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ADULT CRIMINAL OFFENSE TRENDS FOLLOWING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY*

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PURPOSE

The basic purpose of this study is to ascertain what sort of offense sequence patterns were followed by adult recidivists who began their official criminal histories prior to age eighteen. The literature of juvenile delinquency emphasizes that many adult criminal careers start with juvenile delinquency.¹ This study is concerned with those whose criminal activities continue into the adult years. Pursuant to this objective, a grid charting technique was devised to show just how such criminal sequences develop from initial juvenile offenses, and what sort of offense sequences follow. The objective of the study is twofold: (1) to ascertain what the characteristic offense sequence patterns are, and (2) to develop and apply research technique.

PROCEDURE

This paper is an outgrowth of a study made by the writer in 1952 of 319 official criminal histories

* The author acknowledges the financial assistance given by the Graduate Council of Southern Illinois University toward the cost of the chart engravings used in this article. He acknowledges also the invaluable assistance of his wife, Vivian. Without her encouragement and help he would have little time for productive research in the harried academic atmosphere of our times.

¹ For a discussion of the association of youth and crime see N. K. TEETERS and J. O. REINEMANN, *THE CHALLENGE OF DELINQUENCY*, New York, 1950, pp. 3-4. A study by the New York Crime Commission, 1928, revealed that of 145 men committed to New York State prisons and reformatories in 1926, 42 percent had appeared at least once in juvenile courts. E. H. SUTHERLAND, *PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY*, New York, 1947, p. 316. The Gluecks followed the records of 1,000 juvenile delinquents who had been brought into the Boston Juvenile Court through a 15 year period and found that only 109 of the original group of 1,000 were non-delinquents throughout the period, while 226 were serious offenders, and 88 were minor offenders throughout the 15 years. SHELDON and ELEANOR GLUECK, *JUVENILE DELINQUENTS GROWN UP*, New York, 1940, p. 87.

of recidivists in Indiana prisons.² These 319 cases were drawn from inmate files of the Indiana Reformatory and the Indiana State Prison. The information was compiled from FBI records, case summaries, and community reports. Only cases were drawn which showed a prior criminal history, and these were selected on a random sampling basis. The general picture of these 319 subjects is that of a group which in race composition, educational attainment, and age spans covered by criminal histories is typical for persistent law violators handled by law enforcement agencies for lower class crime.

It was found that 148 sequences, or 46 percent of the total of 319 cases, officially started prior to age eighteen. Because of inadequacy of the records, this can be considered a conservative or minimum estimate of the number who had committed juvenile offenses. The FBI reports do not include offenses handled as juvenile delinquency. Many of the packets, however, included community reports sent in by county welfare departments which did list juvenile offenses. In the absence of community reports or an adequate social history it was impossible to know whether the offender had a juvenile crime record. In cases where the juvenile was handled by adult courts, the offenses did appear on FBI records. In spite of the possible omissions in the data, 148 cases did show a juvenile record. This is a sufficient number, even with heterogeneity, to show general patterns of adult criminal sequences following initial juvenile offenses.

The basic technique of charting these 148 criminal sequences or profiles represents an adaptation of a grid chart device used by Form and Miller for the purpose of making visible changes in

² HAROLD S. FRUM, *Criminal Sequence Patterns* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1952).

legitimate occupational careers.³ It seemed to the writer that an adaptation of an instrument which had been used to analyze legitimate occupational mobility might serve to analyze and study criminal offense sequence development.⁴ The adaptation of the device used in this study is a grid chart with a listing of 28 offenses on the vertical axis and an age-scale on the horizontal axis. (See Chart 1.) The offenses range from murder to juvenile incorrigibility and are arranged in somewhat homogeneous groupings. When the case of a criminal recidivist is charted on this device, his whole official criminal history is made visible. A glance at the chart reveals the trend of the sequence, the offense levels and types represented, types of disposition, periods of incarceration, releases and paroles, parole violations, and intervals between periods of custody. The criminal profile represents movement of an individual through time and socio-judicial space.

Each of the 148 cases which started with juvenile offenses was charted on a separate grid chart to show the sequence or profile for each individual. These charts were then sorted according to profile appearance into characteristic types or sequence patterns following each initial juvenile offense category. These were then combined on composite charts showing the characteristic sequence patterns.

