. 2.
53. Wilkinson, R. (1978). Juvenile Delinquency and Femininity (London: University Microfilms International), p. XV.
54. Ibid., p. XV.

55. Adler, F., Simon, R.J. (1979). The Criminology of Deviant Women (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company), p. 94.
56. Lind (1978), op. cit., p. 171.
57. Ibid., p. 171.
58. Monahan, T.P. (1970). "Police Dispositions of Juvenile Offenders", Phylon, 31, p. 139, as quoted in Lind, "Young Women. . .", p. 179.
59. DeFleur, L.B. (Feb. 1975). "Biasing Influences on Drug Arrest Records: Implications for Deviance Research", American Sociology Review, 40, p. 101.
60. Lind (1978), op. cit., p. 179.
61. Landau (1975), op. cit., p. 148.
62. Weiller, K. (1973). Section 8 of the Training Schools Act, R.S.O. 1970 Chapter 467 (Toronto: Thesis presented to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of York University), unpublished.
63. Lind (1978), op. cit., p. 186.
64. Schlossman and Wallach (1978), op. cit., p. 76.
65. Rogers (1972), op. cit., p. 226.
66. Schlossman and Wallach (1978), op. cit., p. 66.
67. Lind (1973), op. cit., p. 86.
68. Ibid., p. 53.
69. Ibid., p. 53.
70. Lind (1978), op. cit., p. 171.
71. Lind (1979), op. cit., p. 12.
72. Riback, L. (1971). "Juvenile Delinquency Laws: Juvenile Women and the Double Standard Morality", U.C.L.A. Law Review, 19, No. 2, p. 329.
73. Ibid., p. 335.
74. Lind (1978), op. cit., p. 179.

CHAPTER TWO
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Widely reinforced assumptions about the nature and volume of female juvenile delinquency have produced a stereotype concept of this form of deviance. These assumptions are reflected in the multitude of studies which have been conducted on the causes of delinquency. Prime among them is the assumption that the delinquent, whether she be the one adjudicated to be so by the courts, suspected to be so by the police or thought to be so by the public, is really an individual who has, through her behaviour, proved herself to be a delinquent. In recent times, D. J. Bordua claims that a shift of interest has taken place in sociological concerns about deviance. He holds that,

...attention has shifted from a focus on the sources and etiology of deviance to the analysis of processes of social control. This separation is, however, tied together by the idea that social control processes are themselves importantly involved not only in the more or less successful suppression of deviance, but in the very processes of defining and producing deviance.¹

As far as social control is concerned, Bordua believes there are two perspectives: on the one hand there is the societal reaction to deviance; and on the other there are the social control agencies. The one applies to work on the definition and perpetuation of deviance and the other to work on organized agencies. The one concerns general sociological trends and the other societal tools for the enforcement of social boundaries and community identity. "One point of contact between these two areas", Bordua points

out, "is study of the decision-making processes in formal social control agencies."²

Bordua goes on systematically to explore the weakness involved in the "labelling" school approach, first through a look at some studies supporting a "societal reaction" concept of social control and later through various studies on police force processing of juveniles which tend to contradict the "labelling" theory. His whole point, however, is to help "focus research attention on decision-making and the sources of variation in decision-making".³ This shift in focus helps us to decide whether the peculiar characteristics of offenders are due to a greater propensity displayed by people with those peculiar characteristics to commit crime, or to a greater propensity displayed by those reacting to crime to react disproportionately to people with those peculiar characteristics. In short, the shift in focus permits us to identify whether the key element in the rate-producing process is the initial pool from which the delinquents are drawn or the manner in which they are drawn from the pool.

The picture that society has of female delinquency, the literature seems to indicate, is a somewhat distorted one. This is especially so as there seems to be a consistent underestimation of the frequency of female delinquency and and equally consistent overestimation of the proportion of female delinquents involved in sex-related offences in the official data, the data that have been used in most studies. Investigations of police discretion have led to the belief that much of the error stems from the manner in which the police enforce the law. It is believed they have a

stereotype picture of the female delinquent and utilize this picture in their enforcement activity. While this possibly does exist, it is also highly probable that the other segments of the juvenile justice system which get involved in the final definition of the delinquent have stereotypic pictures themselves which they utilize in their activity and consequently colour our perception of the delinquent. A third possibility arises from the fact that the delinquent is defined in a pre-police involvement stage by segments of the public. It could well be that stereotyping really begins at this stage.

Juvenile delinquency as a phenomenon is of much greater proportions than that which is identified by official recording agencies. Self-report delinquency data confirm this. Therefore, if delinquency is taken in gross volume or as a pool in society, our perception of the delinquent depends on which youths are being chosen from this pool as delinquents, what selection factors lead to the identification of certain youths as official delinquents and what factors permit certain youths to escape the justice system's label. In order to identify these factors, the processing process must first be examined.

From the pool of delinquency in society, the official delinquent begins to emerge in two ways — through public generation and through police generation. Much of the identified deviancy committed by juveniles is reported to the police by members of the public. This sets law enforcement machinery into motion. A much smaller segment of delinquency is not reported by the public but is detected by the police. Like the public reported delinquency, the police detected delinquency also sets law enforcement

machinery into action. This form, along with but to a lesser extent than the first, constitutes a quantum of official delinquency — delinquency known to the police — providing us with one picture of delinquents which could influence our perceptions of juvenile delinquency. It will be appreciated that the public generated delinquency and police generated delinquency creates a second pool of delinquents. If the first pool constituted all those who committed delinquent acts, known or unknown, recognized or unrecognized, the second pool constitutes those suspected of having committed delinquent acts and who, because of this suspicion, have set the law enforcement machinery in motion.

The confirmation of this delinquent identification through police investigation comprises the next phase in the process. Depending on the facts of a particular case, youth officers or other agents of the police force must make a number of decisions. In the first instance, they must decide whether the juvenile has actually committed a delinquent act. They may find he has not and he is therefore not processed any further. Then, he may be found to have committed a delinquent act but one which the police feel, on the basis of the characteristics of the act and the actor, calls for only the administration of a warning involving the youth and the parents, without any further involvement in the system. Third, the act or actor may be such that the police officials feel that the case would be best dealt with by reference to ancillary sectors of the juvenile justice system meant for dealing with delinquents on an unofficial level. Under this expediency, the adolescent is kept away from the courts by diversion to social agencies or groups formed to treat the delinquency problem. They are kept off the

official track by not being charged. Finally, the case could be such that a charge is laid and the juvenile is officially defined by police as delinquent. In these cases the youth must then appear in court. The police investigation thus creates from the second pool, a smaller third pool of delinquents providing us with yet another picture of delinquents which could influence our perception of juvenile delinquency.

At the court level of the juvenile justice process, the same sort of evaluatory process goes on resulting in the generation of the same four categories. The juvenile taken to court may be found innocent or may have the charges against him withdrawn because of insufficiency of evidence. He might be found delinquent and he may only be given a warning or he might be sent for correction to an unofficial sent to training school.

The interest of this study lies in the determination of the source of our concept of female delinquency. In terms of the juvenile justice process, the characteristics that are commonly attributed to female delinquents can be due to:

- (a) the characteristic of the female committing the delinquent act;
- (b) the manner in which the public reacts to delinquent acts of particular types of females;
- (c) the manner in which the police react;
- (d) the manner in which the courts react; or
- (e) a combination of all.

As has been pointed out earlier, the operation of each one of these factors results in the creation of a special pool of delinquents. What is consequently sought to be done in this study is to determine whether the delinquent pool created by the operation of the force is different from the pool on which the force operated. There are four basic questions that can be asked in this connection:

- (1) Are those identified by the public as delinquents through their reports to the law enforcement agencies different from those who really commit delinquent acts?
- (2) Are those identified by the police as delinquents through their detection work different from those who really commit delinquent acts?
- (3) Are those identified as delinquents through the continued processing in the system (by police) different from those brought in for processing?
- (4) Are those identified by the courts as delinquents through conviction and official reaction different from those taken to court by the police?

These questions could be asked with regards to both the female delinquent and the male delinquent. As our interest extends to the characteristics of the female delinquent vis-a-vis the male, our analysis must involve both males and females.

The sex differential in juvenile delinquency can be explored in various manners. G. J. Jensen and R. Eve, focusing on the disproportionate representation of males and females involved in delinquency according to official statistics, sought to ascertain whether the nature and volume of the

delinquent behaviour indulged in by females was actually different from that indulged in by males. Data were collected on adolescent male and female juveniles. The data comprised sex, race, type of offence, paternal supervision, paternal emotional support, attachment to the law, grade point average, school variables, social bonds, delinquent friends, and other social controls. The delinquent acts were those that could have been construed as crime for the adult; juvenile status offences were excluded. Association between the self-report delinquency data as the dependent variables and the other above mentioned variables was analyzed. Net partial gamma coefficient was used to provide information on the sex-delinquency relationship when other variables are held constant.⁴ No one variable was capable of explaining the hypothesized sex-delinquency relationship, hence a multiple regression analysis was carried out in order to assess the relationship when all relevant measures of associations from the first analysis were considered. Simultaneous control for all variables having an impact on the sex difference was thought to result in the elimination of the sex-delinquency relationship altogether. However, the findings did not support the hypothesis. In spite of these controls, the direct contribution of sex to delinquency was found to be statistically significant.⁵

The Jensen and Eve study applied itself to the discovery of a sex differential which might be manifested in the volume and nature of juvenile delinquency. The target of analysis was the behaviour of the juveniles themselves; the reaction to such behaviour was not a consideration. Its role had been totally ignored as if it played no part at all.

Two other studies offer methods which might better fit the purpose of this study. The first is John Hagan's study, "Parameters of Criminal Prosecution: An Application of Path Analysis to a Problem of Criminal Justice".⁶ The second is a study conducted by R. L. Blankenship and B. K. Singh, "Differential Labeling of Juveniles".⁷ Both studies involve variables concerning official social control agencies as well as characteristics of the offender and his/her offence to determine the process of criminal and juvenile justice rather than to search for aetiological factors within the individual which might explain the delinquency phenomenon. In essence, these investigations take the process of defining criminality and delinquency to be aetiological factors in themselves.

Hagan's study analyzes the processes of criminal prosecution and sentencing to determine how extra-legal offender characteristics, legally defined offender and offence characteristics and procedural factors influence prosecution and sentencing. Analysis is carried out in two stages. Both are path analyses relating eight independent variables to the final disposition of the case. In the first stage all cases are considered. In the second the analysis is limited to those offenders who actually received sentences. Through this analysis, Hagan was able to determine the relative contribution of certain variables to final dispositions and sentencing in criminal justice processing.⁸

The same statistical method has been used by Blankenship and Singh in their study of the decision-making process resulting in the commitment of juvenile offenders to either correctional or mental

health institutions. Several indexes were created in which variables measuring offender characteristics, delinquency intensity, gravity of commitment offence, type of commitment received and the mental classification of the offender are grouped. There was first, a Family Identity Index involving three family-related variables considered important on an empirical as well as a prima facie theoretical basis. They were: (1) socioeconomic status as scored by Warner et al. (1962) ranking of occupational prestige; (2) family size as indicated by the number of siblings; and (3) a composite of race, family structure, and source of income, based on an interaction noted in the data.⁹ Then, there was a Delinquency Intensity Index, developed by dividing the number of offences on record prior to the commitment offence by the time in months that lapsed from the first offence on record to the first commitment. In order to eliminate some of the effects of interaction between variables, an index for Gravity of Commitment Offence was created which confines itself to the offence which precipitated the decision to commit. This index was divided up into felony offences, misdemeanors and juvenile status offences. Fourth, there was a Type of Commitment Index dealing with the type of institution — correctional training or mental health — to which the individual was committed. Finally, there was the Mental Classification Index which differentiated diagnostic categories into a set of general classes: (1) no diagnostic mention; (2) evaluation made but no diagnosis given; (3) personality disorder; and (4) brain syndrome and/or psychosis.¹⁰

An analysis of case records of certain youth at a correctional reception centre and a state mental hospital in the United States was

carried out. "Interactional effects, evidences of causal order, and measurement of associations were investigated through the use of a diverse array of bivariate and partialled contingency tables."¹¹ The multivariate relationships among the variable indexes was next examined by the construction of an asymmetric path model, the intent being to test the total relationship created by the independent variables as they singly and in interaction explain the variance of Mental Classification.¹² Path analysis was used to verify or disprove theoretical hypotheses about the relationships of the variables and to reveal a general causal structure of the phenomenon.

Path analysis allows the development of a causal structure which best indicates the relationships among certain offender and offence characteristics in relation to official decision-making in terms of case dispositions. It appears to be a complete model for description of a phenomenon and provides a basis for theory construction. However, as path analysis is dependent on regression, questions arise regarding its suitability when the variables are nominal rather than ordinal. The statistical basis of path analysis rests on the presence of continuous variables. Discrete variables, as have been collected in the data for this study, must be transformed into dummy variables.

Goodman's Log-linear analysis offers an alternative to this problem. It can be used on the data without the creation or use of dummy variables. Log-linear analysis allows for the utilization of a large number of variables in contingency tables in the investigation of partial relationships and net effects among variables. It allows for the meaningful handling of

more than two or three non-intervally scaled variables at a time while fulfilling the necessity of partialling out the relationships among several such variables.¹³ An illustration of the application of this technique in criminological research exists in the study of social disadvantage and criminalization by P. J. Burke and A. T. Turk.¹⁴ They constructed a five-way contingency table relating disposition of the case to (1) age, (2) race, (3) occupational status and (4) prior incarceration. This was done twice: first on the raw frequencies and then on frequencies adjusted by standardization to remove or control for the effects of the category of offence charged in the arrest. The analysis involves an initial transformation of cell frequencies to their natural logarithms. This step aids in the computational simplification of the models of analysis by the conversion of a multiplicative model into an additive one. The analysis can proceed in two ways depending on whether the purpose of the analysis is confirmatory or exploratory. When the purpose is exploratory, a model best fitting the observed data is sought. The procedure followed here

... is to add factors, one at a time, each time noting the effect of such an addition on the chi-square value. Factors which significantly reduce the chi-square will be included in the model. Hopefully, we can obtain a good fit (no significant difference between the expected frequencies based on the model and the actual frequencies of the five-way table) by introducing only a few additional factors.¹⁵

The procedure is one analogous to that used in multiple regression analysis. It tests net effects, with differences in chi-square values used instead of differences in R^2 values.¹⁶ When the purpose is confirmatory a theoretical model is constructed and the validity of the model is determined on the

basis of observed data. The procedure involves the determination of the goodness of fit — no significant difference between the expected frequencies based on the model and the actual five-way contingency table. Burke and Turk used both forms in their study. They used the exploratory form on the raw frequencies to derive a model and then the confirmatory form on the standardized frequencies to test the model.

Log-linear analysis offers a more efficient and powerful means for the analysis of complex contingency tables than has so far been available.¹⁷ The confirmatory analysis is recommended when possible for the simple reason that in exploratory analysis,

As one proceeds to try alternative models in the absence of theoretical justification, there is an increasing likelihood to include some relationships in the model which are simply the result of sampling error. In that situation, the results could be quite misleading....¹⁸

Log-linear analysis also tends to show relationship rather than causation and in this sense is not as complete as other forms of statistical analysis. It does serve a purpose, however, by increasing the specificity of some empirical generalizations¹⁹ and by allowing for the discovery of associations and relations which can lead to more accurate study.

A major obstacle to research based on Log-linear analysis is the absence of an adequate model on which exploratory methods can be carried out; and to construct such a model may defeat the purpose of an exploratory study searching for intricate relationships between variables where none are

known of. In this type of study, the aim is discovery of relationships through the comparison of various pools of delinquency. Log-linear analysis would simplify a necessarily detailed and sectionally comparative study. However, a very practical obstacle to the use of such a method is the lack of a computer programme on which to carry out such a study. Such is the case here.

