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CRIMINALITY FROM CHILDHOOD TO ADULTHOOD

A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT
OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR
PART I: CRIMINAL ACTIVITY AT DIFFERENT AGES

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FOREWORD

This report was prepared in the longitudinal project 'Individual Development and Adjustment' at the Department of Psychology, University of Stockholm. It was supported from funds from the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation, The Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research, and The Swedish Council for Social Research.

The main responsibility for the writing of this report has been born by Dr. Håkan Stattin, and Howard Reichel has actively contributed in the classification of the basic data and in the writing up of the report.

We are grateful to police authorities and social authorities for their interest and cooperation in the tedious search of local registers. We are especially grateful to prof. Knut Sveri at the Department of Criminology, University of Stockholm, for his suggestions on classifying crime.

This is one of the rare studies in the criminological literature which traces the path towards adult crime for all children in an age cohort in a particular community. Hopefully, the descriptive information presented here and the analyses of the process over time in criminal/conforming behavior to be presented in forthcoming studies will extend our knowledge of how crime develops and which factors may modify its course of development.

David Magnusson
Principal investigator

ABSTRACT

This is the first report in a series of studies tracing the path towards criminality for a group of Swedish children from the age of 10 up to 30. The report contains information about the subject population, the method by which crime records were collected, and the coding system used. The criminal activity at different ages is briefly described, including analyses of the ages at which subjects usually begin breaking the law, when they are most offence active, as well as what types of crimes they commit at different ages. The report concludes with a discussion of the prevalence of crime at different ages.

CONTENT

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
Crime and criminality in the individual	1
THE SUBJECT POPULATION	3
About the subjects	3
About the region	4
THE COLLECTION OF CRIME RECORDS	6
The different official sources	6
Information contained in the official registers	7
The definition of crime	8
THE CODE MATERIAL	9
I. Time periods	9
II. Specific offences and crime occasions	9
III. Categories of criminal offences	10
IV. Age at first offence	10
V. Sanctions	10
VI. The coding procedure	11
CRIMES AT DIFFERENT AGES	11
<i>BOYS</i> - Age at first conviction	12
The criminal activity at different ages	14
Types of crime at different ages	17
Penalties at different ages	19
<i>GIRLS</i> - Age at the first conviction	20
Criminality activity at different ages	21
Types of crime at different ages	24
Penalties at different ages	25
SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION	26
At what age did the subjects start to engage in criminal behavior	26
At what age period were the subjects most criminally active	26
What types of crimes were committed at different ages	26
Prevalence of crime	27
REFERENCES	30

INTRODUCTION

The present study constitutes the first in a series of studies aimed at investigating the path toward criminality for a group of Swedish children. The study is part of a longitudinal research program entitled 'Individual Development and Environment' initiated and led by professor David Magnusson since 1964 at the Department of Psychology, University of Stockholm (Magnusson, Dunér, & Zetterblom, 1975; Magnusson, & Dunér, 1981). The research program was designed to investigate third grade school-children in a Swedish community in 1965 and then follow them by continuous data collections from the age of 10 up to 30.

This first report provides descriptive information about the offence activity at different ages for the longitudinal subject population, based on data collected from official sources. To provide background for the survey, we will describe the subjects under study, the method by which official crime records were collected, and the coding system used.

Crime and criminality in the individual

We would like to begin by making the distinction between the study of crime as a societal phenomenon and the study of the development of criminality in individuals. Legal statistics typically associated with the first aspect involve gathering data on the nature and number of criminal offences for a population (often nation-wide) at a certain point in time or over an extended period. Being typically collected on annual basis, the resulting statistics, when aggregated over several years, give an outline of the amount of crime in society at different points in time as well as its regional distribution, but does not provide information about whether it is the same individuals who commit these offences from one year to another.

Surprisingly few empirical results have been presented in the criminological literature about the course of criminality in individuals. To accomplish such an investigation requires linking together information about offences committed at different ages by each individual. It is this link that enables us to observe when criminal behavior starts, when it peaks, and when it ends for the individual under study. It enables

us to study different types of individual criminal careers; the persons who are offence-active recurrently from an early age through adulthood, the individuals who commit a large number of offences during a shorter period in their youth, those who enter the criminal scene late in life, those who tend to specialize in a certain type of crime, and those who show an undifferentiated offence pattern over time, etc.

An understanding of the development of criminal behavior also requires a data base that can provide the investigator with facts about other aspects of the individual's course of development, including environmental influences and personal characteristics. Everyone acquainted with criminological theories knows there are a complex network of factors in the individuals' socialization that are assumed to be involved in the process of developing delinquency. They are connected with the person himself; i.e., his feelings about himself, his self-esteem, his mental capacity, his coping with outside demands, adjustment to other people, and his environment; i.e., physical, social, and economic conditions of the home environment and the surrounding neighbourhood, his parents as socializations agents, and the characteristics of the circle of peers. To be able to investigate these factors with as much detail and precision as possible requires the systematic study of the same individuals over time.

Data collections in the present longitudinal research program, covered a broad range of physiological and behavioral factors on the person side, and structural and social factors on the environmental (Magnusson, Dunér, & Zetterblom, 1975). Data was collected for the same individuals at ages 10, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, and 25-26. Data from official registers (including information on mental health, employment, education, alcoholism, etc) was collected during and after the subjects' school years. At the present stage of the research program, data are available on various physiological, personal, interpersonal, and social aspects for a fairly large sample of Swedish males and females from their early school years up to adulthood. This information, together with various criminogenic factors, formed the building blocks for our investigation into the etiology of criminal behavior.

Of particular importance for the investigation of the development of criminality are (besides official data on law-breaking) the subjects' self-described norm-breaking behaviors and self-reported delinquency, and other significant persons' (parents, teachers, peers) opinions of the pro-social/anti-social behavior of the person. These data, collected during the elementary school years, will be reported in forthcoming studies.