WHAT THE CHART PROFILES REPRESENT

Analysis and interpretation of the various offense and disposition sequence types revealed in this study hinges upon knowledge of what these profiles represent. As has been stated, these chart profiles do not purport to show all the delinquent and criminal behavior of the individuals, but only that reflected in official records. One person convicted for burglary confessed to having committed over 234 burglaries before he was caught. Another confessed to having cashed nine bad checks, but was prosecuted for only one offense. The writer, with limited time and resources, had no way of

knowing how much crime was committed by these 148 subjects which never became a matter of official record. The chart profiles reflect only that which was officially handled and became a part of the institution records.

Furthermore, an evaluation of what these profiles represent depends on considerable prior knowledge of the whole socio-judicial process involved in criminal sequence development. It is recognized that each official criminal sequence is the product of a number of variables: (1) actual criminal behavior maturation or change, which refers to actual behavior change of individuals in interaction with police, courts, correctional institutions, and a community which stigmatizes persons with criminal records; and (2) certain characteristics of the profiles are undoubtedly due to inherent features of the entire judicial process and may be more or less unrelated to actual change in criminal behavior. Thus, certain of the movements in the profiles are legal artifacts, in the sense that they reflect the legal process rather than reflecting directly the nature and quality of the acts of the offenders themselves. This is exemplified by the reduction of a burglary charge to petit larceny, or by the decision to handle a case under the juvenile delinquency law rather than in the adult criminal court. The chart profiles, therefore, are the final reflection, not only of certain criminal and delinquent acts, but also the whole complex process of decision-making on the part of police, prosecutors, judges, probation officers, institution officials, parole officials, and record keepers.

In spite of the problems and limitations stated above, the writer believes that the chart profiles presented in this paper make visible in a dramatic fashion the consequences of the complex institutional forces operating to bring about persistent criminal behavior.

DEFINITION OF JUVENILE OFFENSES

Indiana law grants to the juvenile court "original jurisdiction over any child (a "child" is any person under age eighteen): (1) who has violated any law of the state or any ordinance or regulation of any subdivision of the state; (2) who by reason of being wayward or disobedient is uncontrolled by his parent or guardian; (3) who is habitually truant from school or home; and (4) who habitually so conducts himself as to injure or endanger the morals of himself or others."⁵

Following this definition, the writer classified

³ WILLIAM FORM and DELBERT MILLER, *Occupational Career Pattern as a Sociological Instrument*, AMER. JOUR. OF SOCIOLOGY, 54, January, 1949, pp. 317-329.

⁴ The writer does not imply that these criminal histories represent any sort of occupational or career adjustment. He agrees with Walter C. Reckless, who takes the position that the concept of "criminal career" should be limited to crimes of gain, or property crimes. He believes that sex offenders, those who commit aggressive crimes against persons, and habitual drunkards do not, properly speaking, have "criminal careers". WALTER C. RECKLESS, *THE CRIME PROBLEM*, New York, 1955, p. 144.

⁵ INDIANA ACTS, 1941, Ch. 233.

under "truancy" both truancy from school and running away from home.⁶ He classified under "incorrigibility" those who were specifically indicated in the records to have been handled as incorrigible, and those who were handled as "habitually disobedient" or "wayward".

Certain exceptions are made in Indiana as to the jurisdiction of the juvenile court: (1) the juvenile court does not have jurisdiction over juveniles who commit offenses which for adults carry the penalty of death or life imprisonment, and (2) the juvenile court may waive jurisdiction if the subject is over the age of sixteen and commits an offense which would constitute a felony for an adult.

For the purpose of this study, any arrest or conviction which occurred prior to age eighteen is defined as a juvenile offense, whether or not the subject was handled by juvenile authorities. It was necessary to do this because the records did not indicate in many cases whether the offense was handled by juvenile or by adult courts. Therefore, the term "juvenile offense" in this discussion refers to any offense committed prior to age eighteen, the terminal age for juvenile court handling in Indiana.