A study similar to that conducted by Hagan has been conducted by John Hogarth,²⁰ but with a different methodology. Hogarth's study aimed at developing methods for predicting sentencing behaviour of magistrates. It concentrated on answering three basic questions: 1) what are the decisions different magistrates make?; 2) how do they make them?; and 3) why do they make them?²¹ Seventy-one magistrates were interviewed and also asked to fill out questionnaires meant to reveal legal, sociological and psychological characteristics which might influence their sentencing behaviour.²² Case data was also collected. Approximately 2,500 cases from 1966 and 1967 were used with approximately one hundred pieces of information gathered from each one to provide "statistical control over different fact patterns in the individual cases coming before the courts."²³ These two data bases would permit an examination of how different magistrates responded to roughly similar types of cases.

In an attempt to test "what magistrates perceive" and "what they decide", prediction equations were utilized. First, predictions concerning the type of sentence imposed, i.e., fines, suspended sentence, probation, or an institutional sentence were tested. Second, predictions

concerning the length of sentence were tested to measure the relationship between magistrates' perceptions of facts and the decisions they make. Different statistical methods were used in the two facets of this study.

For the first part, multiple discriminant analysis was used for the purpose of testing

...the degree to which a battery of test scores concerning an individual will successfully predict the group to which that individual belongs.²⁴

In other words, how magistrates perceive the facts of a case was tested as a predictor of what disposition they most readily dealt out in terms of the four categories mentioned above. The most reliable predictors were discerned by the derivation of discriminant functions. By examining the "loading" of original scores on each discriminant function it is possible to determine which of the tests used are the "best" discriminators.²⁵ The method is one essentially for discovering which factors are important for predicting the separation of cases into types of sentence. Three discriminant functions were derived from the analysis. They were: punishment-control; treatment-reformation; and punishment-retribution. From these classifications, loadings are used to determine associations with sentencing behaviour.

In the second part, prediction of length of sentence, a series of seven regression equations were formulated testing the relationship of magistrates' perceptions of the facts to the length of institutional sentences

imposed (in days) for seven criminal code offences. In each offence category, correlation analysis indicated that,

Magistrates' assessment of offences, their perceptions of offenders, their selection of determining factors, and the purposes attempted, were all found to be significantly associated with the severity of the penalties imposed.²⁶

Regression analysis allowed for the selection of those independent variables which best predicted the severity of the penalty given. Degree of premeditation emerged as the most important factor in determining sentence length as far as magistrates' assessments of cases went. In relation to the offender, length of criminal record appeared to be the dominating factor.

Hogarth's method is one which efficiently classifies a great number of variables and simplifies analysis of the phenomenon of sentencing, by assigning cases to previously determined mutually exclusive groups with the least possible amount of error. In discriminant analysis a large number of variables are combined into a composite variable whose values will be used to determine group membership. In the study at hand, the task is slightly different. What is sought to be done is to discover whether the criteria used by the public, the police and the courts for defining delinquency are the same or different. Thereby it will be possible to discover the source of our concept of female delinquency. Although the purpose of the study can be fulfilled by the use of discriminant analysis, a method which offers more detail than Hogarth's for discovering of relationships among variables would more efficiently serve the purpose at hand.

A sixth possible method is Grounded theory. Basically, it is a method where the data analysis involves the formulation of theory. As opposed to theory formulated from a priori assumptions, this method creates theory based on the data. "Joint collection, coding, and analysis of data is the underlying operation."²⁹ By using this research method, one is able to generate theory by comparative analysis, specifying units of analysis and comparing them. In terms of this study, it might be possible to use the three units of juvenile justice, previously identified as the public, the police and the courts to derive a theory of female and male processing through the justice system from the actual data. However, the question is not one which calls for the derivation of theory and therefore this method does not fulfill the necessary methodological qualifications for answering the questions generated in this investigation.

The question at hand involves the relative contribution that the public, the police and the courts make in conceptualizing and defining female juvenile delinquency. The most efficient method for achieving this research task would be a comparative one. Comparisons will have to be made at each of the three stages of processing through the juvenile justice system. Those stages are: 1) an initial one where there is a delinquency identification of a juvenile to justice officials either by a member of the public or by the detection of a police officer (justice officials are alerted to the possibility of delinquent behaviour in a juvenile); 2) a secondary identification of delinquency by police investigation of particular cases from the initial pool in stage one; and 3) a formal or tertiary identification of

delinquency by the courts of particular cases from the secondary pool created in stage two.

Within the first stage of the processing, a comparison of the cases will be made according to how each case was brought into the justice system — by the public or by the police. Delinquency may be defined in certain ways by the public on the one hand and the police on the other. Public and police reported cases will be compared through the following variables: 1) age; 2) sex; 3) initial occurrence offence; 4) previous involvement history; and 5) residence (whether or not the juvenile resided in a community residential centre, detention centre or training school institution setting at the time of the incident). The comparison will give an idea whether, in this initial stage, the public and police share the same views or not.

The proportion of cases which reach the second stage of delinquency identification by police will be measured against the initial pool created in stage one. This percentage of the initial pool represents cases which are confirmed by police investigation. The rest fall into a non-delinquent category. Of public reported cases, how many are confirmed by the police as involving delinquency and sent to court? What proportion of police detected cases are confirmed by police as involving delinquency and sent to court? As well as answering these questions, a comparison must be made between public reported and police detected cases which are taken to court. The six variables mentioned above will provide the basis for comparison to determine similarities or differences in the two sets of cases.

Finally, in stage three of the study, similar comparisons as mentioned above will be made. The proportion of cases formally identified by the court as involving delinquent behaviour will be ascertained with regard to the secondary pool of delinquency created in stage two by police confirmation. A comparison of the public generated cases of stage two (public reported and police confirmed) and the same cases formally identified by the court in stage three will be made; and police detected cases of stage two (police detected and police confirmed) will be compared with the same cases which are formally identified in stage three. Also, a comparison, based on the six variables mentioned above, will be made between normally confirmed cases which were either public generated or police detected.

Two techniques offered themselves as possibilities for the collection of data in this study. The first was the survey technique which would provide self-reported data. Through a questionnaire it would be possible to obtain information about actual commission of delinquent acts, involvement with the police and involvement in court. This method would permit consideration of the pool of actual delinquent behaviour in society, the pool from which the individuals are claimed to be differentially selected for official processing. The method, however, has certain drawbacks. In a survey, there may be open-ended questions asking the subject if he or she has ever committed any delinquent act or closed questions asking whether the subject has ever committed a specific delinquent act. In the former instance, the reporting individual may not know the definition of a delinquent act and so this method may not render a complete and accurate

picture. In the latter instance, that problem may be overcome by using descriptions of certain acts in order to increase reporting precision. A viable set of categories may be set up using police descriptions of various crimes; however to gain accurate information, it would still be necessary to present broad categories in which each respondent is left to interpret what his or her act was or to offer a more specific and relatively large and unwieldy questionnaire in which numerous crime categories and specifics are contained.

The self-report survey may not produce accurate details concerning subjects' history of previous involvement. Juveniles tend either to exaggerate or to deny their prior involvement in delinquency depending on their concept of themselves.²⁸ Since the possibility exists that police disposition could depend in part at least on previous delinquency involvement, the accuracy of this information is of essence to this study. Also, self-report surveys would not permit the accurate collection of data concerning who set the law enforcement machinery into action. Subjects of this survey method may not be aware of who initially identified him or her as delinquent thereby starting the justice process. This information might, as a result, be lost through this method of data collection.

Self-report data would perhaps reveal a truer picture of the actual extent of female and male delinquency. The aim of this study is not, however, to discover the nature and extent of actual delinquency but rather to discover the contribution that official processing — by the public, the police and the courts — has on the concepts that define female juvenile

delinquency. The size of the pool of delinquency, which would be discovered by self-report surveys, is not the primary focus. Its size and nature are of interest, but so are the pools created by public reporting of delinquent acts, police detection and court disposition of them. A comparison of these other pools is the primary focus here.

Finally, whatever the extent of juvenile delinquency may be considered to be in any community, the fact of the matter is that it is a relatively small fraction of the juvenile population that gets involved in delinquency that is officially recognized. Even using event statistics rather than actor statistics the police identified juvenile delinquency rate in Ottawa was 2,937 per 100,000 juveniles in 1980. In the most delinquent segment of the city the rate was still only 11,877 per 100,000.²⁹ What all this means is that for the survey method to provide a sufficient number of delinquent cases that could be analyzed, an inordinately large sample would have to be surveyed providing a large mass of data of no special use to this study.

The second method of data collection for the study is to obtain information on delinquents from the official records of the police. These records make it possible to choose a reasonable sample size and then to determine who set the law enforcement machinery into action — the public or the police. The first pool of officially defined delinquents is discerned in this way. Each occurrence may then be followed throughout the juvenile justice system and comparisons can be made.

The initial pool of delinquency and the sample for this study consists of all cases known to the police during a specific period. One thousand juvenile cases during the months of May 1 to September 15, 1980, were used for analysis. These dates were chosen because they contained the most recent one thousand cases available for study. For these cases, it was necessary to determine certain facts. First, basic personal characteristics of each juvenile such as age, sex, home address and nature of domicile (home and family as opposed to a C.A.S. or Youth Services Bureau home, detention centre or training school) and also history of previous involvement with police had to be found. Second, characteristics of the occurrence itself had to be discerned. These were: the offence, its date and location and how many juveniles had been involved in the incident. Finally, certain information concerning the processing of each case had to be collected as vital information to this study. How an occurrence had been initially reported to the police — whether by a member of the public or found by a police officer — separated certain cases from others in the initial pool of delinquency. These particular differences in selection would be noted as all the cases passed from initial identification to, perhaps, secondary delinquency identification after police investigation and on to possible tertiary or formal delinquency identification in court. Processing decisions in terms of police and court dispositions would also have to be collected for each case which advanced to these segments of the juvenile justice system.

Ottawa Police Force data on juvenile occurrences is stored on computer tapes and individual index cards used by the Youth Liaison Section of the Force for recording personal information on juveniles — specifically,

any history of previous police involvement. Though there is some overlapping in the type of data stored, there is no one source from which one could gather all the information that one would require. Computer tapes tend not to hold up-to-date information on the status of cases in terms of police and court dispositions. They contain general information. The index cards, on the other hand, do offer the specifics in terms of status as each case is processed through the system. They do not, however, offer such general information as the location of the offence or the initial offence category (general offence). Consequently, data has to be collected from both these sources.

Police computer files were able to reveal some particulars regarding each occurrence. They did reveal the offence in which the juvenile was involved, though not the offence in which police investigation found the juvenile to have been involved. Neither did it reveal the police disposition, the court disposition, the previous involvement nor the residence status of the juvenile. Certain basic information about each juvenile, facts of the occurrence and who set the justice process into action were the data obtained from this source. In all, information on ten variables was collected.

Where computer files could not offer complete information on any variable, individual index cards were referred to. Index cards were correlated by matching the age, sex and address information taken from the computer. Index cards noted the offence in which the juvenile had been involved. They also gave an indication of the offence in which police investigations revealed the juvenile was involved. In some cases, the offence which was recorded on computer files was not the same one with

which police eventually label or charge juvenile. The offence recorded in the computer printout is what brought attention to the juvenile in the first instance. After investigation, however, police may choose to lay charges or defer action either on the basis of that offence or a different offence in which their investigation reveals the juvenile was really involved. Any change in the offence is found recorded in these index cards.

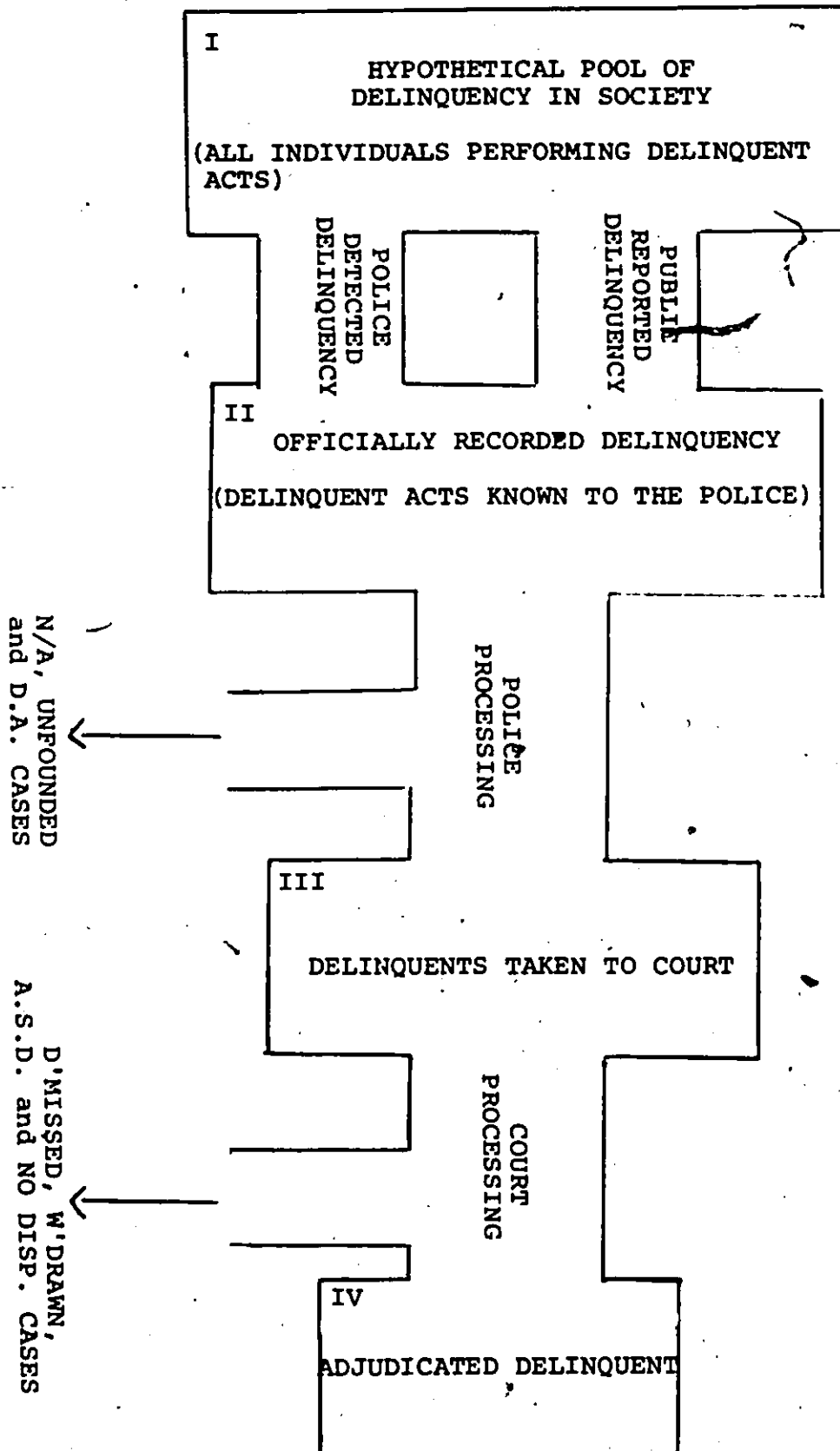
The police disposition of each case is also found in these cards. These dispositions have been recorded as: 1) Not Applicable (N/A); 2) Unfounded; 3) Deferred Action (D.A.); and 4) Charged. N/A represents a situation in which the police have no jurisdiction over or cannot lay charges for an act. A juvenile running away from training school or reported missing from home are two such situations. They are acts on which police may not proceed because of lack of jurisdiction. Unfounded cases refer to two possibilities. First, an offence may have been committed, but police have no suspect. Second, there may be a suspect, however police may determine that by law no offence has been committed. Cases receiving one of these dispositions have been only initially identified as having been involved in delinquency. They fall from the processing mechanism before secondary delinquency identification by police. "Deferred action" is used to designate a situation where evidence is such that a charge can be laid, but where police have used discretionary judgment in order to prevent further processing to the court level. A warning may be administered to the youth and/or he or she may be referred to an agency for treatment of some kind. In this instance, a secondary delinquency identification has been made, but the juvenile is diverted from the formal justice process. When police charge an individual, he or she passes to the third level of the processing system,

the courts. Court dispositions, in these instances, can also be found in the index cards. Nine were noted: 1) "dismissed"; 2) "withdrawn"; 3) "adjourned sine die" (a.s.d.); 4) "no disposition"; 5) "suspended sentence"; 6) "probation"; 7) "fine"; 8) "training school"; and 9) "returned to training school".