THE SUBJECT POPULATION

About the subjects

The subjects under study were those children who, in 1965, were 10 years old and entered the third grade of the compulsory schools in O-town, a town in the middle of Sweden. All types of classes were researched, including normal classes, classes for deaf pupils, pupils with reading problems, and pupils with conduct disturbances. The schools in the study were all public schools as there were no private schools in the town. The only children not attending the public schools in 1965, and thus not included in the longitudinal research population, were severely psychotic children and retarded children who required specialized institutions and thus could not fit into the curriculum offered in the classes of the public elementary schools. They constituted less than one percent of all ten-year-old children in the town. Thus, virtually the entire range of physical, personal, and social backgrounds were represented by the third-grade children under investigation.

There were 1,027 pupils in total (617 boys and 510 girls) who received schooling in the third grade in 1965. Data were collected on this group when they were in the sixth grade (1968), in the eighth grade (1970), and in the ninth grade (1971). Children who moved into the region from 1965 to 1971 and were present in the school system during the years the data were collected were also included in the longitudinal population. In total 1,393 pupils (710 boys and 683 girls) were enrolled in the comprehensive school at least one of the four years during which the survey was made. This group of 1,393 pupils constitutes the research population for the present study.

About the region

O-town was chosen as the research area for the longitudinal program because initial investigations showed that this community was fairly representative for Swedish society as a whole (for the representativeness of IQ and SES, see Magnusson, Dunér, & Zetterblom, 1975; Bergman, 1973). It satisfied the requirements for an investigation town in many respects. It had a well-developed educational system - from elementary school up to university education. It was a service center for a large council administration. In addition, the town had a diversified industry.

By Swedish measures, the town is considered a rather large city. At the time of the first data collection in 1965 the town had about 80,000 inhabitants. At the present time, there are about 120,000 people living there. In 1984, the town was the seventh largest in the country. In general, crime rates are higher in large communities than in smaller ones. Thus it is not surprising that the crime rate for the town is higher than for the country as a whole. This can be seen in Table 1 where the reported crimes per 1,000 citizens is compared between Sweden and O-town. From 1965 to 1979 the crime rate in the town was higher than the Swedish national average. After 1979 the whole country showed an increase in crime rate, which was not reflected in this town. A close inspection of legal statistics in these latter years show that this is due to a marked increase of narcotic offences and frauds for the country as a whole (particularly in the metropolitan areas), whereas these figures were considerably lower for O-town and constant over time. Excluding these two types of crime, the crime rates are higher for almost all other types of crime in the local town.

Table 2 summarizes some information pertaining to the amount of crime in small and large communities (including O-town). From 1965 to 1967 official statistics were available for making comparisons of crime between metropolitan areas, larger cities, smaller cities, and rural districts. Crime rates from 1975 to 1980 were available for making comparisons between metropolitan regions and larger cities.

Table 1. Comparison between reported crimes per 1000 in Sweden and O-town 1965 - 1980.

Year	Sweden	O-town
1965	51.2	69.9
1966	52.4	67.5
1967	55.4	68.8
1968	62.2	77.1
1969	60.0	70.0
1970	69.6	78.7
1971	72.1	102.4
1972	70.2	91.8
1973	64.1	88.6
1974	66.8	88.5
1975	92.0	100.1
1976	97.0	116.9
1977	102.1	115.8
1978	96.9	106.7
1979	98.3	95.4
1980	111.6	101.4

Table 2. Reported crimes per 1,000 in different regions of Sweden 1965-80.

	1965	1966	1967	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
<i>Metropolitan regions</i>									
Stockholm	101.8	105.3	118.2	159.3	196.6	203.9	141.5	146.7	159.2
Göteborg	91.8	97.9	87.9	93.7	107.7	115.1	124.4	117.9	113.6
Malmö	82.6	85.5	86.8	148.5	152.9	151.4	155.1	139.6	145.1
<i>Larger cities (50,000-100,000 inhab.)</i>									
Uppsala	107.2	100.0	97.0	125.6	135.4	134.7	105.2	98.0	110.2
Linköping	78.8	79.2	109.1	75.2	78.3	91.9	88.2	76.9	145.5
Borås	80.7	76.5	86.5	89.4	89.1	89.2	68.3	62.0	68.4
Västerås	66.9	73.5	66.2	113.2	119.3	123.3	110.3	103.9	113.0
O-town	70.2	73.1	77.4	100.2	116.7	115.6	106.5	95.4	101.4
<i>Smaller cities (20,000-49,999 inhab.)</i>									
	56.9	61.4	57.8						
<i>Rural communities</i>									
	30.0	30.7	32.3						

Taking the year 1965 as an example, the number of reported crimes in the metropolitan regions was, on the average, 92 crimes per 1,000 citizens. In the larger cities, including O-town, the rate was 80, for smaller cities 57, and for the rural districts 30. In 1980, the crime rate in the metropolitan regions rose to 139 and 108 in the larger cities. As can be seen in Table 2, the crime rates in O-town for the above years are comparable to other large cities in Sweden.

THE COLLECTION OF CRIME RECORDS

The different official sources

Any study of criminality based on official records cannot be more comprehensive than the data source allows. To what extent official crime registration represent the factual crime volume will be a topic for another study and should not be treated here. Our interest, for the purpose of the present investigation, lies in estimating to what extent our sources represent the true picture of the *registered crime* for the individuals involved. Crime studies in other countries are often troubled by the loss of information between local police authorities and state and federal police authorities, and by the problem of incomplete registration of crimes committed before the age of criminal responsibility. In Sweden, all offences committed after the age of criminal responsibility are reported to the National Police Board by the municipal police. If an offence is committed before age 15, it is customary for the local police to report the juvenile to the child welfare authorities. The local Child Welfare Boards keeps well-documented records but these are not sent to the National Police Board since a court trial has never taken place (merely a hearing to decide which social actions should be taken). In the case of alcohol offences, police policy toward such offences has varied over time, with the results that different kinds of alcohol registers are kept by the local police, local welfare boards, and by National Police Board. Thus several sources must be consulted for the collection of official crime records - The National Police Board, the local police, the Child Welfare Board, and local welfare boards.

We invested a lot of time and effort attempting to make as complete a collection as possible. This first involved a search in the registers of the parish authorities to establish the communities in which each of the subjects lived from their birth through adult life. This information was collected in 1979/80. Of the subject population of 1,393 subjects, the geographical locations up to age 30 were established for all but one male and three females. Then the police authorities, local child welfare and local welfare boards in those police districts in which the subjects lived were contacted and asked to provide offence information. In no case did the local authorities refrain from providing this information. Thus, there were virtually no missing cases for data on registered crime. A search was also made of the data registers maintained by the National Police Board. The information was subsequently updated in December 1984.