DESCRIPTION OF FINDINGS

Table I shows the distribution of the 148 sequences by initial offense categories. About one-third of the crime sequences began in petit larceny. Second in frequency was truancy and incorrigibility with 23 percent, and third, burglary with 15 percent. The drunk-vagrancy category accounted for 13 percent of the initial juvenile offense sequences. Adding all of the initial property sequences, we see that 62 percent of the 148 sequences began in some type of stealing. It should be kept in mind that these are initial juvenile offenses and that many of those who started their sequences with juvenile offenses repeated prior to age eighteen with the same and/or other offenses.

Table I shows also the average number of convictions in sequences following each initial offense category. It is realized that comparison of average number of convictions is difficult to evaluate because of some variation of age in the sequence categories. The analysis indicates, however, that

⁶Neumeyer indicates that many runaways from home are also truants from school, although the relation between the two types of behavior has not been clearly established. Both involve running away from unpleasant environmental conditions, and the behavior, if persisted in, becomes a personality problem. See MARTIN H. NEUMEYER, *JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN MODERN SOCIETY*, New York, 1949, pp. 102-104.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF 148 CRIME SEQUENCES WHICH BEGAN WITH JUVENILE OFFENSES AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS BY INITIAL OFFENSE CATEGORIES

Initial Offense Categories	Number	Per cent	Average Number of convictions
Crimes against persons . . .	2	1	3.5
Robbery	2	1	3.0
Burglary	22	15	5.0
Grand larceny	2	1	5.5
Vehicle taking	13	9	4.8
Forgery and fraudulent checks	3	2	4.6
Stolen property	1	1	4.0
Petit larceny	50	34	6.6
Drunk-vagrancy offenses . .	19	13	6.2
Truancy and incorrigibility	34	23	5.3
Total	148	100	—

variation in average number of convictions is largely a function of the kinds of offenses in the sequences. Those who began their sequences at the juvenile drunk-vagrancy level or with juvenile petit larceny averaged over six convictions each and much of the recidivism was at the misdemeanor level. The lower average number of convictions in the sequences which began with juvenile robbery and juvenile crimes against persons probably occurred because the more serious offenders with long prison sentences had fewer opportunities to be convicted.

SEQUENCES FOLLOWING JUVENILE TRUANCY AND INCORRIGIBILITY

Juvenile truancy or incorrigibility were the initial offenses for 34 sequences, or 23 percent of the 148 cases. Twenty-one of the 34 sequences began with truancy, and thirteen with incorrigibility. These 34 juveniles were all official cases handled by juvenile court agencies, and their subsequent crime sequences led into almost all areas of adult crime from the drunk-vagrancy level to murder. These 34 cases illustrate the point emphasized in juvenile delinquency literature of the importance of truancy and incorrigibility as the starting point for many criminal histories.⁷

⁷A number of writers emphasize this point. In a study of delinquency as the failure of personal and social controls, Albert Reiss stated: "Frequent and continued absence without the permission of school authorities removes the child from the contra-delinquent controls of the school and prohibits exposure to a

The 34 sequences which began with juvenile truancy or incorrigibility accumulated 71 juvenile and 109 adult convictions, or a total of 180 convictions. The average number of convictions was 5.3 each, and the range was from two to thirteen. The total years served in jails and prisons under present and past sentences for these 34 subjects add up to 412 years. The average number of years served was 12, and the range was from five to 28 years. It should be noted that most of these criminal histories were probably not yet completed when the cases were taken from prison files.

Seven of the 34 sequences which began with juvenile truancy or incorrigibility terminated in serious felonies against persons, and twenty-seven terminated in property felonies. In order of decreasing frequency, the terminal property felonies were: burglary, robbery, forgery and fraudulent check offenses, vehicle taking, and grand larceny. Examination of these 34 cases discloses three types of sequences: (1) those which moved through petit larceny to property felonies, (2) those which moved directly to property felonies, and (3) those which terminated in serious felonies against persons.

1. *Juvenile Truancy or Incorrigibility Through Petit Larceny to Property Felonies*

Sutherland described a characteristic type of progression from trivial to more serious stealing in the life histories of persons who in young adult life become property felons.⁸ In the "Natural History of a Delinquent Career" Shaw described an "ideal-typical" case in which the delinquency progressed from truancy and petty stealing to increasingly more serious crimes. Shaw presented this case as illustrative of typical criminal behavior development in a delinquency area.