Finally, recorded in the juvenile index cards is the previous delinquent involvement with the police. The number and nature of previous offence involvements are noted. This information has been collected for use in the analysis. Police and court dispositions, if any, on previous delinquent involvements have also been collected.

Police data are collected and kept for administrative purposes rather than for research purposes, hence there are obvious disadvantages in using the data in a study. These disadvantages relate both to the quantity and quality of the data. Information on all the variables that one would wish to study are not available and when the information is available, it may not be available in the detail that the researcher would like it to be. Taking into consideration the purpose of this study and the factors that a review of the literature revealed as having a causal relationship to delinquency, information for each of the 1000 juvenile delinquency cases included in this study were collected on 10 variables. These variables are: 1) age; 2) sex; 3) home address and residence status; 4) how the occurrence was reported; 5) the initial or general occurrence; 6) the offence as decided through police investigation; 7) the location of the occurrence; 8) previous involvement history; 9) the police disposition; and 10) the court's disposition.

DIAGRAM "A": THE JUVENILE JUSTICE PROCESSING SYSTEM



References

1. Bordua, D.J. (1976). "Recent Trends: Deviant Behavior and Social Control", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 369, p. 149.
2. Ibid., p. 150.
3. Ibid., p. 162.
4. Jensen, G.J., Eve, R. (1976). "Sex Differences in Delinquency: An Examination of Popular Sociological Explanations", Criminology, 13, p. 435.
5. Ibid., p. 435.
6. Hagan, John (1975). "Parameters of Criminal Prosecution: An Application of Path Analysis to a Problem of Criminal Justice", Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 65, pp. 536-544.
7. Blankenship, R.L., Singh, B.K. (1976). "Differential Labelling of Juveniles: A Multivariate Analysis", Criminology, 13, pp. 471-490.
8. Hagan (1975), op. cit.
9. Ibid., p. 435.
10. Ibid., p. 443.
11. Blankenship, Singh (1976), op. cit.
12. Ibid., p. 479.
13. Ibid., p. 480.
14. Burke, P.J., Turk, A.T. (1975). "Factors Affecting Postarrest Dispositions: A Model for Analysis", Social Problems, 22, p. 315.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p. 315.
18. Ibid., p. 318.
19. Ibid., p. 319.
20. Ibid., p. 316.

21. Ibid., p. 331.
22. - Ibid., p. 330.
23. Ibid., p. 326.
24. Maxim, P. (1975). Quantitative Data Grouping Techniques as Applied to Criminology. (University of Ottawa: M.A. thesis), p. 3.
25. Ibid., p. 4.
26. Ibid., p. 4.
27. Glaser, B.G., Strauss, A.L. (1968). The Discovery of Grounded Theory. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Compnay), p. 3.
28. Simon, J.L. (1978). Basic Research Methods in Social Science. (New York: Random House Inc., 2nd Ed.), pp. 297-298.
29. Ottawa Police Force (1980). Ottawa Police Force Annual Report. (Ottawa: Ottawa Police Force), p. 21.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS OF THE DELINQUENCY

The sample in this study consists of one thousand juveniles between the ages of six and fifteen years with consistently increasing absolute frequencies in each age group from six to fifteen. Seventy-five percent (75%) of these juveniles were thirteen years or over with the mean age at 13.3 years. In the sample there were 744 males and 256 females: approximately 3 males for every female. The ages of the males ranged from six to fifteen with a mean of 13.2, while the ages of the females ranged from seven to fifteen with a mean of 13.68 (Table 1).

When the manner in which the cases were brought to the attention of the juvenile justice system is considered (Table 2), it is noted that 874 (87.4%) were reported by the public (public generated) and 49 (4.9%) were detected by a police officer (police generated) and 77 (7.7%) cases had no record of how they were brought to the attention of justice officials. Many times, when an occurrence is phoned in, police telephonists neglect to keep track of who referred the occurrence — whether a police officer or a member of the public. In most cases, it would be a member of the public since police officers make out their own records showing whether they detected the offence or were called in by the public. Thus, unknown generated cases could really be public generated ones. However, as this is strictly speculation, a distinction has been made between the two categories. These figures indicate that the initial identification of

Table 1: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Age and Sex"

Age	Male	Female	Row Total
6	.2 100.0* 0.3**	0 0.0 0.0	2 0.2'
7	16 88.9 2.2	2 11.1 0.8	18 1.8
8	20 100.0 2.7	0 0.0 0.0	20 2.0
9	21 77.8 2.8	6 22.2 2.3	27 2.7
10	31 86.1 4.2	5 13.9 2.0	36 3.6
11	44 80.0 5.9	11 20.0 4.3	55 5.5
12	70 80.5 9.4	17 19.5 6.6	87 8.7
13	116 77.3 15.6	34 22.7 13.3	150 15.0
14	154 61.6	96 38.4	250 25.0
15	270 76.1	85 23.9	355 35.5
Column Total	744 74.4 100.0	256 25.6 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
 ** Column PCT
 ' PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 37.58513$
 df = 9
 P .001

Table 2: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases
Referred to the Juvenile Justice
System by How Reported and Sex"

How Reported	Male	Female	Row Total
Unknown	49 63.6* 6.6**	28 36.4 10.9	77 7.7
Public	653 74.7 87.8	221 25.3 86.3	874 87.4
Police	42 85.7 5.6	7 14.3 2.7	49 4.9
Column Total	744 74.4 100.0	256 25.6 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 8.02236$
df = 2
p > .01

delinquency depends to a greater extent on the public than on official justice sources.

To ascertain the role that the public plays in the process a comparison has been made of the public generated and police generated cases. When sex is related to how each case was reported, it is seen that 87.8% of the cases involving males and 86.3% of the cases involving females were originally identified by the public (Table 2). The data also show that 74.7% of public generated cases involved males and only 25.3% involved females. This is to be expected as the proportion of males to females in this study is almost 3 to 1. However, of the cases detected by the police, 85.7% involved males while 14.3% involved females. These figures indicate that police generated cases tend to involve males more often than the public generated cases. For every girl the police generated cases found to be involved in a delinquent act, there were 6 boys these cases found to be similarly involved. With regard to public generated cases, for every girl involved there were only 3 boys involved. The differences are not statistically significant at the 1% level ($\chi^2 = 8.02236$).

When the age of each juvenile was considered in relation to how each case was reported (Table 3), in public generated cases, the ages ranged from six to fifteen with consistently increasing absolute frequencies in each age group as the age increased. In the police generated cases, no juveniles under the age of ten were identified as having been involved in delinquent behaviour and as many as 63.3% of the juveniles were fifteen years old. Only 34% of the juveniles among the public generated cases were

Table 3: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases
Referred to the Juvenile Justice
System by Age and How Reported"

Age	Unknown	Public	Police	Row Total
6	1 50.0* 1.3**	1 50.0 0.1	0 0.0 0.0	2 0.2'
7	6 33.3 7.8	12 66.7 1.4	0 0.0 0.0	18 1.8
8	0 0.0 0.0	20 100.0 2.3	0 0.0 0.0	20 2.0
9	5 18.5 6.5	22 81.5 2.5	0 0.0 0.0	27 2.7
10	5 13.9 6.5	30 83.3 3.4	1 2.8 2.0	36 3.6
11	4 7.3 5.2	49 89.1 5.6	2 3.6 4.1	55 5.5
12	1 1.1 1.3	84 96.6 9.6	2 2.3 4.1	87 8.7
13	9 6.0 11.7	136 90.7 15.6	5 3.3 10.2	150 15.0
14	19 7.6 24.7	223 89.2 25.5	8 3.2 26.3	250 25.0
15	27 7.6 35.1	297 83.7 34.0	31 8.7 63.3	355 35.5
Column Total	77 7.7 100.0	874 87.4 100.0	49 4.9 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 54.17490$
df = 18
p < .001

fifteen years of age. It would appear that police generated cases tend to involve fifteen year old juveniles to a greater extent than public generated cases. Both categories of referral to the justice system, however, concentrate on juveniles thirteen years and over: 75.1% of the juveniles among public generated cases and 89.8% among the police generated cases are thirteen years old and over. The difference is statistically significant at the 1% level ($\chi^2 = 54.17490$).

When the initial occurrence which drew attention to the juvenile was related to how the occurrence was reported (Table 4), it is seen that in all categories of offences, the public generated cases are greatest in number. In all but the two categories of theft over \$200 and drug offences, the public generated cases constituted over 80%, and in some cases 90%, of all the cases referred in that offence category. In the theft over \$200 category, 68.75% of all cases were public generated ones — over 10% less than the norm for public generated cases in the other offence categories. In the drug offences category the public generated cases constituted only 54.3% of the cases — over 20% less than the norm.

Only in eight of the thirteen offence categories do police play a part in referral of juveniles to the justice system. They are: break and enter; theft of/from motor vehicle; theft over and theft under \$200; possession of stolen goods; disturbing the peace; P.U.A.L. (person unlawfully at large); and drug offences. In most of these categories, the police generated cases constituted less than 20%. In the drug offence category, 31.4% of cases are police generated. This is by far the greatest percentage

Table 4: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Offence and How Reported"

Offence	Unknown	Public	Police	Row Total
Sex Offences	1 9.1* 1.3**	10 90.9 1.1	0 0.0 0.0	11 1.1'
Assault	6 10.3 7.8	52 89.7 5.9	0 0.0 0.0	58 5.8
Robbery	1 7.1 1.3	13 92.9 1.5	0 0.0 0.0	14 1.4
B & E	4 2.9 5.2	129 92.1 14.7	7 5.0 14.3	140 14.0
Theft m.v.	0 0.0 0.0	36 81.8 4.1	8 18.2 16.3	44 4.4
Theft Over \$200	6 18.7 7.8	22 68.8 2.5	4 12.5 8.2	32 3.2
Theft Under \$200	24 7.5 31.2	288 89.4 32.9	10 3.1 20.4	322 32.2
Possession of Stolen Goods	2 8.0 2.6	22 88.0 2.5	1 4.0 2.0	25 2.5
Fraud	0 0.0 0.0	19 100.0 2.2	0 0.0 0.0	19 1.9
Vandalism	22 12.3 28.6	157 87.7 18.0	0 0.0 0.0	179 17.9
Disturbing the Peace	6 9.4 7.8	53 82.8 6.1	5 7.8 10.2	64 6.4
P.U.A.L.	0 0.0 0.0	54 94.7 6.2	3 5.3 6.1	57 5.7
Drugs	5 14.3 6.5	19 54.3 2.2	11 31.4 22.5	35 3.5
Column Total	77 7.7 100.0	874 87.4 100.0	49 4.9 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 302.01196$
df = 100
p < .001

of cases generated by police. A relatively large proportion of police generated cases are found in the theft of/from motor vehicle category. Although over 80% of the cases in this category are public generated, the police generated cases constituted 18.2% of the cases -- a little above the norm. The differences are statistically significant at the 1% level ($\chi^2 = 302.01196$).

Cases with previous involvement with the justice system outnumbered those without it in all categories of referral, though not by much. Table 5 shows that of the 1000 cases, 55.8% had been previously involved in some way with the juvenile justice system, while 44.2% had no such previous contact. Of public generated cases, 55.5% had previous involvement while 44.5% had not. The difference of 11% indicates that previous involvement matters only slightly in terms of cases generated by the public. In cases generated by an unknown source, the difference is even smaller. Cases with previous involvement make up only 50.6% while those without make up 49.4%. In the police generated cases, the difference between cases with and without previous involvement is great: 69.4% of cases had previous involvement with the police while 30.6% did not. These figures tend to suggest that previous involvement with the criminal justice system is a consideration given greater weight by the police than the public in their initial referral of juveniles to the justice system. For every 1 case without previous involvement the police referred, 2.5 had had a previous contact. The ratio was 1:1.2 in the case of public referral. These differences are not statistically significant at the 5% level ($\chi^2 = 4.52990$).

Table 5: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Previous Involvement and How Reported"

Previous Involvement	Unknown	Public	Police	Row Total
Yes	39 7.0* 50.6**	485 86.9 55.5	34 6.1 69.4	558 55.8'
No	38 8.6 49.4	389 88.0 44.5	15 3.4 30.6	442 44.2
Column Total	77 7.7 100.0	874 78.4 100.0	49 4.9 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
 ** Column PCT
 ' PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 4.52990$
 df = 2
 p > .05

Table 6 shows that 96.4% of cases which involved juveniles who live in a community residence or training school setting were referred to the juvenile justice system by the public and that these cases make up 12.2% of the public's entire sample of referrals. These cases refer specifically to youths who have been placed in either a Children's Aid Society (C.A.S.)/Youth Services Bureau (Y.S.B.) home, a detention centre, a training school residence (or half-way house) or a training school institution. In the police generated group there were only 1.8% of such juveniles and they constituted 11.1% of the total sample. The figures would indicate that neither the public nor the police tend to label this group inordinately as delinquent. However, these police generated cases were ones where training school settings were involved. Hence, the major source of identification of delinquency in these cases is the public. The differences are not statistically significant at the 5% level ($\chi^2 = 10.65165$).

In summary, when the manner in which the juvenile has been referred to the juvenile system is considered, in what may be called the initial delinquency identification stage, we find that

- (1) the public make the initial identification much more frequently than the police;
- (2) the initial police identification tends to be more of males than of females; the initial public identification also tends to be the same, but the difference between the number of males and females is much smaller;
- (3) the initial police identification tends to be more of older juveniles; the public are not restricted in the age range;

Table 6: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases
Referred to the Juvenile Justice
System by Residence and How Reported"

Residence	Unknown	Public	Police.	Row Total
Not in Residential Setting	75 8.4* 97.4**	767 86.3 87.8	47 5.3 95.9	889 88.9'
CAS/YSB	1 2.9 1.3	33 97.1 3.8	0 0.0 0.0	34 3.4
Detention Centre	0 0.0 0.0	10 100.0 1.1	0 0.0 0.0	10 1.0
Training School Residence	1 1.9 1.3	52 96.3 5.9	1 1.9 2.0	54 5.4
Training School Institution	0 0.0 0.0	12 92.3 1.4	1 7.7 2.0	13 1.3
Column Total	77 7.7 100.0	874 87.4 100.0	49 4.9 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 10.65165$
df = 8
p > .05

- (4) the initial police identification tends to be mainly for drug offences; the public make an initial identification of a wide range of offences;
- (5) the initial police identification tends to include a greater majority of juveniles with previous involvement with police than without; the public makes an initial identification of both types of cases almost equally with a slight majority being those with previous involvement; and
- (6) the public makes the initial identification of those juveniles living in youth homes or correctional institutions much more frequently than the police.

An interesting observation can be made with regard to where juveniles commit delinquent acts. Table 7 indicates that of the original sample, 34.7% of the juveniles apparently carried out their delinquent behaviour in the same area (or police patrol atom) in which they lived. Another 11.9% were involved in delinquency in adjoining areas (or atoms). The rest, 53.4% were found well outside the vicinity in which they lived. It would be simplest to say that a little less than one half (46.6%) of the initial pool of delinquents were found to be involved in delinquent behaviour in or about their own neighbourhoods while the rest went to strange neighbourhoods.

In the second stage of delinquency identification, police investigation decides whether cases identified in stage one as delinquent, from all sources of referral, are prima facie cases of delinquency. When the police disposition of the case is considered, the data show that the police

Table 7: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred
to the Juvenile Justice System by Home
Address and Location of Occurrence"

Home Address	Same as Home Address	In Adjacent Area (Atom)	Different Area	Row Total
	347	119	534	1,000
	34.7*	11.9	53.4	100.0'
	100.0**	100.0	100.0	
Column Total	347	119	534	1,000

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

label of delinquency (stage two identification) is applied to only 38.2% of the original 1000 cases. These are the cases that fall into the categories "deferred action" ("D.A.") and "charged". Falling into the category "charged" are those cases deemed serious enough to send the juvenile to court. Into this category fall only 10.5% of all cases. The "D.A." category contains those cases where a delinquent act has been committed but where the police believe charging the juvenile is too serious a reaction. Of those considered non-delinquent (61.8% of all cases) 89% of the cases were considered unfounded. In the other 11% of these cases the question of delinquency was found to be not applicable. These cases are ones in which the act allegedly committed by the juvenile is not one of which the police can proceed.