The next step involved the synchronization of the data collected from the different sources. In cases where just one local authority provided offence information, the other local authorities were again contacted in order to establish whether a crime actually had been committed by the subject in question.

Information contained in the official registers

The official records from which the coded material originates contain information pertaining to (a) committed offences, (b) court decisions and (c) sanctions (by the police and by social authorities) for the individuals in the population from childhood (the first recorded offence) up to and including the age of 29.¹ Included in the statistics are:

(a) Crimes against the Penal Code (except disorderly conduct and common alcohol offences),

¹) Nine subjects died before age 30, and four emigrated. To simplify the calculations, these subjects are included in the tables. Very minor differences would appear if they were excluded.

(b) crimes against the Road Traffic Offences Act which involve offences like reckless driving, unlawful drinking, driving with ability impaired by alcohol, and hit-and-run offences.

(c) crimes against special penal acts and statutes other than the Road Traffic Offence Act for which a penalty heavier than a fine is stipulated,

(d) crimes against certain special statutes even if the scale of penalties only comprise fines, such statutes being the Drug Offences Ordinance, the Drug Penalties Act, the Ordinance concerning the Illegal Distilling of Spirits and Wines, and the Currency Ordinance (see Yearbook of Legal Statistics 1979, p. 48).

The definition of crime

We define as a criminal act, and code as a crime, any offence for a subject which is contained in the paragraphs (a) through (d) above, and which has led to some form of societal sanction. In the cases where adults are involved, a court decision determines if the subject should be regarded as having committed a crime. For children below the age of criminal responsibility, a crime is counted as confirmed if the subject, after a hearing by the local police to determine guilt, has been turned over to the child welfare authorities and investigated by them.

All data on offences obtained from the registers of the local police, the child welfare, and the local welfare boards are likewise included in the coding only insofar as they correspond to the paragraphs (a) through (d) above.

Drunkenness and disorderly conduct (see (a) above) are examined independently of other violations. Data covering these offences are not reported in this study. Furthermore, to make data comparable between the sexes, all military crimes have been handled separately and will not be treated in this report.

THE CODED MATERIAL

I. Time periods

To accomplish the task of describing the development of criminal behavior over time, we have classified all registered offences into distinct time periods. The Swedish legal system can be said to comprise four time periods, each with its somewhat unique sanction policy: *Minors* (below the age of 15), *Adolescents* (15-17 yrs), *Young Adults* (18-20 yrs), and *Adults* (21- yrs). We have tried to keep these time periods intact and at the same time maintaining a similar length of time within each period. Thus, age-periods containing three years in each period (except for the first period) were used:

<u>Legal Category</u>	<u>Age period</u>
Minors	1. - 11 yrs
	2. 12 - 14 yrs
Adolescents	3. 15 - 17 yrs
Young Adults	4. 18 - 20 yrs
Adults	5. 21 - 23 yrs
	6. 24 - 26 yrs
	7. 27 - 29 yrs

II. Specific offences and crime occasions

We distinguish between specific offences and crime occasions. A specific offence (or crime) refers to a certain type of law-violating action, whereas a crime occasion refers to a certain point in time. Different types of crimes may be committed at the same occasion, and many crimes of the same type might occur across occasions.

In the coded material the specific offences refer to all those offence captions that are listed in Swedish law, such as Drunk driving, Assault, Breach of domiciliary peace, Arson, Theft, etc. In total 72 different crimes were found in the police registers for the present subject population.

A crime occasion is defined as the date at which one or more specific offences were committed.

The number of crime occasions and the respective offences at each occasion are coded for each age period.

III. Categories of criminal offences

To obtain a broader classification of crimes, a classification of all specific crimes was performed utilizing six categories of crime. These broader types of crime are (1) Crimes for personal gain, (2) Property damage, (3) Violent offences against persons, (4) Traffic offences (alcohol and non-alcohol), (5) Narcotic offences, and (6) Miscellaneous offences. In Appendix A we present the complete list of the specific offences which are subsumed below each one of these six categories of crime. The classification into categories of crime is recorded for each age period.

IV. Age at first offence

The age at which the first crime was committed was coded for each individual.

V. Sanctions

The number and nature of sanctions were coded for each time period. The severity of sanctions was coded with a number ranging from 1 to 4: 1 = Fine, 2 = Warning, 3 = Restriction, 4 = Incarceration. The following is a list of all the specific sanctions within each sanction type that are relevant to the coded material:

1. Fine

Fine by court decision
Summary fine

2. Warning

Conditional sentence

Decision not to prosecute due to the Act of 20th March 1964 with special provisions concerning young offenders, Child Welfare Act sec 69, The Temperance Act of 27th July 1954, sec. 57.

3. Restriction

Probation

Open psychiatric care

Care in accord with the Child Welfare Act - with supervision

Decision not to prosecute - with probation/foster home or similar control

4. Incarceration

Imprisonment

Youth imprisonment

Internment

Closed psychiatric care

Probation with institutional care

Reformatory

(see Sveri, 1977, for the complete list of sanctions)

VI. The coding procedure

The coding procedure involved extracting the pertinent information from the official records and coding it according to the description given in the previous sections (1 - V). This was done by three coders. All three coders had university educations in criminology, and two had earlier experiences of coding crime material. The coding procedure was first executed by two independent coders, each one creating a complete raw data file. A third coder scrutinized both raw data files, paying special attention to all complicated cases and all inconsistencies between the two files. In the event of a complicated case or an inconsistency, the third coder coded this material once more. About five percent of all coding decisions differed between the first two coders. In most cases these differences occurred for subjects with long crime records where one coder missed one or two out of many recorded offences.

CRIMES AT DIFFERENT AGES

In the present section we describe the criminal activity at different ages for the subjects in the research population, utilizing the coded material of registered offences described previously. The questions to be addressed are:

- At what age do the subjects usually start to commit crimes?
- At what age period are the subjects most offence active?
- What types of crimes are committed at different ages?
- What sanctions are the subjects sentenced to at different age periods?