During the course of his career in delinquency, from the time he was seven to seventeen years of age, Sidney was arrested at least sixteen times, was brought to

court on petitions alleging truancy or delinquency ten times, and received seven commitments to four different correctional institutions. His delinquencies became increasingly serious as he grew older, beginning as petty stealing in the neighborhood and truancy from school, and progressing to more serious crimes as holdup with a gun and rape. . . . The holdup and rape offenses . . . were the natural consequence of a long chain of delinquent experiences. The attitudes, habits, and philosophy of life underlying these latter crimes were undoubtedly built up in the course of the earlier experiences in delinquency.⁹

Eleven of the 34 sequences which began with truancy or incorrigibility followed the type of progression described above: through petty stealing to more serious property crimes. (See Chart 1.) Eight of the eleven sequences show movement to juvenile petty stealing, and three of these on to juvenile property felonies. The others proceed through adult petit larceny to property felonies. Seven reach the level of property felonies prior to age 25. All of the sixteen convictions or arrests for petit larceny occurred prior to age 21. Thus, almost all of the progression to more serious crimes shown on this chart occurred during juvenile or young adult years.

Five of these eleven sequences terminated in burglary, three in forgery or fraudulent check offenses, two in vehicle taking, and one in grand larceny. The total number of convictions for property felonies was 21, an average of almost two convictions each, thus showing a tendency to stabilize at the level of serious crime against property once that level was reached.

2. *Juvenile Truancy or Incorrigibility Direct to Property Felonies*

Sixteen of the 34 sequences which began with juvenile truancy or incorrigibility did not follow the progression through petty stealing described by Shaw and others, but show direct movement to property felonies.¹⁰ (See Chart 2.) This type of

⁹ CLIFFORD R. SHAW and M. E. MOORE, *THE NATURAL HISTORY OF A DELINQUENT CAREER*, Philadelphia: Albert Saifer, 1951, p. 226.

¹⁰ It is possible, of course, that this sort of jump in sequence movement may not represent in all cases the actual omission of petty stealing in the sequence of experiences of the offenders, but may merely reflect inadequacies in the official records used as basic data in this study. In order to ascertain whether these and other sequence jumps are artifacts of the data used, or do represent actual behavior change, it would be necessary to plot sequences from case studies which have overcome the inadequacies of file data in correctional institutions. It is believed, however, that the general drifts or tendencies indicated in these profiles may be of value until more careful analyses can be made.

situation in which rational controls are developed and strengthened." Reiss found that truants were significantly more recidivists than non-truants in a follow-up study of 374 probationers of the Cook County Juvenile Court, Chicago, Illinois. ALBERT J. REISS, JR., *Delinquency as the Failure of Personal and Social Controls*, *AMER. SOCIOLOGICAL REV.*, 16 (April, 1951), 196-207. See also ALFRED J. KUHN, *Who are Our Truants?* *ED. PROB.*, 15 (March, 1951) p. 39, and HARRIET GOLDBERG, *CHILD OFFENDERS*, New York: Grune and Stratton, Inc., 1948, for discussions of truancy as symptomatic of behavior problems which are sometimes followed by further and more serious delinquencies.

⁸ SUTHERLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

KEY: X PD Arrest — Time Served — Parole
O Conviction --- No Record — Parole Violation

Chart 1

Eleven cases juvenile truancy or incorrigibility through petit larceny to property felonies

progression tends to occur at an early age. Five reached the level of property felonies prior to age 18, and all but one had attained that level prior to age 25.

Eight of these sixteen sequences terminated in robbery, seven in burglary, and one in fraudulent check offenses. The sixteen sequences show a total of 25 arrests or convictions at the level of property felonies, or an average of 3.5 each. Twenty-nine of these contacts with the law were for burglary, twelve for vehicle taking, ten for robbery, three for grand larceny, and two for forgery or fraudulent check offenses.

These sequences which show direct movement from truancy or incorrigibility to property felonies show more recidivism at the level of property felonies and longer sentences than do those which attained the level of property felonies through intervening petty stealing. Earlier movement from truancy to property felonies in cases which do not show intervening petit larceny may explain the greater amount of recidivism in property felonies in this group.