Second stage identification results really in four labels:

- (1) "Charged": Serious delinquents needing court intervention;
- (2) "Deferred Action": Not so serious delinquents to whom a second chance could be given;
- (3) "Unfounded": Not delinquent; and
- (4) "Not Applicable".

When the police disposition and "how reported" variables are cross-tabulated, certain interesting facts emerge. It does not seem to matter how the juvenile comes to the attention of the police in the case of an "unfounded" disposition. All sources of referral to the justice process have similar rates for these cases (Unk. 59.7%; Public 54.5%; and Police 57.1%) (Table 8). The public generated cases received "deferred action"

Table 8: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Police Disposition and How Reported"

Police Disposition	Unknown	Public	Police	Row Total
Not Appl.	1 1.5* 1.3**	62 91.2 7.1	5 7.4 10.2	68 6.8'
Unfounded	46 8.4 59.7	476 86.5 54.5	28 5.1 57.1	550 55.0
D.A.	26 9.4 33.8	243 87.7 27.8	8 2.9 26.3	277 27.7
Charged	4 3.8 5.2	93 88.6 10.6	8 7.6 16.3	105 10.5
Column Total	77 7.7 100.0	874 87.4 100.0	49 4.9 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
 ** Column PCT
 ' PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 11.75365$
 df = 6
 p > .05

dispositions more often than the police generated cases (27.8% as against 16.3%). They received "charged" dispositions less often than the police generated cases (10.6% as against 16.3%). The differences are not statistically significant at the 5% level ($\chi^2 = 11.75365$). Yet, the data suggests an inclination among Youth Liaison personnel to exercise less discretion in charging when fellow officers initiated the process.

When the age of the individual is considered (Table 9), it will be seen that here police did not charge any youth below the age of ten years. However, the police did give a positive identification of delinquency to 23 (34.3%) of the 67 cases of juveniles under ten years, in the form of deferred actions.

Table 9 also indicates that of those juveniles positively identified as delinquent ("D.A." or "charged"), police tend to use the "charged" disposition increasingly more the older is the juvenile. From age twelve, a greater percentage of the total identified as delinquent were sent on to court. From the ages six to eleven years, the greatest percentage charged of those positively identified as delinquent was 11.1% (3 of 27) in the eleven year old group. At twelve, of the 48 delinquent cases, 20.8% were charged. At thirteen, 28.9% of delinquent cases were sent to court. At fourteen, 37.7% were sent to court. The greatest percentage receiving a "charged" disposition as opposed to a "D.A." occurred in the fifteen year old category. As much as 44.8% of the juveniles identified as having been involved in delinquent behaviour were charged and sent to court. The differences are statistically significant at the 1% level ($\chi^2 = 75.87172$).

Table 9: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Age and Police Disposition"

Age	Not Appl.	Unfounded	D.A.	Charged	Row Total
6	0 0.0 0.0	2 100.0* 0.4**	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	2 0.2'
7	0 0.0 0.0	10 55.6 1.8	8 44.4 2.9	0 0.0 0.0	18 1.8
8	0 0.0 0.0	16 80.0 2.9	4 20.0 1.4	0 0.0 0.0	20 2.0
9	0 0.0 0.0	16 59.3 2.9	11 40.7 4.0	0 0.0 0.0	27 2.7
10	0 0.0 0.0	21 58.3 3.8	14 38.9 5.1	1 2.8 1.0	36 3.6
11	2 3.6 2.9	26 47.3 4.7	24 43.6 8.7	3 5.5 2.9	55 5.5
12	0 0.0 0.0	39 44.8 7.1	38 43.7 13.7	10 11.5 9.5	87 8.7
13	11 7.3 16.2	81 54.0 14.7	45 30.0 16.2	13 8.7 12.4	150 15.0
14	27 10.8 39.7	128 51.2 23.3	69 27.6 24.9	26 10.4 24.8	250 25.0
15	28 7.9	211 59.4	64 18.0	52 14.6	355 35.5
Column Total	68 6.8 100.0	550 55.0 100.0	277 27.7 100.0	105 10.5 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 75.87172$
df = 27
p < .001

When the sex distribution of delinquent and non-delinquent cases are considered there are some important differences. First, found non-delinquent ("not applicable" and "unfounded") were 62.5% of males as opposed to 59% of females. Therefore, a slightly greater percentage of the females, 41% as opposed to 37.2% of the males, are found to be delinquent (Table 10). Second, 19.5% of the females fell into the "not applicable" category. This could be due to the fact that cases described as such in the final disposition comprise cases where juveniles run away from home or are missing from a youth residence or an institution. Females are more involved in such cases than males. Third, of the male and female cases positively identified as having been involved in delinquent behaviour, a greater tendency to use the "D.A." disposition with females appears. In the "D.A." category are 25.9% of the males and 32.8% of the females, but they constitute 69.7% of males and 80% of the females identified as delinquent by the police in the second stage identification. The differences are statistically significant at the 1% level ($\chi^2 = 102.11328$).

With reference to the offences allegedly committed by the juveniles referred to the juvenile system, police identification (second stage identification) of delinquency occurred more frequently when the offence was a sex offence or an offence of violence against the person than when the offence was one against property except in the case of theft under \$200. Fifty point four percent (50.4%) of the juveniles reported to police for having allegedly committed such an offence were identified as delinquents - the largest proportion for any offence (Table 11). An interesting feature in this connection is that the police displayed a tendency to deal with

Table 10: "Disposition of Delinquency Cases
Referred to the Juvenile Justice
System by Police Disposition and Sex"

Police Disposition	Male	Female	Row Total
Not Appl.	18 26.5* 2.4**	50 73.5 19.5	68 6.8'
Unfounded	449 81.6 60.3	101 18.4 39.5	550 55.0
D.A.	193 69.7 25.9	84 30.3 32.8	227 27.7
Charged	84 80.0	21 20.0	105 10.5
Column Total	744 74.4 100.0	256 25.6 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 102.11328$
df = 3
p < .001

Table 10: "Disposition of Delinquency Cases
Referred to the Juvenile Justice
System by Police Disposition and Sex"

Police Disposition	Male	Female	Row Total
Not Appl.	18 26.5* 2.4**	50 73.5 19.5	68 6.8'
Unfounded	449 81.6 60.3	101 18.4 39.5	550 55.0
D.A.	193 69.7 25.9	84 30.3 32.8	227 27.7
Charged	84 80.0	21 20.0	105 10.5
Column Total	744 74.4 100.0	256 25.6 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 102.11328$
df= 3
p < .001

Table 11: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Offence and Police Disposition"

Offence	Not Appl.	Unfounded	D.A.	Charged	Row Total
Sex	0	6	3	2	11
Offences	0.0	54.5*	27.3	28.2	1.1'
	0.0	1.1**	1.1	1.9	
Assault	0	33	15	10	58
	0.0	56.9	25.9	17.2	5.8
	0.0	6.0	5.4	9.5	
Robbery	0	12	0	2	14
	0.0	85.7	0.0	14.3	1.4
	0.0	2.2	0.0	1.9	
B & E	1	85	16	38	140
	0.7	60.7	11.4	27.1	14.0
	1.5	15.5	5.8	36.2	
Theft m.v.	0	28	6	10	44
	0.0	63.6	13.6	22.7	4.4
	0.0	5.1	2.2	9.5	
Theft	1	21	5	5	32
Over \$200	3.1	65.6	15.6	15.6	3.2
	1.5	3.8	1.8	4.8	
Theft	6	153	141	22	322
Under \$200	1.9	47.5	43.8	6.8	32.3
	8.8	27.8	50.9	21.0	
Possession	5	10	4	6	25
of Stolen	20.0	40.0	16.0	24.0	2.5
Goods	7.4	1.8	1.4	5.7	
Fraud	0	12	5	2	19
	0.0	63.2	26.3	10.5	1.9
	0.0	2.2	1.8	2.9	
Vandalism	3	123	52	1	179
	1.7	68.7	29.1	0.6	17.9
	4.4	22.4	18.8	1.0	
Disturbing	1	36	22	5	64
the Peace	1.6	56.3	34.4	7.8	6.4
	1.5	6.5	7.9	4.8	
P.U.A.L.	50	6	0	1	57
	87.7	10.5	0.0	1.8	5.7
	73.5	1.1	0.0	1.0	
Drugs	1	25	8	1	35
	2.9	71.4	22.9	2.9	3.5
	1.5	4.5	2.9	1.0	
Column	68	550	277	105	1,000
Total	6.8	55.0	27.7	10.5	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	

* Row PCT
 ** Column PCT
 PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 782.60669$
 $df = 36$
 $p < .001$

juveniles identified as delinquents with the "D.A." alternative for almost all offences that were not offences against property. In these latter cases the tendency was for the police to charge except in the case of theft both under and over \$200, fraud and vandalism. When the delinquency identification did not occur, most frequently the disposition was "unfounded", except in the case of person unlawfully at large (P.U.A.L.) where most of the cases were categorized as "not applicable". The differences found in the second stage identification in relation to the offence committed are statistically significant at the 1% level ($\chi^2 = 782.60669$).

The offences in which police find juveniles involved are mainly thefts. They make up 49.5% of the offences. Thefts over \$200 constitute 5.29% of these thefts. Various thefts under \$200 such as bicycle theft, theft from motor vehicles and, to a great extent, shoplifting constitute the other 94.7% (Table 11). Other offences identified by police as delinquent acts are: break and enters constituting 14.1% of the offences and vandalism (wilful damage to public and private property and arson), 13.9%. Assaults constitute 6.5% of the offences and what is referred to as person unlawfully at large (P.U.A.L.) constitute 0.3%. This latter offence is one where police dispositions are always "N/A". In shoplifting cases, police tend to defer action rather than charge a juvenile. Sixty-six point nine percent (66.9%) of all shoplifting cases received "deferred actions", 3.4% were "N/A", 26.2% were "unfounded" and only 3.4% were charged. Similar dispositions are seen in fraud cases. While 45.5% (5 cases) receive "D.A.", only 18.2% (2 cases) were charged. The rest, 36.4% (4 cases) were "unfounded". In break and enter cases, however, the opposite is the position: 60.7% of these cases are

"unfounded", 27.1% resulted in charges being laid and only 11.4% received "D.A." dispositions. With this particular offence, police tend to take more serious action once evidence is available to prove the juvenile's involvement in the event.

When police disposition is related to whether the juvenile had any previous involvement history or not, it is found that almost similar proportions of those identified as delinquent (56.02%) and those identified as non-delinquent (55.66%) had a previous involvement history. However, when the different dispositions are taken into consideration, very significant differences are found (Table 12). Only 4.8% of all cases sent to court involved juveniles who had never been in contact with police before. In the "N/A" category, there were 80.9% who had had a previous involvement of some kind with police. This is, of course, due to the fact that missing or running away from an institution or youth residence receives a "N/A" disposition from police. Juveniles involved in these cases are usually those who have been previously involved in delinquency and who have been placed in a home or institution because of it. Hence the preponderance of those with previous delinquent histories in this disposition category. Previous involvement does not seem to make any difference to the disposition in "unfounded" and "D.A." categories. The proportion of those with previous offence histories was roughly equal to those without. In the "unfounded" cases category there was a slightly greater proportion with previous offence histories (52.5%) while in the "D.A." category there was a slightly greater proportion without such histories (58.8%). The differences are statistically significant at the 1% level ($\chi^2 = 110.01114$).

Table 12: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Previous Involvement and Police Disposition"

Previous Involvement	Not Appl.	Unfounded	D.A.	Charged	Row Total
Yes	55 9.9* 80.9**	289 51.8 52.5	114 20.4 41.2	100 17.9 95.2	558 55.8
No	13 2.9 19.1	261 59.0 47.5	163 36.9 58.8	5 1.1 4.8	442 44.2
Column Total	68 6.8 100.0	550 55.0 100.0	277 27.7 100.0	105 10.5 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
 ** Column PCT
 PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 110.01114$
 df = 3
 p < .001

Table 13 shows the relationship between the police disposition of the case and the residence of the juvenile. As was previously mentioned, only 11.1% of the entire sample of juveniles were living in either a Children's Aid Society (C.A.S.)/Youth Services Bureau (Y.S.B.) home, a detention centre, a training school residence (a half-way home) or a training school institution. The table shows that juveniles living in one of these places are not particularly liable to be labelled delinquent, in general. Only 25.2% of those cases were positively identified as being cases of delinquency. This represents 2.8% of the total sample. Even a smaller percentage of the total were charged and advanced to the court stage: 1.8% of the entire sample involved cases where the juvenile's residence was some form of correctional institution. It is very significant to note, however, that over half, 64.3%, of these positively identified cases involved with an institutional residence were charged and sent to court. Although not a greater proportion of the entire sample, once identified as delinquent by police, the tendency is to send these cases to court rather than to defer action on them.

Second stage identification involves a police determination of delinquency after investigation of the case. As has been pointed out earlier, there are two types of dispositions involved here. The first is the "deferred action" disposition. In these cases the juvenile is not processed further in the juvenile justice system. Either the individual is warned by Youth Liaison personnel and/or agencies outside the justice system are used to supply the corrective treatment. The second is the "charged" disposition. In these cases the juvenile is taken to court. The analysis of the data indicates that the manner in which the police deal with a case is significantly related to:

Table 13: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Residence and Police Disposition"

Residence	Not Appl.	Unfounded	D.A.	Charged	Row Total
Not in Residential Setting	23 2.6* 33.8**	512 57.6 93.1	267 30.0 96.4	87 9.8 82.9	889 88.9
CAS/YSB	1 2.9 1.5	16 47.1 2.9	7 20.6 2.5	10 29.4 9.5	34 3.4
Detention Centre	5 50.0 7.4	2 20.0 0.4	1 10.0 0.4	2 20.0 1.9	10 10.0
Training School Residence	38 70.4 55.9	10 18.5 1.8	2 3.7 0.7	4 7.4 3.8	54 5.4
Training School Institution	1 7.7 1.5	10 76.9 1.8	0 0.0 0.0	2 15.4 1.9	13 1.3
Column Total	68 6.8 100.0	550 55.0 100.0	277 27.7 100.0	105 10.5 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
 ** Column PCT
 PCT. of Total

$\chi^2 = 442.21460$
 df = 12
 p < .001

- (a) the age of the juvenile — the older he is the greater his chance of being labelled delinquent and the greater is his chance of being taken to court;
- (b) the sex of the juvenile — females have a greater chance of being considered delinquent but a lesser chance of being taken to court;
- (c) the offence the juvenile allegedly committed — when the offence is not one against property the chances of being considered delinquent are greater but the chances of being charged are smaller than when the offence is one against property;
- (d) the previous involvement history of the juvenile — though it is no greater for those with such a history to be considered delinquent, the chances are great that a juvenile with such a history, considered delinquent, would be charged; and
- (e) residence in a correctional institution or group home — the situation is the same as with the previous involvement history.

The final stage of juvenile justice processing takes place in court. There are nine dispositions the court uses to delineate delinquent from non-delinquent juveniles in the third stage of delinquency identification. A finding of non-delinquency would receive a "dismissed" or "withdrawn" disposition while dispositions such as "adjourned sine die", "no disposition", "suspended sentence", "training school" or "returned to training school" would indicate confirmation of the delinquency. The police, after their investigation, took to court 105 (10.5%) juveniles. It was only in these cases that the court was required to make a disposition. The case was dismissed in 3 instances (2.9%) and withdrawn in 7 (6.7%). It was adjourned

sine die in 6 instances (5.7%). There was no disposition made in 4 instances (3.8%) and a suspended sentence was given in 12 (11.4%) cases. Probation was handed out in 35 cases (33.3%) and a fine imposed in 2 cases (1.9%). The juvenile was sent to a training school in 25 cases (23.8%) and returned to a training school in 11 cases (10.5%). Thus the second stage identification of delinquency was confirmed in the third stage in 90.4% of the cases. If we were to classify the court dispositions as non-delinquent, where the disposition was "dismissed" or "withdrawn", minor delinquent where the disposition was "adjourned sine die", "no disposition" or "suspended sentence", moderate delinquent where the disposition was "probation" or "fine" and serious delinquent where the disposition was "training school" or "returned to training school" we find that 36 juveniles (34.3%) taken to court were adjudged serious delinquents, 33 (31.4%) adjudged moderate delinquents, 22 (21.0%) adjudged minor delinquents and 10 (9.5%) adjudged non-delinquent.