Since criminal activity differs considerably between the sexes, data will be presented for boys and girls separately.

BOYS

Age at first conviction

At what age did the boys in the research population commit their first registered crime? The answer to this question can be found in Table 3 and in Figure 1. Table 3 shows the age of the first registered crime described within the seven time-period system. A more detailed account is given in Figure 1, showing the age at first offence on year-by-year basis.

Table 3. Age at first conviction for boys in the research population.
(N = 709)

Age (yrs)	Number	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
up to 11	31	11.6	11.6
12 - 14	50	18.7	30.3
15 - 17	83	31.1	61.4
18 - 20	38	14.2	75.7
21 - 23	32	12.0	87.6
24 - 26	23	8.6	96.3
27 - 29	10	3.7	100.0

Mean: 17 yrs 2 months

Median: 16 yrs 7 months

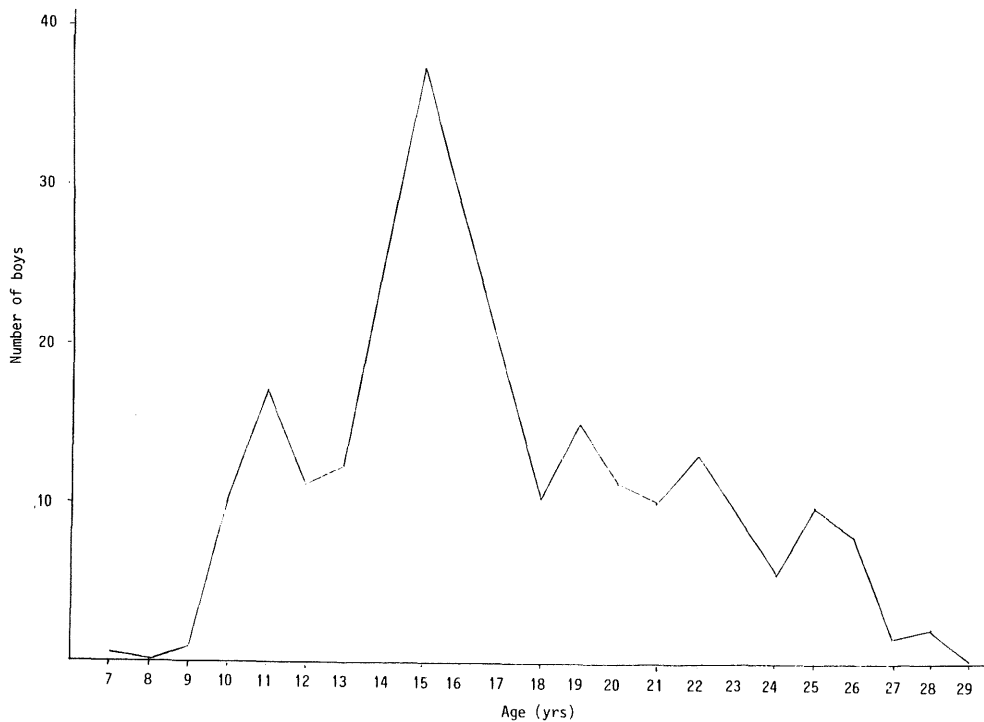


Figure 1. Age of first offence (boys).

As can be seen in Table 3, the typical age interval for committing the first crime is the time period 15 - 17 yrs. A closer inspection of the data in Figure 1 shows that the age at first offence is concentrated around 14, 15, and 16 years of age, with 15 being the peak age. Very few boys commit offences before the age of 10, but thereafter there is a sharp increase. Table 3 clearly demonstrate the importance of collecting data on crime for early ages from the local police. By age 15, when the boys reached the age of criminal responsibility (and were included in the register of the National Police Board) there was a rather substantial proportion of boys who had earlier come to the attention of the local police and local social authorities. Actually 30 percent of all the males with registered offences were found in the registers of the local police before their 15th birthday.

Few males are convicted for their first offence after age 26. At the same time it is evident that there is a large number who are late-

comers to criminality. In total, 65 males, or close to one out of four who were registered for some offence, committed their first crime after the age of 20.

The criminal activity at different ages

During which age period were the subjects most criminally active? There is no unequivocal way of answering this question, since it will depend upon the definition of criminal activity. On the one hand, offence activity could be determined from the number of different boys in the subject population who are registered in official delinquency records at different age periods. On the other hand, criminal activity could also be measured from the number of crime occasions that are recorded at different ages. Table 4 shows some results pertaining to both these aspects. It presents the number and percent of boys registered in each time period as well as the number of crime occasions recorded, totally and per individual.

Table 4. Number and percentage of boys convicted at different age periods and the number of crime occasions registered.

Age (yrs)	Number of boys registered	Percentage of the total population	Total number of registered crime-occasions	Number of crime occasions per registered person
up to 11	31	4.4	53	1.71
12 - 14	66	9.3	102	1.55
15 - 17	133	18.8	569	4.28
18 - 20	92	13.0	387	4.21
21 - 23	100	14.1	309	3.09
24 - 26	68	9.6	189	2.78
27 - 29	54	7.6	232	4.30
Youth (up to 17 yrs)	165	23.3	724	4.39
Early adulthood (18-29 yrs)	190	26.8	1117	5.88
Total period (up to 29 yrs)	267	37.7	1841	6.90

As shown in Table 4, more than every third boy (37.7%) was convicted one or several times before 30. Close to one in four was convicted for some offence before 18, and a similar proportion of boys were convicted from age 18 up to and including age 29.

The age period with the highest proportion of registered boys is 15 to 17 yrs; nearly one out of five boys were found in the registers of the police during this period. For the total sample, the more broad peak period was between the ages of 15 and 23.

The peak period for criminal activity, as determined from the number of registered crime occasions, was the age period 15 to 17 yrs. Analogously, the broad peak period for the sample was between age 15 and age 23. Taken together, the offence activity measured by the number of different individuals convicted in respective time periods and the number of crime occasions registered for the total population point to the age period 15 to 17 yrs as the most criminally active period.