3. *Juvenile Truancy or Incorrigibility to Serious Felonies Against Persons*

Seven of the 34 sequences which began with truancy or incorrigibility terminated in felonies against persons. (See Chart 3.) One sequence terminated in murder, one in manslaughter, four in rape, and one in sodomy. Three of the seven moved directly from the truancy-incorrigibility level to serious felonies against persons; whereas, the other four moved through the level of property felonies. Two show a record of minor sex offenses prior to major sex crimes.

Five of the seven reached the level of serious felonies against persons prior to age 25. One was convicted of manslaughter at the age of seventeen. One case shows a striking progression from truancy through vehicle taking, grand larceny, and burglary to murder at age 44.

4. *Summary of Sequences following Truancy and Incorrigibility*

Shaw and others described a typical progression from truancy through trivial stealing to more serious crimes. Eleven of the 34 cases in this series showed that type of progression. In addition, two other types appeared: direct movement from truancy to serious property crimes, and movement from truancy to serious crimes against persons. An

adequate "ideal typical" description of criminal development following juvenile truancy or incorrigibility would have to include several types and not just one. Perhaps full case histories of representatives of other types would explain why they deviate from the ideal type described by Shaw.

SEQUENCES WHICH STARTED AT THE JUVENILE DRUNK-VAGRANCY LEVEL

Nineteen sequences, or 13 percent of the 148 cases, started with juvenile drunk-vagrancy offenses. (See Chart 4.) These led into almost all areas of adult crime from the drunk-vagrancy offenses to manslaughter. Five terminated in felonies against persons, and fourteen in property felonies.

These nineteen crime sequences accounted for 118 arrests or convictions, all but one of which occurred prior to age thirty. The average number of arrests or convictions was 6.2 each. Sixty-four arrests or convictions took place at the drunk-vagrancy level, and 35 of these occurred prior to age eighteen. Six convictions took place at the level of felonies against persons. Among property offenses, convictions occurred in order of decreasing frequency in vehicle taking, forgery and fraudulent check offenses, robbery, petit larceny, burglary, and grand larceny. In a number of cases additional drunk-vagrancy offenses occurred between property felonies.

At least four movement types are discernible in the series which started with juvenile drunk-vagrancy offenses: (1) through juvenile property felonies to terminate in adult property felonies; (2) through adult drunk-vagrancy offenses to terminate in adult property felonies; (3) direct from drunk-vagrancy offenses to adult felonies against persons; and (4) from drunk-vagrancy offenses through property felonies to adult felonies against persons. In general, the same types of progression to more serious crimes occur from juvenile drunk-vagrancy offenses that take place when similar sequences start in the adult years.

SEQUENCES WHICH STARTED WITH JUVENILE PETTY STEALING

Fifty sequences, or 34 percent of the 148 cases, officially started with juvenile petty stealing. These led into almost all areas of adult crime from the drunk-vagrancy level to rape. None of them led to homicide offenses. Forty-six of the 50

KEY: X PD Arrest
O Conviction
--- Time Served
--- No Record
--- Parole
--- Parole Violation

Nineteen cases juvenile drunk-vagrancy offenses to adult felonies

terminated in adult property felonies, and the remaining four terminated in rape.

These fifty sequences accounted for 329 arrests or convictions, or an average of 6.6 each. In order of decreasing frequency, these arrests or convictions were for petit larceny, vehicle taking, burglary, offenses at the drunk-vagrancy level, grand larceny, forgery or fraudulent check offenses, rape, weapons, minor sex offenses; and one each for aggravated assault, stolen property, and truancy.

Petit larceny accounted for 112 arrests or convictions in these fifty sequences—slightly over one-third of the total of 329. Property felonies accounted for almost one-half of all arrests or convictions. All but two of the sequences which followed juvenile petty stealing showed one or more convictions for property felonies. Thus, we see in these cases a strong relationship between juvenile petty stealing and subsequent adult property crimes of a more serious nature.

At least five movement types are discernible in these fifty sequences: (1) juvenile petit larceny directly to adult property felonies; (2) juvenile petit larceny through adult property felonies to repeated petit larceny; (3) juvenile petit larceny through crimes against persons to adult property felonies; (4) juvenile petit larceny through drunk-vagrancy offenses to adult property felonies; and (5) juvenile petit larceny to rape. The first four types, comprising forty-five of the fifty cases, all involve variations in progression from juvenile petty stealing to more serious adult property crimes.