Table 14 depicts how the court deals with juveniles according to their age. The one ten year old charged by police received a "returned to training school" disposition. This disposition explains why the juvenile was charged by police in the first instance. It reveals that the delinquent behaviour was carried out while the juvenile was at large from a training school institution and police are obliged to charge a juvenile automatically in such a situation.

Of eleven year olds charged in stage two, 100% were labelled delinquent by the court with one third (33.3%) receiving "training school" dispositions and the other two thirds (66.6%) receiving a "suspended

Table 14: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Court Disposition and Age"

Court Disposition	10	11	12	13	14	15	Row Total
Dismissed	0 0.0* 0.0**	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 33.3 4.0	2 66.6 3.8	3 2.9'
Withdrawn	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	2 28.6 14.3	0 0.0 0.0	5 71.4 9.6	7 6.6
Adjourned Sine Die	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 16.7 10.0	0 0.0 0.0	2 33.3 8.0	3 50.0 5.8	6 5.7
No Disposition	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 25.0 4.0	3 75.0 5.8	4 3.8
Suspended Sentence	0 0.0 0.0	2 16.7 66.6	1 8.3 10.0	2 16.7 14.3	3 25.0 12.0	4 33.3 7.7	12 11.4
Probation	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	4 11.4 40.0	4 11.4 28.6	10 28.6 40.0	17 48.6 32.7	35 33.3
Fine	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	2 100.0 14.3	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	2 1.9
Training School	0 0.0 0.0	1 4.0 33.3	1 4.0 30.0	3 16.0 28.6	8 28.0 28.0	12 48.0 23.1	25 23.8
Returned to Training School	1 9.1 100.0	0 0.0 0.0	3 27.3 30.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 9.1 4.0	6 54.5 11.5	11 10.5
Column Total	1 0.95 100.0	3 2.9 100.0	10 9.5 100.0	13 13.3 100.0	26 23.8 100.0	52 49.5 100.0	105 100.0

* Row PCT
 ** Column PCT
 ' PCT of Total

sentence" disposition. Of twelve year olds, all received a positive delinquency identification by the courts. They were not, however, all adjudged equally delinquent. Three (30%) were returned to training school while 1 (10%) was sent there. Four (40%) were given probation while 1 (10%) was given a suspended sentence and 1 (10%) case was adjourned sine die.

In the thirteen year old category, 85.7% were labelled delinquent. Of these juveniles, 2 (16.7%) were given a "suspended sentence" disposition, 4 (33.3%) were given probation, 2 (16.7%) were fined and 4 (33.3%) were sent to training school. A great majority of fourteen year olds, 96%, were confirmed delinquent. Most of these juveniles, (41.7%) were given probation. Seven (29.2%) were sent to training school and 1 (4.1%), was returned to training school. Three (12.5%) received a suspended sentence while 2 cases (8.3%) were adjourned sine die and in 1 (4.2%) no disposition was made.

Of fifteen year olds, 86.5% were formally confirmed delinquent in stage three. Most of these juveniles — 17 (37.8%) — were given "probation" dispositions. Twelve (26.7%) were sent to training school and 6 (13.3%) were returned to a training school. The case was adjourned sine die in 3 (6.6%) instances and given no disposition in another 3 (5.8%). A suspended sentence was given out in 4 cases (8.9%). Thus, in the court disposition of the case, age does not appear to be an important factor.

When the sex of the delinquent is taken into consideration (Table 15), it can be seen that while 89.3% of the males were adjudged delinquent,

Table 15: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases
Referred to the Juvenile Justice
System by Court Disposition and Sex"

Court Disposition	Male	Female	Row Total
Dismissed	2 66.7* 2.4**	1 33.3 4.8	3 2.9
Withdrawn	7 100.0 8.3	0 0.0 0.0	7 6.6
Adjourned Sine Die	2 33.3 3.6	4 66.6 19.0	6 5.7
No Disposition	2 50.0 2.4	2 50.0 9.5	4 3.8
Suspended Sentence	12 100.0 14.3	0 0.0 0.0	12 11.4
Probation	29 82.9 34.5	6 17.1 28.6	35 33.3
Fine	2 100.0 2.4	0 0.0 0.0	2 1.9
Training School	19 76.0 22.6	6 24.0 28.6	25 23.8
Returned to Training School	9 81.8 10.7	2 18.2 9.5	11 10.5
Column Total	84 80.0 100.0	21 20.0 100.0	105 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 15.39006$
df = 9

95.2% of the females charged were so adjudicated. When the sentences are considered we find probation given to 34.5% of the males and 28.6% of the females adjudged delinquent. Commitment to a training school (both sent and returned to one) was the sentence meted out to 33.3% of the males and 38.1% of the females. A suspended sentence was given to 14.3% of the males and a fine was imposed on 2.4% of them. No females were given a suspended sentence or a fine. No disposition was made in 2.4% of the cases where males were involved and 9.5% of the cases where females were involved and the case was adjourned sine die in 3.8% where males were involved and 19.0% where females were involved. When the dispositions are categorized into the different grades of delinquency (Table 16), it will be seen that the sex differences are not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 3.20498$).

Table 17 shows the court disposition of the case according to the manner in which the justice machinery was put into motion. The figures show that this variable plays no significant part in the final disposition of the case. Only 10.6% of the public generated cases and 16.3% of the police generated cases were taken to court: and of these cases a court adjudication of delinquency was made in 89.2% and 100%, respectively. When only the cases adjudicated delinquent are taken into consideration (Table 18), it is found that the source of referral to the criminal justice system is not a variable that plays a significant role ($\chi^2 = 2.76931$).

When the nature of the offence is considered (Table 19), we find that juveniles were sent to training school for serious offences such as robbery and indecent assault. However, they were also sent to training

Table 16: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases
Referred to the Juvenile Justice
System by Court Disposition and Sex"

Court Disposition	Male	Female	Row Total
Non-Delinquent	9 90.0* 10.7**	1 10.0 4.8	10 9.5'
Delinquent but Not Punished	16 72.8 19.0	6 27.2 28.6	22 21.0
Delinquent and Punished without Institutionalization	31 83.8 37.0	6 16.2 28.6	37 35.2
Delinquent and Punished with Institutionalization	28 77.8 33.3	8 22.2 38.0	36 34.3
Column Total	84 80.0 100.0	21 20.0 100.0	105 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 3.20498$
df = 3
p > .05

Table 17: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Court Disposition and How Reported"

Court Disposition	Unknown	Public	Police	Row Total
Dismissed	0 0.0* 0.0**	3 100.0 3.2	0 0.0 0.0	3 2.9
Withdrawn	0 0.0 0.0	7 100.0 7.5	0 0.0 0.0	7 6.6
Adjourned Sine Die	1 16.7 25.0	4 66.6 4.3	1 16.7 12.5	6 5.7
No Disposition	0 0.0 0.0	4 100.0 4.3	0 0.0 0.0	4 3.8
Suspended Sentence	0 0.0 0.0	10 83.3 10.8	2 16.7 25.0	12 11.4
Probation	1 2.9 25.0	30 85.7 32.3	4 11.4 50.0	35 33.3
Fine	0 0.0 0.0	2 100.0 2.2	0 0.0 0.0	2 1.9
Training School	2 8.0 50.0	22 88.0 23.6	1 4.0 12.5	25 23.8
Returned to Training School	0 0.0 0.0	11 100.0 11.8	0 0.0 0.0	11 10.5
Column Total	4 3.8 100.0	93 88.6 100.0	8 7.6 100.0	105 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 15.29631$
df = 18
p

Table 18: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Seriousness of Delinquency and How Reported"

Seriousness of Delinquency (Stage Three)	Unknown	Public	Police	Row Total
Minor Delinquency	1 4.6* 25.0**	18 81.8 21.7	3 13.6 37.5	22 23.2
Moderate Delinquency	1 2.7 25.0	32 86.5 38.6	4 10.8 50.0	37 38.9
Major Delinquency	2 5.6 50.0	33 91.7 39.7	1 2.7 12.5	36 37.9
Column Total	4 4.3 100.0	83 87.3 100.0	8 8.4 100.0	95 100.0

* Row PCT
 ** Column PCT
 PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 2.76931$
 $df = 4$
 $p > .05$

Table 19: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System, by Offence and Court Disposition"

Offence	Dis.	With- drawn	Adj. Sine Die	No Disp.	Susp. Sent.	Prob.	Fine	Trng. Sch.	Ret. to Tr.Sch.	Row Total
Sex Offences	0 0.0* 0.0**	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	2 100.0 8.0	0 0.0 0.0	2 1.9'
Assault	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 9.1 16.7	2 18.2 50.0	1 9.1 8.3	4 36.4 11.4	2 18.2 100.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 9.1 9.1	11 10.5
Robbery	0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 50.0 2.9	0 0.0 0.0	1 50.0 4.0	0 0.0 0.0	2 1.9
B & E	1 2.7 33.3	5 13.5 71.4	1 2.7 16.7	0 0.0 0.0	3 8.1 25.0	11 29.7 31.4	0 0.0 0.0	12 32.4 48.0	4 10.8 36.4	37 35.2
Theft m.v.	1 10.0 33.3	0 0.0 0.0	2 20.0 33.3	1 10.0 25.0	1 10.0 8.3	3 30.0 8.6	0 0.0 0.0	2 20.0 8.0	0 0.0 0.0	10 9.5
Theft Over \$200.	0 0.0 0.0	1 20.0 14.3	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	2 40.0 5.7	0 0.0 0.0	1 20.0 4.0	1 20.0 9.1	5 4.8
Theft Under \$200	1 4.5 33.3	0 0.0 0.0	1 4.5 16.7	0 0.0 0.0	6 27.3 50.0	7 31.8 20.0	0 0.0 0.0	4 18.2 16.0	3 13.6 27.3	22 20.9
Possession of Stolen Goods	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 16.7 16.7	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	2 33.3 5.7	0 0.0 0.0	1 16.7 4.0	2 33.3 18.2	6 5.7
Fraud	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 50.0 25.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 50.0 4.0	0 0.0 0.0	2 1.9
Vandalism	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 100.0 2.9	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 0.95
Disturbing the Peace	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 20.0 8.3	4 80.0 11.4	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	5 4.8
P.U.A.L.	0 0.0 0.0	1 100.0 14.3	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 0.95
Drugs	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 100.0 4.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 0.95
Column Total	3 2.9 100.0	7 6.6 100.0	6 5.7 100.0	4 3.8 100.0	12 11.4 100.0	35 33.3 100.0	2 1.9 100.0	25 23.8 100.0	11 10.5 100.0	105 100.0

* Row PCT

** Column PCT

school for less serious property offences such as break and enter, auto theft, theft under and over \$200, having possession of stolen goods and fraud. Of those juveniles receiving dispositions of "training school", 50% had been involved in break and enter offences. Combining the two disposition categories of "training school" and "returned to training school", 44.4% of these juveniles were found to have been involved in break and enter offences. The courts confirmed 81.08% of all break and enter cases identified as delinquent offences by police in stage two. In auto theft cases, the courts confirmed 60% of the cases deemed to be delinquent by police. In this offence category 20% of cases received "training school" or "returned to training school" dispositions. For theft over \$200, 80% of cases identified by police as delinquent cases were confirmed to be so by the court. Of these, 40% received "training school" or "returned to training school" dispositions. Theft under \$200 offences were confirmed delinquent by the court 90.9% of the time and 61.8% of the confirmed cases were sent to training school or returned to one. For the offence of possession of stolen goods, 83.3% of cases identified as delinquent in the second stage were confirmed by the court. Of these positive identifications, 60% were sent to training school. Finally, in cases of fraud only 50% of those identified in the third or court stage of delinquency identification received a "training school" disposition.

The data also reveal that the previous involvement in delinquent behaviour has some bearing on the final disposition of a case (Table 20). In all cases with no previous involvement where charges were laid by the police, the courts judged the juveniles delinquent. In 20% of the cases of

Table 20: "Disposition of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Court Disposition and Previous Involvement"

Court Disposition	Yes	No	Row Total
Dismissed	3 100.0* 3.0**	0 0.0 0.0	3 2.9
Withdrawn	7 100.0 7.0	0 0.0 0.0	7 6.6
Adjourned Sine Die	6 100.0 6.0	0 0.0 0.0	6 5.7
No Disposition	4 100.0 4.0	0 0.0 0.0	4 3.8
Suspended Sentence	11 91.7 11.0	1 8.3 20.0	12 11.4
Probation	33 94.3 33.0	2 5.7 40.0	35 33.3
Fine	1 50.0 1.0	1 50.0 20.0	2 1.9
Training School	24 96.0 24.0	1 4.0 20.0	25 23.8
Returned to Training School	11 100.0 11.0	0 0.0 0.0	11 10.5
Column Total	100 95.2 100.0	5 4.8 100.0	105 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 77.07158$
df = 9

juveniles with a previous delinquency record in which charges were laid, the case was dismissed, withdrawn, adjourned sine die or there was no disposition made.

Finally, with respect to residence and court disposition, 50% of the cases police identified as delinquent and sent to court were confirmed delinquent in stage three (Table 21). The majority of the court confirmed delinquency cases involved juveniles living in a C.A.S./Y.S.B. home. Two thirds or 66.6% resided in such places while 22.2% were placed in a detention centre at the time of the delinquent act. Only one case (1.1%) resided in a training school at the time of the delinquent behaviour.

When the court identification of delinquents is considered, it is seen that 90.4% of the cases taken to court end up with a delinquency identification. The variables considered in the study, age, sex, the manner in which the justice machinery was put into motion, the nature of the offence committed, a previous involvement history, and the residence of the youth, do not appear to influence the court disposition of the case. The large proportion of the cases being confirmed delinquent, no doubt, accounts for this situation.

Table 21: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Court Disposition and Residence"

Court Disposition	Not in Res. Setting	CAS/ YSB	Deten. Centre	Trng. Res.	Trng. School	Row Total
Dismissed	1 33.3 1.2	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	2 66.6 50.0	0 0.0 0.0	3 2.9
Withdrawn	3 42.9 3.4	2 28.6 20.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 14.3 25.0	1 14.3 50.0	7 6.6
Adjourned Sine Die	4 66.7 4.6	1 16.7 10.0	0 0.0 0.0	1 16.7 25.0	0 0.0 0.0	6 5.7
No Disposition	3 75.0 3.4	1 25.0 10.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	4 3.8
Suspended Sentence	11 91.7 12.6	1 8.3 10.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	12 11.4
Probation	30 85.7 34.5	5 14.3 50.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	35 33.3
Fine	2 100.0 2.3	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	2 1.9
Training School	22 88.0 25.3	0 0.0 0.0	2 8.0 100.0	0 0.0	1 4.0 50.0	25 23.8
Returned to Training School	11 100.0 12.6	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	11 10.5
Column Total	87 82.9 100.0	10 9.5 100.0	2 1.9 100.0	4 3.8 100.0	2 1.9 100.0	105 100.0

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS

The study of male and female crime and delinquency indicates that conclusions as to differences arising between male and female deviance have been accounted for by physiological, psychological and sociological theory. Most theories explaining these differences have been built upon a foundation of data collected from official sources — official record keepers empowered to define and record certain behaviours as deviant or criminal. Attention in the field of research has shifted from a focus on the sources and etiology of deviance to the study of the processes of social control which not only attempt to prevent and react to deviance but also attempt to define and classify it in official records. This shift in focus has allowed research in crime and delinquency to differentiate between whether the peculiar characteristics of the offender are due to a greater propensity displayed by people with those peculiar characteristics to commit crime or to a greater propensity displayed by those reacting to crime to react disproportionately to people with those characteristics. It focuses attention on the reactor to crime (the justice system) rather than the actor in crime (the offender or delinquent).