There were a total of 1,841 registered crime occasions for the boys which amounts to 6.9 crime occasions per individual. The individual criminal activity, as defined by the number of crime occasions per person, was lowest in the youngest ages (before the age of criminal responsibility), reached a peak between 15 to 20 years, declined slowly thereafter to reach a second peak in the last age period. The number of offences per person was higher in early adulthood (18 - 29 yrs) than in youth (- 17 yrs).

Table 5 gives a more detailed description of the criminal activity per person. The table shows the percentage of delinquent boys who are one-time offenders, sporadic offenders, or more persistent offenders in each time period.

Table 5. Number and percentage of registered males by frequency of offence at different ages.

Age (yrs)	1 offence occasion	2-3 offence occasions	4-10 offence occasions	More than 10 offence occasions
up to 11	24(77.4%) ¹	5(16.1%)	1(3.2%)	1(3.2%)
12 - 14	46(69.7%)	15(22.7%)	4(6.1%)	1(1.5%)
15 - 17	74(55.6%)	27(20.3%)	21(15.8%)	11(8.3%)
18 - 20	49(53.3%)	24(26.1%)	8(8.7%)	11(12.0%)
21 - 23	56(56.0%)	32(32.0%)	5(5.0%)	7(7.0%)
24 - 26	41(60.3%)	11(16.2%)	13(19.1%)	3(4.4%)
27 - 29	30(55.6%)	13(24.1%)	6(11.1%)	5(9.3%)
Youth years (up to 17 yrs)	80(48.5%)	46(27.9%)	27(16.4%)	12(7.3%)
Early adulthood (18-29 yrs)	64(44.2%)	57(30.0%)	31(16.3%)	18(9.5%)
Total period (up to 29 yrs)	106(39.7%)	83(31.1%)	47(17.6%)	31(11.6%)

¹) The percentage figure within parenthesis is based upon the number of *registered* males at the particular age period.

Of those who were registered for some offence in the respective time periods a majority committed only one registered offence. The more persistent offenders, those who were registered for more than ten crime

occasions, were not common in the youngest ages. Only two youthful subjects, one in the period 10 - 11 yrs and one in the period 12 - 14 yrs, were registered for so many crime occasions. The percentage of the persistent offenders increased during the period 15 - 17 yrs to reach a peak at 18 - 20 yrs. In this age period 12% of all registered boys were persistent offenders.

Over the total time span investigated, 31 subjects or 11.6% of the criminal boys were registered for more than 10 offence occasions. The boy with the highest number of crime occasions was registered for 176 occasions. Considering the total period, the one-time offenders were in the minority among the criminal boys, meaning that it was more common to find a boy listed in the police registers with several offences than with only one. However, most boys were registered for a modest number of crime occasions. Seven out of 10 registered boys had committed no more than three offences (occasions).

A comparison between Table 5 and Table 4 indicates that a small group of boys was responsible for a large proportion of the crime for the total population. As seen in Table 4, the number of crimes per individual for boys with delinquency records was 6.9. At the same time Table 5 makes it clear that the majority of the subjects were either one-time offenders up to age 30 (39.7%) or sporadic offenders (31.1%) Together this suggests that the offence activity for a small group of boys is very high and accounts for most of the crime occasions registered for the subject population. To give the reader an idea of the size of the criminal activity for these boys, we removed from the registered boys, the top ten percent of boys who had the highest frequency of crime occasions in youth, early adulthood, and in total, and compared them with the rest of the boys with crime records. The results are shown in Table 6.

As is evident from Table 6, this top ten percent accounts for the majority of registered crime occasions in all three time periods. The 17 most frequently registered boys in youth accounted for 55.8% of all registered offence occasions in the total population. The 19 most registered boys in early adulthood were responsible for 64.6% of all offence occasions that were registered by the police. Any attempt at

reducing the criminal activity for these extremely delinquent boys has considerable consequences for the size of the crime volume for the total population as illustrated by the following figures. For the period up to 30 years, there was a total of 1,841 registered offence occasions. Nearly two out of three of these crime occasions (65.7%) occurred within a small group of 27 boys, constituting 10 percent of all boys with delinquency records or 3.8% of the total research population. If, hypothetically, the crime activity for these boys were reduced to half its size, the number of offence occasions for the total research population would be reduced by about one-third.

Table 6. The number and percentage of recorded crime occasions by the 10 percent most crime persistent males.

Age period	Number of convicted persons	Number of registered crime occasions for total male population	Number and percentage of registered crime-occasions for 10% most crime persistent males
Youth years	165	724	404(55.8%)
Early adulthood	186	1117	722(64.6%)
Total period	265	1841	1209(65.7%)

Types of crime at different ages

The most frequent crimes rank-ordered according to the number of boys registered up to age 30, are presented in Appendix B:1. In descending order, the most frequent crimes for the males were unlawful possession of property theft, unlawful driving, grand larceny, petty theft, property damage, driving under the influence of alcohol, unlawful taking of a vehicle, assault, careless driving, receiving stolen goods, and drunk driving; each one of these committed by at least 26 different boys.

As described earlier, all offences for an individual were classified into the following categories of crime: Violent offences against persons, Property damage, Crimes for personal gain, Traffic offences (alcohol and non-alcohol), and Miscellaneous offences (see page 10). Table 7 presents the number and percentage of registered boys involved in these types of crime at different ages.

Table 7. Type of crime committed by boys at different ages.

Age (yrs)	Violent offences against persons	Property damage	Crime for personal gain	Traffic offences: alcohol	Traffic offences: non-alcohol	Narcotic offences	Miscellaneous offences	Number of crimes per crime occasion
up to 11	0	12(38.7%) ¹	21(67.7%)	0	2(6.5%)	0	0	1.13
12 - 14	6(9.1%)	12(18.2%)	55(83.3%)	0	6(9.1%)	0	0	1.11
15 - 17	24(18.0%)	10(7.5%)	92(69.2%)	15(11.3%)	53(39.8%)	3(2.3%)	12(9.0%)	1.56
18 - 20	22(23.9%)	13(14.1%)	64(69.6%)	22(23.9%)	37(40.2%)	5(5.4%)	6(6.5%)	1.87
21 - 23	18(18.0%)	14(14.0%)	63(63.0%)	22(22.0%)	27(27.0%)	5(5.0%)	4(4.0%)	1.53
24 - 26	16(23.5%)	14(20.6%)	32(47.1%)	16(23.5%)	28(41.2%)	6(8.8%)	6(8.8%)	1.65
27 - 29	15(27.8%)	11(20.4%)	29(53.7%)	11(20.4%)	17(31.5%)	10(18.5%)	5(9.3%)	1.47
15 - 29	61(24.5%)	43(17.3%)	178(71.5%)	64(25.7%)	106(42.6%)	23(9.2%)	25(10.0%)	1.98

¹) The percentage figure within parenthesis is based upon the number of registered males at the particular age period. They do not necessarily sum to 100 percent.