1. *Juvenile Petit Larceny Directly to Adult Property Felonies*

Thirty of the fifty sequences which began with juvenile petty stealing showed direct movement to property felonies. (See Chart 5.) In order of decreasing frequency, these terminated in burglary, robbery, vehicle taking, grand larceny, and forgery or fraudulent check offenses. A number of sequences showed some movement among the various property felonies once that level was reached.

These thirty sequences accounted for 170 arrests or convictions, or an average of 5.7 each. Fifty-seven of these were for petit larceny, 46 of which occurred prior to age eighteen. Forty-three arrests or convictions were for vehicle taking, 28 for burglary, 14 for grand larceny, twelve for robbery, nine for forgery, four for weapons, and one each for stolen property, minor sex offenses, and truancy.

2. *Juvenile Petit Larceny to Property Felonies and Back to Petit Larceny*

Seven sequences started with juvenile petit larceny, showed movement to property felonies and repeated in petit larceny. (See Chart 6.) Three of these terminated in burglary, two in grand larceny, and one each in vehicle taking and in forgery. They averaged 8.7 arrests or convictions each.

These seven sequences are much like the thirty previously discussed which showed movement from juvenile petit larceny to adult property felonies. These deviate from the others in that they show movement back and forth between petit larceny and property felonies. Certain of these movements may be legal artifacts in the sense that they reflect court decision in the type of charge pressed against persons accused of stealing offenses.

3. *Juvenile Petit Larceny through Crimes against Persons to Property Felonies*

Two sequences started with juvenile petit larceny, moved to juvenile crimes against persons, and terminated in adult property felonies. (Not shown on charts.) One terminated in burglary and the other in grand larceny. One showed movement from juvenile petit larceny to rape and the other to aggravated assault. Both sequences showed very erratic movements following offenses against persons.

These two sequences accounted for nineteen arrests or convictions, or an average of 9.5 each. Twelve of these were for property offenses, and the other seven were for felonies against persons, for minor sex offenses, and for offenses at the drunk-vagrancy level. There is a possibility that deviant personality traits may be associated with erratic movements of this type.

4. *Juvenile Petit Larceny through Drunk-Vagrancy to Property Felonies*

Six sequences began with juvenile petit larceny and showed movement to property felonies via the drunk-vagrancy level. (See Chart 7.) Two of these terminated in burglary, and one each in robbery, grand larceny, vehicle taking, and forgery. Most of these sequences are similar to the juvenile drunk-vagrancy to property felony sequences previously discussed. (See Chart 4.)

These six sequences accounted for 49 arrests or convictions, or an average of 8.1 each. Twenty-five of these occurred at the drunk-vagrancy level,

KEY: X PD Arrest
 O Conviction
 --- Time Served
 --- Parole
 --- Parole Violation

Chart 5

Thirty cases juvenile petit larceny to adult property felonies

one-half of which took place prior to age eighteen. Petit larceny accounted for twelve convictions, and the remainder were scattered among property felonies. Only one subject reached the level of property felonies prior to age eighteen. These sequences, like the types previously discussed, show progression from juvenile petty stealing to adult property crimes, but differ in showing intervening drunk-vagrancy offenses.

5. *Juvenile Petit Larceny to Rape*

Five sequences started with juvenile petit larceny and showed movement to rape. (See Chart 8.) Four of these terminated in rape, and one in vehicle taking. Three of the five showed property felonies either before or following the rape convictions. Only one of the rape convictions occurred prior to age 25; whereas, two rape convictions occurred after age 35.

These five sequences accounted for 30 arrests or convictions, or an average of 6.0 each. Eleven of these were for petit larceny, seven for offenses at the drunk-vagrancy level, five for rape, four for burglary, and one each for robbery, grand larceny and vehicle taking. As in the case of the sequences previously discussed involving crimes against persons, most movements involving juvenile petit larceny and subsequent rape are erratic in nature and may be associated with deviant personality traits.

JUVENILE FORGERY OR FRAUDULENT CHECK OFFENSES TO ADULT FELONIES

Three sequences started with juvenile forgery or fraudulent check offenses and terminated at the same level. (See Chart 9.) One showed intervening arrests for robbery, and one an intervening conviction for petit larceny. The three sequences accounted for eleven convictions for forgery or fraudulent checks or an average of 3.7 each. They are consistent with a pronounced tendency observed by the author in similar adult sequences: namely, persistency in subtle stealing for those who began their criminal sequences at that level.