The focus of this study has been on the relative contribution that the public, the police and the courts make in determining our concept of female delinquency. The literatures indicates that our concept of female delinquency is a somewhat distorted one. Most studies claim that stereotypic pictures of the male and female are used in law enforcement

activities for the purpose of defining deviance." At which stage or stages of the processing system does this take place? Much of the literature claims that the police and courts contribute to the distorted image, but, obviously, the initial or public identification stage is as important as the rest since this process does act as much as others as a selection or screening process from the gross volume of all delinquent crime in society. Self-report delinquency data confirm that juvenile delinquency as a phenomenon is of much greater proportions than that which is identified by official recording agencies, therefore the initial pool created by the public could contain clues as to a propensity displayed by its members reacting to crime to react disproportionately to people with certain characteristics.

In terms of the juvenile justice processing system, the characteristics that are commonly attributed to female delinquents can be due to:

- (a) the characteristics of the female committing the delinquent act;
- (b) the manner in which the public reacts to delinquent acts of particular types of females;
- (c) the manner in which the police react;
- (d) the manner in which the courts react; or
- (e) a combination of all or some.

Determination of which factor or factors that are responsible for the extant concept of female delinquency can come from a comparison of the pools of male and female delinquency created at each stage of the juvenile justice process as well as a comparison of these different pools.

The questions that have to be answered through these comparisons are:

1. Are those identified by the public as delinquents through their reports to the law enforcement agencies different from those who really commit delinquent acts?
2. Are those identified by the police as delinquents through their detection work different from those who really commit delinquent acts?
3. Are those identified as delinquents by police through the continued processing in the system different from those brought in for processing?
4. Are those identified by the courts as delinquents through conviction and official reaction different from those taken to court by police?

The interest in this study lies in the disposition of the cases with a view to determining whether there exists a difference in the manner in which males and females are identified as delinquents and, if so, at what point in the criminal justice process and in what manner. As has been pointed out earlier, there are three stages of delinquency identification. The first stage comprises the initial identification dealing with the manner in which the case was brought to the attention of the juvenile justice system. The second stage comprises police identification dealing with the manner in which the police label a case after it has been reported to them. The third stage comprises court identification dealing with the manner in which the courts deal with a case — the final disposition of the case.

The data in this study indicate that the police play the dominant role in the determination of delinquency. Of the 1000 cases brought to the notice of the juvenile justice system with a stage one identification of delinquency, the police made an identification of delinquency in only 38.2%

of these cases; and only 27.5% of the cases receiving positive identification in stage two were taken to court. This represents 10.5% of the total 1000 cases. The court deliberations resulted in a third stage identification of delinquency in 90.5% of the cases referred to them. This represents only 9.5% of all the cases. Only 7.3% of the original suspected 1000 delinquents received punishment and only 3.6% were sent to training school. When the manner in which the delinquents came to the notice of the juvenile justice system is considered we find that a third stage identification of delinquency is made in 16.4% of the police generated cases and 9.5% of the public generated cases. A second stage identification has been made in 32.7% and 38.4% of these cases. The difference between the figures for the second and third stage identification has been due to the difference in the manner the police deal with the cases — the police laid a charge in 27.7% of the public generated cases identified by the police as delinquent and in 50% of such cases that were police generated (Table 22). The courts tended to confirm the police identification of delinquency in cases brought to court. A finding of delinquency resulted in 90.5% of the cases taken to court — 89.2% in the public generated cases and 100% in the police generated ones. These data indicate that a third or final stage of delinquency identification is much more probable if the case was police generated. They also indicate a police input which tended to alter the public definition of delinquency.

When the age of the juvenile is considered (Table 23), no third stage identification of delinquency is made in the case of six, seven, eight or nine year olds. The data indicate that there is

Table 22: "Probability of Delinquency Identification According to Manner of Referral to the Juvenile Justice System"

	Unknown	Public	Police	Total
<u>One</u>				
Initial Sample	77 7.7*	874 87.4	49 4.9	1,000 100.0
<u>Two</u>				
% of Stage One Cases Identified as Delinquent by Police	39.0	38.4	32.7	38.2
% of Stage Two Cases Identified as Delinquent by Police Which Are Taken to Court	13.3	27.7	50.0	27.5
<u>Three</u>				
% of Cases Charged Which Were Found to be Delinquent by the Court	100.0	89.2	100.0	90.5
% of Cases Charged Which Were Found Delinquent & Punished by the Court	75.0	69.9	65.2	69.5
% of Cases Charged Which Were Found Delinquent & Were Sent or Returned to Training School	50.0	39.8	12.5	38.0
% of Column Total Charged	5.2	10.6	16.3	10.5
% of Column Total Found to be Delinquent by the Court	5.2	9.5	16.3	9.5
% of Column Total Found Delinquent & Punished	3.9	7.4	10.2	7.3
% of Column Total Found Delinquent & Were Sent or Returned to Training School	2.6	3.8	2.0	3.6

* Row PCT

Table 23: "Probability of Delinquency Identification According to Age of the Juvenile"

	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
<u>One</u>											
Initial Sample	2	18	20	27	36	55	87	150	250	355	1,000
	0.2*	1.8	2.0	2.7	3.6	5.5	8.7	15.0	25.0	35.5	100.0
<u>Two</u>											
% of Stage One Cases Identified as Delinquent by Police	0.0	44.4	20.0	40.7	41.7	49.1	55.2	38.7	38.0	32.7	38.2
% of Stage Two Cases Identified as Delinquent by Police Which are Taken to Court	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	11.1	20.8	22.4	27.4	44.8	27.5
<u>Three</u>											
% of Cases Charged Which Were to be Delinquent by the Court	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	85.7	96.0	86.5	90.5
% of Cases Charged Which Were Found to be Delinquent & Punished by the Court	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	33.0	80.0	71.4	72.0	67.3	69.5
% of Cases Charged Which Were Found to be Delinquent & Were Sent Or Returned to Training School	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	40.0	28.6	32.0	34.6	34.3
% of Column Total Charged	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	5.5	11.5	9.3	10.0	14.7	10.5
% of Column Total Found Delinquent by the Court	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	5.5	11.5	8.0	9.6	12.7	9.5
% of Column Total Found Delinquent & Punished	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	1.8	9.2	6.7	7.2	9.9	7.3
% of Column Total Found Delinquent & Were Sent to or Returned to Training School	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	1.8	4.6	2.7	3.2	5.1	3.6
Unknown	50.0	33.3	0.0	18.5	13.9	7.3	1.1	6.0	7.6	7.6	7.7
Public	50.0	66.6	100.0	81.5	83.3	89.1	96.6	90.7	89.2	83.7	87.4
Police	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	3.6	2.3	3.3	3.2	8.7	4.9

* Row PCT

(1) an increasing first stage delinquency identification with age ten up to age twelve and a decreasing identification thereafter by the public;

(2) a first stage police identification only in age groups ten to fifteen;

(3) an increasing second stage delinquency identification up to age twelve and a decreasing identification thereafter;

(4) an increasing likelihood for charges to be laid with age; and

(5) a repetition of the second stage delinquency identification in the case of the third stage delinquency with the exception of the fifteen year old group where the greatest probability of third stage delinquency identification, the greatest probability of punishment and the greatest probability of being sent to a training school exist.

When the sex of the individual is considered (Table 24), females are found to be less likely to be involved in a first stage identification. They are, however, more likely to undergo a second stage identification, less likely to be charged, more likely to undergo a third stage identification, less likely to be punished (66.7%) if found delinquent and more likely to be sent to training school than males.

When the offences are considered, the greatest likelihood of a second and third stage delinquency identification exists in the case of sex offences, assault, theft of/from a motor vehicle, and possession of stolen property. In the case of robbery, there is a high probability of third stage delinquency identification but a low probability of second stage

Table 24: "Probability of Delinquency Identification
According to Sex of the Juvenile"

	Male	Female	Total
<u>One</u>			
Initial Sample	744 74.4*	256 25.6	1,000 100.0
<u>Two</u>			
% of Stage One Cases Identified as Delinquent by Police	37.2	41.0	38.2
% of Stage Two Cases Identified as Delinquent by Police Which Are Taken to Court	30.3	20.0	27.5
<u>Three</u>			
% of Cases Charged Which Were Found to be Delinquent by the Court	89.3	95.2	90.5
% of Cases Charged Which Were Found Delinquent & Punished by the Court	70.2	66.7	71.4
% of Cases Charged Which Were Found Delinquent & Were Sent or Returned to Training School	33.3 11.3	38.1 8.2	34.3 10.5
% of Column Total Charged			
% of Column Total Found to be Delinquent by Court	10.1	7.8	9.5
% of Column Total Found Delinquent & Punished	7.9	5.5	7.3
% of Column Total Found Delinquent & Were Sent or Returned to Training School	3.8	3.1	3.6
Unknown	6.6	10.9	7.7
Public	87.8	86.3	87.4
Police	5.6	2.7	4.9

* Row PCT

identification. The reverse is the situation in the case of drugs (Table 25).

When the previous history of involvement is considered (Table 26), the probability of delinquency identification is greatest in the second and third stages for those with such a history, though not in the first.

Finally, when the residence of the individual is considered, it will be seen (Table 27) that those in a correctional institution have a greater probability of delinquency identification with the exception of those coming from group homes.

When sex is related to the different variables, it is found that age (Table 1) is significantly related ($x^2 = 37.58513$). Here it is found that the females tend to be slightly older than the males. The manner in which the case was brought to the notice of the justice system is also significantly related to sex though only at the 5% level ($x^2 = 8.02236$) (Table 2). Here the public tend to involve females more than the police. The offence allegedly committed is also significantly related to sex (Table 28) at the 1% level ($x^2 = 265.43652$). The alleged offences that the females are mainly involved in are: (1) theft under \$200; (2) person unlawfully at large (P.U.A.L.); (3) vandalism; (4) break and enter; (5) assault; and (6) disturbing the peace.

History of previous involvement (Table 5) is not significantly related to sex ($x^2 = 0.60885$). The residence, however, (as is to be expected

Table 25: "Probability of Delinquency Identification According to Offence"

Sex Off.	Ass't	Rob.	B & E	Theft m.v.	Theft Over \$100	Theft Under \$100	Poss.	Fraud	Vand.	Dist. the peace	PUAL	Drugs	Total
One													
Initial Sample	11	58	14	140	44	32	25	19	179	64	57	35	1,000
	1.1*	5.8	1.4	14.0	4.4	3.2	2.5	1.9	17.9	6.4	5.7	3.5	100.0
Two													
1 of Stage One Cases Ident. as Delinquent by the Police	45.5	43.1	14.3	38.6	36.4	11.1	50.6	40.0	36.8	29.6	42.2	1.8	25.7
3 of Stage Two Cases Ident. as Delinquent by the Police Which are Taken to Court	40.0	40.0	100.0	70.4	62.5	50.0	13.5	60.0	28.6	1.9	18.5	100.0	11.1
Three													
1 of Cases Which Were Found to be Del. by Court	100.0	100.0	100.0	81.8	80.0	80.0	95.5	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
1 of Cases Which Were Found Del. & Pun. by Court	100.0	63.6	100.0	71.0	50.0	80.0	63.6	83.3	50.0	100.0	80.0	0.0	100.0
1 of Cases Which Were Found Del. & Were Sent or Ret. to Training School	100.0	9.1	50.0	43.2	20.0	40.0	31.8	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	49.3
1 of Column Total Charged	18.2	19.0	13.3	26.4	22.7	15.6	6.8	24.0	10.5	0.6	7.8	1.8	2.9
1 of Column Total Found Delinquent by Court	18.2	19.0	13.3	22.1	20.5	12.5	6.5	24.0	10.5	0.6	7.8	0.0	2.9
1 of Column Total Found Delinquent & Punished	18.2	12.0	13.3	19.3	11.4	12.5	2.2	20.0	5.3	0.6	6.1	0.0	2.9
1 of Column Total Found Del. & Sent or Returned to Training School	18.2	1.7	7.1	11.4	4.5	6.3	2.2	12.0	5.3	0.0	0.0	2.9	3.6
Unknown	9.1	10.3	7.1	2.9	0.0	13.7	7.5	8.0	0.0	12.3	9.4	0.0	14.3
Public	90.0	89.7	92.9	92.1	81.8	68.8	88.4	88.0	100.0	87.7	82.8	94.7	54.3
Police	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	18.2	12.5	3.1	4.0	0.0	0.0	7.8	5.3	31.4
													4.9

* Row FCT

Table 26: "Probability of Delinquency Identification
According to Previous Involvement History"

	Yes	No	Total
<u>One</u>			
Initial Sample	558 55.8*	442 44.2	1,000 100.0
<u>Two</u>			
% of Stage One Cases Identified as Delinquent by Police	38.4	38.0	38.2
% of Stage Two Cases Identified as Delinquent & Sent to Court	46.7	3.0	27.5
<u>Three (% of Cases Sent to Court)</u>			
Found Delinquent	90.0	100.0	90.5
Found Delinquent & Punished	69.0	80.0	69.5
Found Delinquent & Sent or Returned to Training School	36.0	40.0	34.3
<u>% of Column Total</u>			
Charged (Sent to Court)	17.9	1.1	10.5
Found Delinquent by Court	16.1	1.1	9.5
Found Delinquent & Punished	12.4	0.9	7.3
Found Delinquent & Sent or Returned to Training School	6.3	0.2	3.6
<u>How Reported</u>			
Unknown	7.0	8.6	7.7
Public	86.9	88.0	87.4
Police	6.1	3.4	4.9

* Row PCT

Table 27: "Probability of Delinquency Identification
According to Residence of the Juvenile"

	No	CAS/ YSB	Det. Centre	Trng. Res.	Trng. Sch.	Row Total
<u>Stage One</u>						
Initial Sample	889 88.9*	34 3.4	10 1.0	54 5.4	13 1.3	1,000 100.0
<u>Stage Two</u>						
% of Stage One Cases Found						
Del. by Police	39.8	50.0	30.0	11.1	15.4	38.2
% of Stage Two Cases Found Del. & Sent to Court	24.6	58.8	33.3	66.7	100.0	27.5
<u>Stage Three (% of Cases Sent to Court)</u>						
Found Delinquent	95.4	80.0	100.0	25.0	50.0	90.5
Found Del. & Pun.	74.7	50.0	100.0	0.0	50.0	69.5
Found Del. & Sent or Returned to Trng. School	37.9	0.0	100.0	0.0	50.0	34.3
<u>% of Column Total</u>						
Charged (Sent to Court)	9.8	29.4	20.0	7.4	15.4	10.5
Found Del. by Court	9.3	23.5	20.0	1.9	7.7	9.5
Found Del. & Punished	7.7	14.7	20.0	0.0	7.7	7.3
Found Del. & Sent or Returned to Trng. School	3.7	0.0	20.0	0.0	7.7	3.6
<u>How Reported</u>						
Unknown	8.4	2.9	0.0	1.9	0.0	7.7
Public	86.3	97.1	100.0	96.3	92.3	87.4
Police	5.3	0.0	0.0	1.9	7.7	4.9

* Row PCT

Table 28: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Offence and Sex"

Offence	Male	Female	Row Total
Sex Offences	9 81.8* 1.2**	2 18.2 0.8	11 1.1'
Assault	41 70.7 5.5	17 29.3 6.6	58 5.8
Robbery	12 85.7 1.6	2 14.3 0.8	14 1.4
B & E	122 87.1 16.4	18 12.9 7.0	140 14.0
Theft m.v.	39 88.6 5.2	5 11.4 2.0	44 14.4
Theft Over \$200	29 90.6 3.9	3 9.4 1.2	32 3.2
Theft Under \$200	223 69.3 30.0	99 30.7 38.7	322 32.2
Possession of Stolen Goods	17 68.0 2.3	8 32.0 3.1	25 2.5
Fraud	16 84.2 2.2	3 15.8 1.2	19 1.9
Disturbing the Peace	50 78.1 6.7	14 21.9 5.5	64 6.4
Vandalism	152 84.9 20.4	27 15.1 10.5	179 17.9
P.U.A.L.	9 15.8 1.2	48 84.2 18.8	57 5.7
Drugs	25 71.4 3.4	10 28.6 3.9	35 3.5
Column Total	744 74.4 100.0	256 25.6 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
 ** Column PCT
 PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 265.43652$
 df = 50
 p < .01

Table 29: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Previous Involvement and Sex"

Previous Involvement	Male	Female	Row Total
Yes	421 75.4* 56.6**	137 24.6 53.5	558 55.8'
No	323 73.1 43.4	119 26.9 46.5'	442 44.2
Column Total	744 74.4 100.0	256 25.6 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
 ** Column PCT
 ' PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 0.60885$
 $df = 1$
 $p > .05$

from the high female involvement in P.U.A.L.) is significantly related to sex (Table 30) ($X^2 = 150.09322$).