Let us clarify the figures in Table 7. If a boy is stopped by the traffic police and is found to be drunk and driving a stolen car, his court record might include Drunken driving and Unlawful taking of a vehicle. In our classification system the boy will be found both under Traffic offences (alcohol), and Crimes for personal gain. The figures in Table 7 below each type of crime are based on the number of recorded crime categories irrespective of the number of crime occasions. The percentages reflect the proportion of registered boys who in each respective interval were registered for a particular type of offence. For example, 15 males, or 27.8% of the 54 males who were registered for some crime in the period 27 to 29 years, committed one or several offences involving violence or threat of violence against other people.

It might be noted that the number of crime types might be somewhat biased by an age breakdown, since it happens that the local police reports only the principal offence for persons below the age of criminal responsibility. As can be seen in Table 7, the number of crime categories per crime occasion is lower (1.13 and 1.11 respectively), for the first two age periods than for the other. For this reason the last summary row excludes all offences committed before the subjects' 15th birthday.

Crimes for personal gain (property crime) has the highest occurrence rate for all age periods. It is somewhat more salient in the younger ages than in the older. 71.5% of the registered boys had committed one or several crimes of this type between the age of 15 and 30. Second-most common are traffic offences of the non-alcohol type; they begin in the age period 15 to 17 years. About 4 out of 10 registered boys between 15 and 30 yrs were registered for such a crime. Traffic offences involving alcohol are also common. The peak age is 18 to 23 years and over the total period 15 to 30 years about one out of four boys with crime records had committed this type of offence.

Violent offences against other persons seems to start at age 15. Altogether 61 boys or 24.5% of the registered boys had committed such a crime by age 30. The number of boys committing property damage was generally evenly spread from early age up to age 26, however, slightly more prevalent among the youngest boys. Narcotic offences were relatively rare among the boys. However, about 20% of the registered boys in the age period 27 to 28 years had committed an offence against the Narcotic Drug Act.

Thus, as shown in Table 7, before the age of criminal responsibility boys with official delinquency records mainly commit crimes for personal gain and property damage. A wider spread of crimes then occurs, with an increase in alcohol- and non-alcohol related traffic offences and violent crime.

Penalties at different ages

Table 8 presents the type of penalties to which the registered boys have been sentenced at different ages. The table shows the most severe penalty at each age period. Since a subject cannot be charged for a crime before his 15th birthday, only boys with crimes after this age are included.

Table 8. Number of boys sentenced to the most severe penalty at each age period.

Age (yrs)	Fine	Warnings	Restriction	Incarceration
15 - 17	37(27.8%) ¹	80(60.2%)	16(12.0%)	
18 - 20	52(56.5%)	15(16.3%)	17(18.5%)	8(8.7%)
21 - 23	75(75.0%)	4(4.0%)	6(6.0%)	15(15.0%)
24 - 26	36(52.9%)	8(11.8%)	9(13.2%)	15(22.1%)
27 - 29	29(53.7%)	8(14.8%)	6(11.1%)	11(20.4%)
15 - 29	113(45.4%)	82(32.9%)	22(8.8%)	32(12.9%)

¹) The percentage figure within parenthesis is based upon the number of *registered* males at the particular age period.

In Sweden it is relatively rare for persons to be deprived of liberty before their 21st birthday. As can be seen from Table 8, no subject was sentenced to any form of incarceration before his 18th birthday, and only 8 persons or 8.7% of the boys convicted for some offence were incarcerated during the age period 18 to 20 years. Over the total period, 32 boys or 12.9% of all boys with delinquency records spent some time in a correctional institution. An additional 22 boys, or 8% of those convicted, were sentenced to other liberty restrictions (probation in most cases). Altogether, one out of five registered boys from 15 to 30 years was sentenced to either liberty restrictions or incarceration. A third of all offenders had warnings at the most severe penalty. Most of these were decisions not to prosecute due to special provisions concerning young offenders from the age 15 to 20, and conditional sentences after the subjects' 21st birthday. The most common penalty in all age periods was a fine; 45,4% of all registered boys up to age 30 had to pay a fine as the most severe penalty.

GIRLS

Age at the first conviction

As can be seen from Table 9, females tend to engage in criminal activities at a later age than males. The peak age period was 21 to 23 years, in contrast to 15 to 17 for males. The median age for committing the first crime was 21 years 2 months; a figure considerably lower than the 16 years 7 months median age for males.

Altogether 61 females up to age 30 were registered for some offence. This accounts for 9% of all females, a percentage considerably lower than that for males (37.7%).

Table 9. Age at first conviction for the females in the research population. (N = 680).

Age (yrs)	Number	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
up to 11	2	3.3%	3.5%
12 - 14	7	11.5	14.8
15 - 17	6	9.8	24.6
18 - 20	14	23.0	47.5
21 - 23	20	32.8	80.3
24 - 26	6	9.8	90.2
27 - 29	6	9.8	100.0
Mean:	22 yrs 3 months		
Median:	21 yrs 2 months		

Criminality activity at different ages

Offence activity at different ages can be discussed either as the number of different persons registered for crime at respective age period or as the number of registered offences found in respective period. Table 10 presents the number of girls who were found in the registers of the police at different ages and the number of crime occasions registered, in total and per person.

As was also shown in Table 9, Table 10 shows that very few girls committed criminal offences in their youth. Fifteen girls or 2.2% of the total population of girls were registered for some offence before the age of 18. Considerably more, 58 girls (8.5%), were registered in early adulthood. The peak age for the number of different girls registered at an age interval was 21 to 23 years. This was also the age period in which most of the offence occasions were recorded. To compare the sexes, boys had been involved in ten times as many crime occasions as girls (1841 vs 184).