JUVENILE VEHICLE TAKING TO ADULT FELONIES

Thirteen sequences, or nine percent of those which began with juvenile offenses, started with vehicle taking and terminated in adult felonies. (See Chart 10.) Four of these terminated in robbery; two each in burglary, vehicle taking, and forgery; and one each in grand larceny, aggravated

assault, and murder. A marked relationship between vehicle taking and subsequent robbery was also observed in adult crime sequences examined by the author.

These thirteen sequences accounted for 63 convictions, or an average of 4.8 each. Forty-nine convictions were for property felonies, and an additional six for petit larceny. Three convictions were for felonies against persons. Twenty-five of the 63 convictions were for vehicle taking and fifteen of these occurred prior to age eighteen. Judging from these data, juvenile vehicle taking leads into a number of areas of adult crime, but mainly to adult vehicle taking, to robbery, and to other adult property felonies.

JUVENILE BURGLARY TO ADULT FELONIES

Twenty-two sequences, or 15 percent of those which began with juvenile offenses, started with juvenile burglary and terminated in adult felonies. These led to almost all adult offenses from the drunk-vagrancy level to murder. Eleven of these 22 sequences terminated in burglary, five in vehicle taking, two in rape, and one each in forgery, grand larceny, robbery, and murder.

These 22 sequences accounted for 110 arrests or convictions, or an average of 5.0 each. Fifty-six arrests or convictions were for burglary, and 32 of these occurred prior to age eighteen. Judging from these data, over one-half of convictions following juvenile burglary are for repeated burglary.

1. *Juvenile Burglary to Consistent Adult Burglary*

Four of the 22 sequences which began with juvenile burglary showed only burglary convictions. (See Chart 11.) These four sequences accounted for seventeen burglary convictions, or an average of 4.2 each. Nine of these burglary convictions occurred prior to age eighteen. A similar consistent sequence of only repeated burglary was noted by the author in cases which started with adult burglary.

2. *Juvenile Burglary to Adult Felonies*

Eighteen of the 22 sequences which began with juvenile burglary led into a variety of adult felonies. (See Chart 12.) Seven of these sequences terminated in burglary, five in vehicle taking, two in rape and one each in forgery, grand larceny, robbery and murder.

These eighteen sequences accounted for 93 arrests or convictions, or an average of 5.2 each.

KEY: x PD Arrest
o Conviction
— Time Served
--- No Record
— Parole
--- Parole Violation

Chart 8
Five cases juvenile petit larceny to rape

KEY: X PD Arrest
O Conviction
Time Served
No Record
Parole Violation

Chart 9
Three cases juvenile forgery or fraudulent check offenses to adult felonies at the same level

Chart 10

Thirteen cases juvenile vehicle taking to adult felonies

KEY: X PD Arrest
O Conviction
— Time Served
--- No Record
| Parole Violation
Chart 11
Four cases juvenile burglary to consistent adult burglary

Thirty-nine of these arrests or convictions were for burglary, 23 of which occurred prior to age eighteen. Sixteen arrests or convictions were for vehicle taking; nine each for petit larceny and offenses at the drunk-vagrancy level; five each for grand larceny and robbery; two for forgery; and one each for truancy, minor sex offenses, stolen property, weapons, sodomy, and murder.

JUVENILE ROBBERY TO ADULT FELONIES

Two sequences began with juvenile robbery and terminated in adult felonies. (Not shown on charts.) One terminated in robbery and the other in burglary. One moved from juvenile robbery to burglary and back to robbery. The other moved from juvenile robbery to murder and terminated in burglary at age 38. Each showed three convictions, all of which were felonies.