The data collected in this study indicate that the concept of delinquency is least dependent on the third stage of identification — the court adjudication stage. In this third stage, there appears to be a more or less straightforward confirmation of the police identification. This may be so because the courts go along with what the police do, or because the police take to court only those cases where they feel the courts would confirm their guilty decision. The differentiation between these two possibilities is pertinent to this study, but it cannot be made with the data available. None of the variables considered played any part in differentiating between those adjudicated delinquent and non-delinquent by the courts.

Whatever the situation may be, the fact of the matter is that the concept of delinquency receives its greatest input in the second stage or police investigation stage. As a result of this stage of the process, there are two profiles of delinquents produced for each of the sexes. There are first delinquents dealt with informally (by a "D.A." disposition) and then delinquents dealt with formally (by being charged). In the case of both males and females the majority identified as delinquents in the second stage are dealt with informally.

In the case of males, these individuals were:

- a) mostly referred to the system by the public (Table 31);

Table 30: "Distribution of Delinquency Cases Referred to the Juvenile Justice System by Residence and Sex"

Residence	Male	Female	Row Total
Not in Residential Setting	704 79.2* 94.6**	185 20.8 72.3	889 88.9'
CAS/YSB	19 55.9 2.6	15 44.1 5.9	34 3.4
Detention Centre	1 10.0 0.1	9 90.0 3.5	10 1.0
Training School Residence	7 13.0 0.9	47 87.0 18.4	54 5.4
Training School Institution	13 100.0 1.7	0 0.0 0.0	13 1.3
Column Total	744 74.4 100.0	256 25.6 100.0	1,000 100.0

* Row PCT
 ** Column PCT
 ' PCT of Total

$\chi^2 = 150.09322$
 $df = 4$
 $p < .01$

Table 31: "Delinquents Dealt with Informally in
Stage Two by Sex and How Reported"

Sex	Unknown	Public	Police	Row Total
Male	15	171	7	193
	7.8*	88.6	3.6	69.7'
	57.7**	70.4	87.5	
Female	11	72	1	84
	13.1	85.7	1.2	30.3
	42.3	29.6	12.5	
Column	26	243	8	277
Total	9.4	87.7	2.9	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	

* Row PCT

** Column PCT

' PCT of Total

- b) mostly twelve to fifteen years old with the greatest likelihood of being fifteen years; though they ranged in age from seven to fifteen years (Table 32);
- c) mostly referred to the juvenile justice system for the offence of theft under \$200 and likely, but less so, to have been referred for vandalism (Table 33);
- d) as likely as not to have had previous contact with police before the incident that brought them to the juvenile justice system (48.2% had previous contacts with police) (Table 34); and
- e) likely not to be living in a community home, detention centre, training school residence or institution; but if so, most likely to be living in a community home (CAS/YSB) (Table 35).

In the case of females, they were:

- a) most likely referred to the juvenile justice system by the public (Table 31);
- b) mostly fourteen years old although their ages ranged from seven to fifteen years (Table 32);
- c) referred mainly for theft under \$200 (Table 33);
- d) most likely not to have any previous involvement with police; however, 25% of the females dealt with informally had some previous involvement with police (Table 34); and
- e) likely not to be living in a community home, detention centre, training school residence or institution (Table 35).

Male delinquents dealt with formally were:

- a) mostly referred by the public (Table 36);
- b) mostly fifteen years old and at least ten years old (Table 37);
- c) mostly referred to the juvenile system for a break and enter offence and likely, but less so, to have been referred for a theft under \$200 offence (Table 38);

Table 32: "Delinquents Dealt with Informally
in Stage Two by Age and Sex"

Age	Male	Female	Row Total
6	0 0.0* 0.0**	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0
7	6 75.0 3.1	2 25.0 2.4	8 2.9
8	4 100.0 2.1	0 0.0 0.0	4 1.4
9	9 81.8 4.6	2 18.2 2.4	11 4.0
10	11 78.6 5.7	3 21.4 3.6	14 5.1
11	17 70.8 8.8	7 29.2 8.3	24 8.7
12	32 84.2 16.6	6 15.8 7.1	38 13.7
13	32 71.0 16.6	13 29.0 15.5	45 16.2
14	33 47.8 17.1	36 52.2 42.8	69 24.9
15	49 76.6 25.4	15 23.4 17.9	64 23.1
Column Total	193 69.7 100.0	84 30.3 100.0	277 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

Table 33: "Delinquents Dealt with Informally
in Stage Two by Offence and Sex"

Offence	Male	Female	Row Total
Sex Offences	2 100.0* 1.0**	0 0.0 0.0	2 0.7'
Assault	10 62.5 5.2	6 37.5 7.1	16 5.8
Robbery	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0
B & E	12 80.0 6.2	3 20.0 3.6	15 5.4
Theft m.v.	4 80.0 2.1	1 20.0 1.2	5 1.8
Theft Over \$200	5 100.0 2.6	0 0.0 0.0	5 1.8
Theft Under \$200	8.7 60.4 45.1	57 39.6 67.8	144 52.0
Possession of Stolen Goods	1 33.3 0.5	2 66.7 2.4	3 1.1
Fraud	4 80.0 2.1	1 20.0 1.2	5 1.8
Vandalism	46 83.6 23.8	9 16.4 10.7	55 19.9
Disturbing the Peace	15 83.3 7.8	3 16.7 3.6	18 6.5
P.U.A.L.	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0
Drugs	7 77.8 3.6	2 22.2 2.4	9 3.2
Column Total	193 69.7 100.0	84 30.3 100.0	277 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

Table 34: "Delinquents Dealt with Informally in Stage Two
by Sex and Previous Involvement"

Sex	Yes	No	Row Total
Male	93 48.2* 81.6**	100 51.8 61.3	193 69.7'
Female	21 25.0 18.4	63 75.0 38.7	84 30.3
Column Total	114 41.2 100.0	163 58.8 100.0	277 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

Table 35: "Delinquents Dealt with Informally
in Stage Two by Sex and Residence":

Sex	No	CAS/ YSB	Det. Cen.	Trng. Res.	Trng. Sch.	Row Total
Male	187	6	0	0	0	193
	96.9*	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	69.7
	70.0**	85.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Female	80	1	1	2	0	84
	95.2	1.2	1.2	2.4	0.0	30.3
	30.0	14.3	100.0	100.0	0.0	
Column	267	7	1	2	0	277
Total	96.4	2.5	0.4	0.7	0.0	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	

* Row PCT.
* Column PCT
* PCT of Total

Table 36: "Delinquents Dealt with Formally in
Stage Two by Sex and How Reported"

Sex	Unknown	Public	Police	Row Total
Male	2	75	7	84
	2.4*	89.3	8.3	80.0'
	50.0**	80.6	87.5	
Female	2	18	1	21
	9.5	85.7	4.8	20.0
	50.0	19.4	12.5	
Column	4	93	8	105
Total	3.8	88.6	7.6	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

Table 37: "Delinquents Dealt with Formally
in Stage Two by Age and Sex"

Age	Male	Female	Row Total
6	0 0.0* 0.0**	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0'
7	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0
8	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0
9	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0
10	1 100.0 1.2	0 0.0 0.0	1 0.9
11	2 66.7 2.4	1 33.3 4.8	3 2.9
12	9 90.0 10.7	1 10.0 4.8	10 9.5
13	13 100.0 15.5	0 0.0 0.0	13 12.4
14	19 73.1 22.6	7 26.9 33.3	26 24.8
15	40 76.9 47.6	12 23.1 57.1	52 49.5
Column Total	84 80.0 100.0	21 20.0 100.0	105 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

Table 38: "Delinquents Dealt with Formally
in Stage Two by Offence and Sex"

Offence	Male	Female	Row Total
Sex Offences	1 33.3* 1.2**	2 66.7 9.5	3 2.9
Assault	6 60.0 7.1	4 40.0 19.0	10 9.5
Robbery	3 100.0 3.6	0 0.0 0.0	3 2.9
B & E	33 84.6 39.3	6 15.4 28.6	39 37.1
Theft m.v.	10 90.9 11.9	1 9.1 4.8	11 10.5
Theft Over \$200	5 100.0 5.9	0 0.0 0.0	5 4.8
Theft Under \$200	20 83.3 23.8	4 16.7 19.0	24 22.9
Possession of Stolen Goods	3 60.0 3.6	2 40.0 9.5	5 4.8
Fraud	0 0.0 0.0	1 100.0 4.8	1 0.9
Vandalism	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0
Disturbing the Peace	2 100.0 2.4	0 0.0 0.0	2 1.9
P.U.A.L.	1 100.0 1.2	0 0.0 0.0	1 0.9
Drugs	0 0.0 0.0	1 100.0 4.8	1 0.9
Column Total	84 80.0 100.0	21 20.0 100.0	105 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
PCT of Total

- d) almost always likely to have had some previous contact with police officials (for every 20 cases that had previous contact only 1 without it/them was similarly dealt with) (Table 39); and
- e) not likely to come from a residential setting but if they do it could be from a community home (CAS/YSB) and to a lesser extent a training school setting (either residential or institutional) (Table 40);

Females dealt with formally were:

- a) mostly referred by the public (Table 36);
- b) mostly fifteen but almost as frequently fourteen and at least eleven years old (Table 37);
- c) referred for a variety of charges such as break and enter, theft under and assault with no great predominance of any of the offence categories (Table 38);
- d) almost always likely to have had some previous involvement with police officials (for every 20 cases that had previous contact only 1 without it/them was dealt with similarly) (Table 39); and
- e) very likely to come from a community home (CAS/YSB), detention centre or training school residence (Table 40).

These profiles suggest that there is a difference between the concept of delinquency for males and females.

In the case of juveniles dealt with informally, the police tend to identify fourteen year old females, while the males are twelve to fifteen years with most falling into the fifteen year old category. As for the types of offences, juveniles dealt with informally differ only in that females are not identified as having been involved in vandalism as have males in this class. Finally, females are much less likely to have had any previous involvement with police than males.

Table 39: "Delinquents Dealt with Formally in Stage Two
by Sex and Previous Involvement"

Sex	Yes	No	Row Total
Male	80 95.2* 80.0**	4 4.8 80.0	84 80.0'
Female	20 95.2 20.0	1 4.8 20.0	21 20.0
Column Total	100 95.2 100.0	5 4.8 100.0	105 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

Table 40: "Delinquents Dealt with Formally
in Stage Two by Sex and Residence"

Sex	No	CAS/ YSB	Det. Cen.	Trng. Res.	Trng. Sch.	Row Total
Male	75	5	0	2	2	84
	89.3*	5.9	0.0	2.4	2.4	80.0'
	86.2**	50.0	0.0	50.0	100.0	
Female	12	5	2	2	0	21
	57.1	23.8	9.5	9.5	0.0	20.0
	13.8	50.0	100.0	50.0	0.0	
Column Total	87	10	2	4	2	105
	82.9	9.5	1.9	3.8	1.9	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

In the case of juveniles dealt with formally, the females are usually fourteen or fifteen while males are usually fifteen years old. As far as the types of offences committed, while there is no great predominance of any offence category for females who were charged for break and enter, theft under \$200, assault, sex offences and possession of stolen goods, the males were mainly charged with break and enter and then theft under \$200 offences. Finally, females in this class were much more likely to have come from one of a community home, detention centre, training school residence or institution.

The first stage of delinquency identification comprises referrals to the system. This stage is important in that it is only from the pool of delinquents created by this stage that the concept of delinquency could be developed in the second stage. In stage one there are the public generated and police generated cases. In the cases of females, the profile of the delinquent in the public generated cases is, by far, representative of the majority of female cases in stage one. Only 7 (2.7% of all female cases in stage one) cases were identified by the police while 221 (86.3% of all females cases in stage one) cases were identified by the public. In those public generated cases, the female most often identified as delinquent had certain characteristics:

- a) She was most likely fourteen or fifteen years old and probably not younger than nine years old (Table 41).
- b) She was most likely referred to the juvenile justice system for a theft under \$200 offence, then second most likely to have been referred for being unlawfully at large (P.U.A.L.) and third most likely to have been referred for a vandalism offence (Table 42).

Table 41: "Public Generated Cases in Stage One
by Age and Sex"

Age	Male	Female	Row Total
6	1 100.0* 0.2**	0 0.0 0.0	1 0.1'
7	12 100.0 1.8	0 0.0 0.0	12 1.4
8	20 100.0 3.1	0 0.0 0.0	20 2.3
9	18 81.8 2.8	4 18.2 1.8	22 2.5
10	26 86.7 4.0	4 13.3 1.8	30 3.4
11	39 79.6 6.0	10 20.4 4.5	49 5.6
12	67 79.8 10.2	17 20.2 7.7	84 9.6
13	104 76.5 15.9	32 23.5 14.5	136 15.6
14	136 61.0 20.8	87 39.0 39.4	223 25.5
15	230 77.4 35.2	67 22.6 30.3	297 34.0
Column Total	653 75.5 100.0	221 24.5 100.0	874 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

Table 42: "Public Generated Cases in Stage One
by Offence and Sex"

Offence	Male	Female	Row Total
Sex Offences	8 80.0* 1.2**	2 20.0 0.9	10 1.1'
Assault	35 67.3 5.4	17 32.7 7.7	52 5.9
Robbery	11 84.6 1.7	2 15.4 0.9	13 1.5
B & E	114 88.4 17.5	15 11.6 6.8	129 14.7
Theft m.v.	30 83.3 4.6	6 16.7 2.7	36 81.8
Theft Over \$200	20 90.9 3.1	2 9.1 0.9	22 2.5
Theft Under \$200	202 70.1 30.9	86 29.9 38.9	288 32.9
Possession of Stolen Goods	15 68.2 2.3	7 31.8 3.2	22 2.5
Fraud	16 84.2 2.4	3 15.8 1.4	19 2.2
Vandalism	137 87.3 21.0	20 12.7 9.0	157 18.0
Disturbing	41 77.4 6.3	12 22.6 5.4	53 6.1
P.U.A.L.	7 13.0 1.1	47 87.0 21.3	54 6.2
Drugs	17 89.5 2.6	2 10.5 0.9	19 2.2
Column Total	653 74.7 100.0	221 25.3 100.0	874 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

- c) She probably had a previous involvement history with police, but it would be quite likely that this was her first contact with the juvenile justice system. The public referred a majority of cases with previous involvement, but for every 12.2 girls with histories, 9.9 girls without them were referred (Table 43).
- d) She is likely to be living in a community home or training school residence, and if she is then she is most likely to be living in a half-way house/training school residence (Table 44).

The profile emerging from the police generated cases is:

- a) She was definitely no younger than fourteen years old (Table 45).
- b) She was probably only identified by the police for an offence relating to drugs or for breaking and entering, theft under or being unlawfully at large (P.U.A.L.) (Table 46).
- c) She may or may not have had a previous involvement with the juvenile justice system (four of the seven referred by police did not) (Table 47).
- d) She was most likely not in any community home, training school residence or institution at the time, but if so, then it was most likely a half-way house/training school residence (Table 48).