Table 10. Number and percentage of girls convicted at different age periods, and the number of crime occasions registered

Age (years)	Number of girls registered	Percentage of the total population	Total number of crime occasions registered	Number of crime occasions per person
up to 11	2	0.3	2	1.00
12-14	8	1.2	14	1.75
15-17	10	1.5	24	2.40
18-20	20	2.9	31	1.55
21-23	27	4.0	56	2.07
24-26	13	1.9	35	2.69
27-29	10	1.5	22	2.20
Youth (up to 17)	15	2.2	40	2.67
Early adulthood (18-29)	58	8.5	144	2.48
Total period (up to 30)	61	9.0	184	3.02

There were few differences between the number of crime occasions per person at different age periods. About as many crime occasions per individual was found from 13 to 17 as for 18 to 30. Over the total time span, girls with delinquency records were involved in an average of three crime occasions per person. This offence rate is less than half the rate observed for boys.

Table 11 shows the number of girls with various crime occasions in youth, early adulthood, and the total period up to age 30.

Table 11. Number and percentage of registered girls by frequency of offence at different ages.

Age	1 offence occasion	2-3 offence occasions	4-10 offence occasions	More than 10 offence occasions
Youth (up to 17 yrs)	4 (26.7%) ¹	8 (53.3%)	3 (20.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Early adulthood (18-29 yrs)	41 (70.7%)	8 (13.8%)	6 (10.3%)	3 (5.2%)
Total period (up to 29 yrs)	35 (57.4%)	12 (19.7%)	11 (18.0%)	3 (4.9%)

¹) The percentage figure within parenthesis is based upon the number of *registered* females at the particular age period.

Of the 15 girls who had registered offences before age 18, the majority were repeated offenders. However, they were not markedly criminally active. Most of them had committed sporadic crimes and not one committed more than 10 offences. By contrast, girls who were registered for a crime in early adulthood were usually one-time offenders. A small group of girls (5.2%) were more crime persistent, and they were registered for more than ten crime occasions each.

As was seen in Table 5, 11.6% of boys with registered offences up to age 30 were persistent offenders (more than 10 crime occasions). The same percentage figure for girls in Table 11 was about half that size, 4.9%.

The fact that the most persistent offenders among girls are registered for fewer crime occasions than the most persistent offenders among boys is also illustrated in Table 12. The table presents the percentage of registered offences that were accounted for by the 10 percent most persistent offenders in the teen-age years, in early adulthood, and the total period.

Table 12. The frequency of recorded crime occasions by the 10 percent most crime persistent girls.

Age	Number of convicted persons	Number of registered crime occasions for the total female pop.	Number and percentage of registered crime occasions for the 10% most crime persistent females
Youth years	15	40	14 (35.0)
Early adulthood	58	144	62 (43.1)
Total period	61	184	79 (42.9)

The top ten percent of girls in the youth period (two girls) accounted for 35% of all registered offences in that period. The top ten percent in early adulthood (six girls), and the top ten percent for the total time span (six girls) accounted for 43.1% and 42.9% of the total number of offence occasions that were registered in these periods, respectively. The girls were involved in, on the average, 7, 10.3, and 13.2 crime occasions at the age periods. The analogous figures for boys were 23.8, 38, and 44.8 crime occasions per person.

Types of crime committed at different ages

The most frequent crimes for girls rank-ordered by the total number involved in such crimes up to age 30, are presented in Appendix B:2. In descending order, the most frequent crimes for the females were unlawful possession of property, petty theft, theft, driving under the influence of alcohol, careless driving, fraud, grand larceny, drunken driving, receiving stolen goods, and assault; each one of them committed by at least four different girls. The most frequent crimes for girls also tended to be the most frequent among boys, as determined by a Spearman rank-order correlation of .68 for the rank-order of frequency of occurrence of specific crimes between the sexes.

Table 13 presents the types of crimes that the girls were registered for at different age periods. The table is based upon the number of recorded crime categories (page 10) per person irrespective of how many crime occasions were registered.

Table 13. Type of crime committed by girls at different ages.

Age /yrs)	Violent offences	Property damage	Crime for personal gain	Traffic offences: Alcohol	Traffic offences: Non-alcohol	Narcotic offences	Miscellaneous offences
up to 11		1	1				
12 - 14	1		8				
15 - 17	2	1	10	1	1		1
18 - 20	1		12	3	5		1
21 - 23	1	1	20	3	3	2	1
24 - 26	1		6	4	2		2
27 - 29			7	2	1		1
15 - 29	6(10.3%) ¹	2(3.4%)	40(70.0%)	12(20.7%)	11(19.0%)	2(3.7%)	6(10.3%)

¹) The percentage figure within parenthesis is based upon the number of *registered* females. They do not necessarily sum to 100 percent, since a number of crimes could be committed at one occasion.

Girls generally committed crimes for personal gain and traffic offences (alcohol and non-alcohol). Crime for personal gain was the dominant crime type, as it was for boys. Seven out of ten registered girls were recorded for this crime category before age 30. The spread across different crime types observed for boys was less obvious for girls. Although about the same percentage of registered females committed traffic offences

involving alcohol as males, a considerably lower percentage of girls committed narcotic offences, traffic offences of the non-alcohol type, property damage, and violent offences.

Penalties at different ages

The types of penalties to which the girls were sentenced at different ages are presented in Table 14. Only the most severe of the sentences given in each period is shown.

Table 14. Number of girls sentenced by the most severe penalty at each age period.

Age (yrs)	Fines	Warnings	Restriction	Incarceration
15 - 17	1	8	1	
19 - 20	13	4	3	
21 - 23	24	1	2	
24 - 26	7	2	2	2
27 - 29	5	2	2	1
15 - 29	37(63.8%) ¹	11(18.9%)	8(13.8%)	2(3.4%)

¹) The percentage figure within parenthesis is based upon the number of *registered* females, 15-29 yrs.