SERIOUS JUVENILE CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS TO PROPERTY FELONIES

Two sequences started with serious felonies against persons and terminated in burglary. (Not shown on charts.) One began at age 14 with manslaughter, moved to robbery at age 20, and terminated in burglary at age 36. The other began with a rape conviction at age 15, moved to robbery at age 21, to vehicle taking at age 22, and terminated in burglary at age 22. Both sequences showed only property felony convictions following the initial offenses against persons.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study emphasizes the importance of juvenile delinquency as a forerunner of persistent adult crime. Almost one-half (46 percent) of 319 cases of recidivists selected at random from the files of Indiana prisons for adult male offenders show an official record of offenses committed prior to age eighteen, the terminal age for juvenile delinquency in Indiana. Almost two-thirds of the 148 criminal histories which showed a juvenile delinquency record began with some form of juvenile stealing, and almost one-third with truancy, incorrigibility, or other minor offenses.

These initial juvenile sequences led into almost all areas of adult crime from the drunk-vagrancy level to murder, but 92 percent were at the level of adult property felonies at the time the cases were taken for study. These crime sequences when analyzed on grid charts reveal a number of striking sequence patterns:

1. The most frequent pattern observed was progression in property crimes from petty stealing to more serious property offenses. Fifty sequences started with juvenile petty larceny and 90 percent of these terminated in adult property felonies. Eleven sequences started with truancy or incorrigibility and progressed through petty stealing to more serious property crimes. Five similar sequences were observed in the cases which started at the juvenile drunk-vagrancy level. Thus, we see a strong relationship between juvenile stealing and subsequent adult property felonies.

2. A second striking pattern was a marked tendency to persist at the level of adult property felonies in sequences which started with juvenile offenses at that level. Fifty-three sequences began with juvenile property felonies, and all but three of these were at the same general crime level when the adult cases were taken for study. There was considerable shifting in type of property felonies, but certain trends were observed. All three juvenile forgers persisted as adult forgers. Half of the twenty-two juvenile burglars were in prison for adult burglary when the cases were taken. Adult robbery was the most frequent other property felony following juvenile vehicle taking.

3. A third striking pattern revealed juvenile truancy and incorrigibility as the starting point for many adult criminal histories. Thirty-four sequences, or 23 percent of the 148 cases, started with juvenile truancy or incorrigibility. Eleven of these 34 sequences represented a type illustrated by Shaw and others: progression from truancy through petty stealing to more serious crimes. The majority of cases, however, showed direct movement from juvenile truancy or incorrigibility to more serious crimes, mostly property felonies. Furthermore, the serious consequences to society because of the failure or inadequacy of treatment of the truancy or incorrigibility symptoms is revealed in these cases. At the time the histories were taken, these subjects averaged 5.3 convictions each, and had served an average of twelve years each in jails or prisons.

4. A tendency was observed for sequences showing adult felonies against persons to start in the juvenile years with other than property offenses. Thirteen of the 22 subjects who were in prison for adult felonies against persons were first handled as juvenile offenders at the truancy, incorrigibility, or drunk-vagrancy level.

The material of this study offers partial con-

firmation of the popular view that children who commit minor delinquencies and who persist in crime progress into areas of more and more serious crime. Of greater importance from the standpoint of criminological theory is the finding that certain striking uniformities of movement appear, that the progression is of a number of types, and that in certain cases the movement appears to be erratic and fortuitous. To a certain extent, both the uniformities and apparent lack of consistency in criminal sequence changes may be legal artifacts, in the sense that judicial processes help shape these changes. Certain features of the sequence profiles may be the consequence of errors and omissions in the institution records used in this study. Nevertheless, the net product of all the forces operating in these criminal histories is a tendency toward more and more serious crime at considerable cost to society. It is suggested that fuller case studies be made of representatives of the several modal types revealed in this study, and of cases which deviate from these types, in order to ascertain the dynamics of the interwoven maturation

and socio-judicial processes which converts juvenile delinquents into persistent adult criminals.

An important part of the objective of this study was to develop and apply a grid-charting technique for the purpose of making visible delinquent and criminal offense and disposition sequences. Application of the device in this study was limited to official crime histories obtained from prison records. The inadequacies in such records are well known. It is suggested that this technique of profile analysis be applied to fuller case histories established on the basis of non-official as well as official data. It could be determined whether the more intensive data would merely fill gaps in the official record, or whether the official sequence types would be altered. Data from fuller case studies would also be of great help in the understanding of the etiological processes involved in criminal sequence development. It is further suggested that this technique of profile analysis may be of value, not only for research purpose, but for administrative use in connection with parole and other decisions.