In the case of males, again, the public generated cases represent, by far, the majority of male cases in stage one. The profile of these delinquents in the public generated cases is:

- a) He can be anywhere from six to fifteen years old with consistently increasing likelihood of being identified as delinquent the older he is. The majority of males in this class are thirteen to fifteen years old (Table 41).
- b) He was most likely referred to the juvenile justice system for a theft under \$200 offence, then second most likely to be referred for vandalism and third most likely to be referred for a break and enter offence (Table 42).
- c) He probably had a previous involvement history with police, but it would be quite likely that this was his first contact. The public referred a majority of cases with previous involvement histories, but

Table 43: "Public Generated Cases in Stage One
by Sex and Previous Involvement"

Sex	Yes	No	Row Total
Male	363 55.6* 74.8**	290 44.4 74.6	653 74.7'
Female	122 55.2 25.2	99 44.8 25.4	221 25.3
Column Total	485 55.5 100.0	389 44.5 100.0	874 100.0

* Row PCT

** Column PCT
PCT of Total

Table 44: "Public Generated Cases in Stage One
by Sex and Residence"

Sex	No	CAS/ YSB	Det. Cen.	Trng. Res.	Trng. Sch.	Row Total
Male	614	19	1	7	12	653
	94.0*	2.9	0.2	1.1	1.8	74.4
	80.0**	57.6	10.0	13.5	10.0	
Female	153	14	9	45	0	221
	69.2	6.3	4.1	20.4	0.0	25.3
	20.0	42.4	90.0	86.5	0.0	
Column Total	767	33	10	52	12	874
	87.8	3.8	1.1	5.9	1.4	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
PCT of Total

Table 45: "Police Generated Cases in Stage One
by Age and Sex"

Age	Male	Female	Row Total
6	0 0.0* 0.0**	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0'
7	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0
8	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0
9	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0
10	1 100.0 2.4	0 0.0 0.0	1 2.0
11	2 100.0 4.8	0 0.0 0.0	2 4.1
12	2 100.0 4.8	0 0.0 0.0	2 4.1
13	5 100.0 11.9	0 0.0 0.0	5 10.2
14	5 62.5 11.9	3 37.5 42.9	8 16.3
15	27 87.1 64.3	4 12.9 57.1	31 63.3
Column Total	42 85.7 100.0	7 14.3 100.0	49 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

Table 46: "Police Generated Cases in Stage One
by Offence and Sex"

Offence	Male	Female	Row Total
Sex Offences	0 0.0* 0.0**	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0'
Assault	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0
Robbery	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0
B & E	5 71.4 11.9	2 28.6 28.6	7 14.3
Theft m.v.	8 100.0 19.0	0 0.0 0.0	8 16.3
Theft Over \$200	4 100.0 9.5	0 0.0 0.0	4 8.2
Theft Under \$200	9 90.0 21.4	1 10.0 14.3	10 20.4
Possession of Stolen Goods	1 100.0 2.4	0 0.0 0.0	1 2.0
Fraud	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0
Vandalism	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0
Disturbing the Peace	5 100.0 11.9	0 0.0 0.0	5 10.2
P.U.A.L.	2 66.7 4.8	1 33.3 14.3	3 6.1
Drugs	8 72.7 19.0	3 27.3 42.8	11 22.5
Column Total	42 85.7 100.0	7 14.3 100.0	49 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

Table 47: "Police" Generated Cases in Stage One
by Sex and Previous Involvement"

Sex	Yes	No	Row Total
Male	31 73.8* 91.2**	11 26.2 73.3	42 85.7'
Female	3 42.9 8.8	4 57.1 26.7	7 14.3
Column Total	34 69.4 100.0	15 30.6 100.0	49 100.0

* Row PCT
** Column PCT
' PCT of Total

Table 48: "Police Generated Cases in Stage One
by Sex and Residence"

Sex	No	CAS/ YSB	Det. Cen.	Trng. Res.	Trng. Sch.	Row Total
Male	41	0	0	0	1	42
	97.6*	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	85.7'
	87.3**	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	
Female	6	0	0	1	0	7
	85.7	0.0	0.0	14.3	0.0	14.3
	12.7	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	
Column	47	0	0	1	1	49
Total	95.9	0.0	0.0	2.0	2.0	100.0
	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	

* Row PCT

** Column PCT

' PCT of Total

for every 36.3 males with histories, 29 males without previous contact were referred (Table 43).

- d) He is likely not to be living in a community home, detention centre, training school residence or institution, but if he is, it is likely to be a CAS/YSB community home (Table 44).

The profile emerging from the police generated cases shows that the police make an initial identification of males more than females. The profile of those males is:

- a) He is definitely ten years or older and probably fifteen years old (Table 45).
- b) He was probably identified by the police for a number of offences including theft under \$200, theft of/from a motor vehicle or a drug offence (Table 46).
- c) He most likely had previous contact with police. Police tended to identify almost three times as many juveniles with previous involvement histories as delinquents as those without them (Table 47).
- d) He is almost never living in a community home, detention centre, training school residence or institution (Table 48).

These profiles suggest that there is a difference between the concept of delinquency for males and females both in the mind of the public as well as in the mind of the police.

Comparison of these profiles with the profiles developed in the second stage of delinquency identification shows that the profile of the male delinquent derived from the police generated cases is more like the profile of male delinquents derived from the second stage process and sent to court. However, the same is not true of police generated cases in stage one, involving females. They do not more closely resemble profiles of juveniles

charged in stage two by police. Police generated cases in stage one did not involve predominantly females with some previous involvement with police as those cases sent to court in stage two did. Police generated cases were often as not likely to identify females with previous involvement. Females charged had twenty times the chance of having had previous contact with police as not. Second, in police generated cases, females were not likely to be living in a community home, detention centre, training school residence or institution, but in stage two cases sent to court, females were very likely to have come from one of these residential settings. The female cases sent to court by police in stage two more closely resembled public generated cases in stage one as far as residence is concerned. The public generated cases were likely to involve females living in a residential setting.

It appears that, for the most part, the public select the pool from which secondarily and formally identified delinquents are drawn. From that pool, police identify males as delinquent in accordance with standards they use in an initial detecting phase. They do not do so with females. Although some of the criteria used by police in police generated cases resemble those used to send females to court in stage two, public generated cases containing certain female characteristics are confirmed delinquent in stage two by police. This points to a differentiation in the indicators used by police in identifying male and female juveniles as delinquent.

The Analysis of the Data in this Study

When the system of processing juvenile delinquents is considered it is found that only a small minority of those entering the system, leave the system with the label "delinquent". The vast majority entering the system are pushed into it by the public. It is only a small minority that is pulled into it by the police. There is, in the case of both males and females, a difference in the profile of public generated and police generated cases. This difference could be due to the difference in opportunities that the public and police have for detecting delinquents or a difference in the concept of delinquency used by the two. Police investigation of the cases results in them being divided into three categories: (a) unfounded and consequently not delinquent; (b) delinquent but dealt with informally and hence not officially delinquent; and (c) delinquent and taken to court. It is only those cases falling into the last category that have the opportunity to carry the official label of delinquency. Their delinquent acts are subject to adjudication by the courts. The courts confirm delinquency in the majority of these cases so that the official label of delinquency is dependent on the police decision to charge. In the case of males, the cases taken to court by the police are more likely to be police generated than public generated cases. The police, it could consequently be claimed, have a concept of male delinquency which they utilize in dealing with males. In the case of females, the cases taken by the police to court do not resemble the police generated cases. If the police do have a concept of female delinquency as reflected in the police generated cases, they do not use that concept in dealing with females. In the case of females, they appear to permit the public to define delinquency.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adler, Freda, and William James Simon (1979) The Criminology of Deviant Women, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Adler, Freda (1975) Sisters in Crime. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Asher, Herbert B. (1976) Causal Modelling. London: Sage Publications.
- Bartell, A.P. (1979) "Women and Crime — An Economic Analysis", Economic Inquiry, 27, 29-51.
- Bertrand, Marie-Andre (1969) "Self-Image and Delinquency: A Contribution to the Study of Female Criminality and Woman's Image", Acta Criminologica, 71-143.
- Blankenship, R.L. and B.K. Singh (1976) "Differential Labeling of Juveniles: A Multivariate Analysis", Criminology, 13, 471-490.
- Bordua, D. (1976) "Recent Trends: Deviant Behavior and Social Control", Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 369, 149-163.
- Brenzel, Barbara (1975) "Lancaster Industrial School for Girls: A Social Portrait of the Nineteenth-Century Reform School for Girls", Feminist Studies, 3, 40-53.
- Burke, Peter J. and Austin T. Turk (1975) "Factors Affecting Post-arrest Dispositions: A Model for Analysis", Social Problems, 22, 313-332.
- Butler, Edgar W. and Stuart N. Adams (1964) "Typology of Delinquent Girls: Some Alternative Approaches", Paper Presented to American Society of Criminology, Montreal, Canada.
- Clark, John P. and Edward Haurek (1966) "Age and Sex Roles of Adolescents and Their Involvement in Misconduct: A Reappraisal", Sociology and Social Research, 50, 496-508.
- Cowie, J., Cowie, V. and Eliot Slater (1968) Delinquency in Girls. London: Heineman.
- Davies, Jean and Nancy Goodman (1972) Girl Offenders Aged 17 to 20 Years. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
- Davis, Kingsley (1971) "Prostitution" in R.K. Merton and R. Nisbet, Contemporary Social Problems. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

- DeFleur, Lois B. (1975) "Biasing Influences on Drug Arrest Records: Implications for Deviance Research", American Sociological Review, 40, 98-121.
- Ellington, George (1864) The Woman of New York. New York: The New York Book Company.
- Flaste, Richard (1977) "Is Juvenile Justice Tougher on Girls Than on Boys", The New York Times, 48.
- Glaser, B.G. and A.L. Strauss (1968) The Discovery of Grounded Theory. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.
- Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (1965) Five Hundred Delinquent Women. New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation.
- Gold, Martin (1970) Delinquent Behavior in an American City. Belmont: Brooke/Cole Publishers.
- Goldman, Mimi (1971) "Women's Crime", In a Male Society, 22, No. 2, 33-36.
- Grygier, T., Chesley, J. and E.W. Tuters (1969) "Parental Deprivation: A Study of Delinquent Children", The British Journal of Criminology, 9, No. 3, 209-253.
- Hagan, John (1975) "Parameters of Criminal Prosecution: An Application of Path Analysis to a Problem of Criminal Justice", Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 65, 536-544.
- Healy, William and Augusta Bronner (1926) Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking. New York: Macmillan and Company.
- Heider, Wilma Scott (1974) "Feminism and the 'Fallen Woman'", Criminal Justice and Behavior, 1, No. 4, 369-373.
- Heidensohn, F. (1968) "The Deviance of Women: A Critique and an Enquiry", British Journal of Sociology, 19, No. 2, 201-218.
- Hoffman-Bustamante, Dale (1973) "The Nature of Female Criminality", Issues in Criminology, 8, No. 2, 117-137.
- Jensen, G.J. and R. Eve (1976) "Sex Differences in Delinquency: An Examination of Popular Sociological Explanations", Criminology, 13, 427-448.
- Kanopka, Gisela (1966) The Adolescent Girl in Conflict. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Klein, Dorie (1973) "The Etiology of Female Crime: A Review of the Literature", Issues in Criminology, 8, No. 2, 3-30.

- Kratoski, P.C. and J.E. Kratoski (1975) "Changing Patterns in the Delinquent Activities of Boys and Girls: A Self Report Delinquency Analysis", Adolescence, 10, No. 37, 83-91.
- Landau, Barbara (1975) "The Adolescent Female Offender: Our Dilemma", Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections, 17, No. 2, 147-153.
- Lind, Meda Chesney (1973) "Judicial Enforcement of the Female Sex Role: The Family Court and the Female Delinquent", Issues in Criminology, 8, No. 2, 51-69.
- Lind, Meda Chesney (1974) "Juvenile Delinquency The Sexualization of Female Crime", Psychology Today, 8, 43-46.
- Lind, Meda Chesney (1979) "Whom is She Offending?", Liaison, 5, No. 2, 10-17.
- Lind, Meda Chesney (1978) "Young Women in the Arms of the Law" in L. Bowker, Women, Crime and the Criminal Justice System, Toronto: Lexington Books, 169-187.
- Lombroso, Cesare and William Ferrero (1920) The Female Offender. New York: Appleton.
- Loosjes, Cornelis (1894) Bijdrage Tot De Studie van De Criminaliteit Der Vrouw. Haarlem: De Erven Loosjes.
- Martin's Annual Criminal Code. Agincourt, Ontario: Canada Law Book Limited, 1979.
- Ottawa Police Force (1980) Ottawa Police Force Annual Report. Ottawa: Ottawa Police Force.
- Pike, Luke Owen (1876) A History of Crime in England. London: Smith, Elder and Co.
- Pollak, Otto and Alfred S. Friedman, eds. (1969) Family Dynamics and Female Sexual Delinquency. Palo Alto, California: Science and Behavior Books, Inc.
- Pollak, Otto (1961) The Criminality of Women. New York: A.S. Barnes & Company, Inc.
- Pollock, Joy (1978) "Early Theories of Female Criminality" in L. Bowker, Women, Crime and the Criminal Justice System. Toronto: Lexington Books.
- Proal, Louis (1892) Le Crime et la Peine. Paris: Felix Alcan.
- Riback, Linda (1971) "Juvenile Delinquency Laws: Juvenile Women and the Double Standard Morality", UCLA Law Review, 19, No. 2, 313-342.

- Rogers, Kristine Olson (1972) "For Her Own Protection . . . : Conditions of Incarceration for Female Juvenile Offenders in the State of Connecticut", Law and Society Review, 7, 223-242.
- Rosenblum, K.E. (1975) "Female Deviance and the Female Sex Role: A Preliminary Investigation", British Journal of Sociology, 26, No. 2, 169-185.
- Sarri, Rosemary C. (1976) "Juvenile Law: How it Penalizes Females" in L. Crites, The Female Offender. Toronto: Lexington Books.
- Schlossman, Steven and Stephanie Wallach (1978) "Crimes of Precocious Sexuality: Female Juvenile Delinquency and the Progressive Era", Harvard Educational Review, 48, No. 1, 65-69.
- Simon, J.L. (1978) Basic Research Methods in Social Science. New York: Random House Inc., 2nd ed.
- Simons, Ronald L., Miller, Martin G. and Stephen M. Aigner (1980) "Contemporary Theories of Deviance and Female Delinquency: An Empirical Test", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 42-53.
- Smart, Carol (1977) Women, Crime and Criminology: A Feminist Critique. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Spaulding, Edith (1923) An Experimental Study of Psychopathic Delinquent Women. New York: Rand McNally.
- 1977 Statistics Handbook Canadian Criminal Justice. Ottawa: Solicitor General Canada, 1977.
- Steffensmeier, D.J. and R. H. Steffensmeier (1980) "Trends in Female Delinquency", Criminology, 18, No. 1, 62-85.
- Sullivan, Katherine (1973) Girls on Parole. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers.
- Tarnowski, Pauline (1892) Les Femmes Homicide. Paris: Felix Alcan.
- Temin, Carolyn Engel (1976) "Discriminatory Sentencing of Women Offenders: The Argument for ERA in a Nutshell" in L. Crites, The Female Offender. Toronto: Lexington Books.
- Thomas, W.I. (1967) The Unadjusted Girl. New York: Harper Torchbooks.
- "Ungovernability: The Unjustifiable Jurisdiction", The Yale Law Journal, 83, No. 7 (June 1974), 1383-1409.
- Van de Warker, Ely (1876) "The Relations of Women to Crime", Popular Science Monthly, 8, 37-43.

Vaz, Edmund W. (1967) Middle-Class Juvenile Delinquency. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.

Vedder, Clyde B. and Dora B. Sommerville (1975) The Delinquent Girl. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers.

Weiller, K. (1973) Section 8 of the Training Schools Act R.S.O. 1970, Chapter 467. Toronto: Unpublished thesis presented to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of York University.

Wilkinson, Karen Ruth (1978) Juvenile Delinquency and Femininity. London: University Microfilms International.

Young, V.D. (1980) "Women, Race and Crime", Criminology, 18, No. 1, 26-34.