The most common penalty across ages for girls is a fine. Up to the age of 30, two out of three registered girls received a fine as the most severe penalty. Second most common were warnings, most often used in the age period 15 to 17 years. About one out of six girls with crime records received a harder societal sanction before the age of 30, either some form of liberty restriction or incarceration. The proportion of girls who received restrictions was actually higher than the boys; 13.8 vs 8.8%. However, only 3.4% of all registered girls were sentenced to incarceration as opposed to 12.9% of the registered boys.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In this first report we have tried to illuminate some basic questions concerning crime at different ages. The main results can be summarized and discussed as follows.

At what age did the subjects start to engage in criminal behavior?

For boys the age at first offence was concentrated around the years 14, 15 and 16. The median age for committing the first crime was 16 yrs 7 months. The age at first offence for girls was much later in life, with the peak age period at 21 to 23 yrs. The median age for committing the first crime for girls was 21 yrs 2 months.

At what age period were the subjects most criminally active?

All indices pointed to the period 15 to 17 yrs as the most active period for boys. This period involved the largest number of convicted persons and the largest number of registered offences. The period 21 to 23 yrs was the most criminally active period for girls. The largest proportion of registered girls and the highest number of registered crime occasions were found in this age period.

There were marked gender differences with respect to criminal activity. Whereas more than one out of three boys in the total sample were registered for some crime up to age 30, only 9% of the girls were registered. The criminal activity per person (number of crime occasions per individual) was twice as high for boys as for girls (6.9 vs 3) over the total period investigated. Similarly, whereas 11.6% of all registered boys were persistent offenders (already defined), this figure was half that size, 4.9%, for girls. Generally, the top ten percent most persistent male offenders committed a considerably higher number of crimes than the most persistent female offenders up to age 30; 44.8 vs 13.2 crime occasions per person.

What types of crimes were committed at different ages?

Crimes for personal gain (property crime) dominated the type of crime committed by both sexes. Seven out of ten boys registered for a crime before the age of 30 were registered for property crime. Eight out of

ten registered girls had committed such a crime. Crimes for personal gain and property damage were most common for both sexes in the younger ages. In the older ages the offences spread into other types of crime, notably traffic offences involving alcohol and violent crimes, and traffic offences (non-alcohol) for boys. Between 20 and 25 percent of boys and girls with delinquency records had committed one or several alcohol offences before the age of 30, and between 18 and 24 percent were registered for one or more violent offences. Whereas more than forty percent of the registered boys had committed a traffic offence, this occurred only for 18.5 percent of the registered girls. Narcotic offences were rare, particularly among girls. Only 3.7 percent of the girls in the research population had committed such an offence. The same figure for boys was 9.3 percent. However, of the boys registered in the last age period, 27 to 29 years, one out of five was registered for a narcotic offence.

Prevalence of crime

Up to the present time there have been but a few attempts to estimate the prevalence of crime among Swedish citizens. The frequent use of official statistics, with the associated cross-sectional organization of data, has obstructed examinations of criminal activity on an individual basis. Such a task requires longitudinal data (see however, Farrington, 1981a; Little, 1965, for approximations of annual statistics). In addition, because national crime registers in Sweden do not contain information about crimes committed by minors, it has been difficult to establish the prevalence of crime for young people. If we were to assume, for example, that the crime records that were collected from the National Police Board accurately covered the total police-registered criminal activity of subjects up to, say 16 yrs, we would find prevalence of criminality in 5.2% of the males and 0.6% of the females. However, the real figures, obtained by combining national register data with data collected from local police registers, are more than three times that size. One hundred and eighteen boys or 16.6% of all males in the research group had one or several court convictions and/or one or several contacts with child welfare authorities for committing law-breaking acts. The corresponding figure for girls was 1.6%.

A surprisingly high number of persons registered for under-age crime has been shown in another Swedish longitudinal project as well. The research project Metropolitan (Janson, 1982) searched first the files of the Child Welfare Committee in the city of Stockholm for juvenile cases and then the national registers for a cohort of about 15,000 males and females in 1953. It was found that 10.3% of all boys were registered delinquents before their 15th birthday. In this study delinquent acts committed between the ages of 13 and 15 were investigated. The findings can be regarded as somewhat underestimated since subjects who committed an offence before 13 yrs were not surveyed. For our research group (which can be expected to have a lower crime rate than the metropolitan children in Janson's study) 6.6% of the boys were already registered juvenile delinquency cases by age 13, and altogether 11.4% committed at least one registered offence before age 15.

The exclusion of young persons from official statistics on crime in Sweden has made it difficult to form international comparisons, and it may be considered a primary cause for the low prevalence rates in Scandinavian versus the rest of Europe (Farrington, 1979). The collection of data on the local level for underage crime for our research group thus offers somewhat better possibilities for making accurate comparisons. Table 15 reports criminality figures for four studies; two Swedish cohorts, an approximation of the crime volume of the nationwide population in England and Wales based on official statistics, and prevalence figures for crime among lower-class boys in a suburb of London.

Table 15. Prevalence of crime at different ages for Swedish and British subject populations.

Age (yrs)	<i>Sweden</i>		<i>Britain</i>	
	The present study ¹ (n=709)	Janson (1981) ² (n=7,719)	Farrington (1981a) ³ (n=9,000)	Farrington (1981b) ⁴ (n=401)
15	11.1	10.3	11.7	13.5
18	20.2	19.1	-	25.7
21	24.5	-	21.8	31.9
26	31.2	31.0	-	-
30	32.5	-	30.3	-

- = not reported

¹ Definition of crime: non-traffic offences leading to court convictions and/or remitted for treatment by child welfare authorities. Subjects: all ten-year-old children born in 1955 who entered the third grade of the comprehensive schools in one Swedish town,

² Definition of crime: "Recorded delinquency refers to law-breaking acts recorded by the police. Delinquents are under-age until 15, but the reports available to the project start on January 1, 1966, the year the cohort members became 13... . The reports do not include ordinary traffic violations and similar minor misconducts." (Janson, 1982, p. 38). Subjects: "The cohort is defined as all boys and girls born in 1953 and registered as living in the Stockholm Metropolitan Area on November 1, 1963" (p. 10).

³ Definition of crime: "Non-motoring standard list offences of the 1978 Criminal Statistics (Farrington, 1981a, p. 174). Subjects: "a random sample of about 9,000 persons convicted in 1977" (p. 174).

⁴ Definition of crime: "Offences normally recorded in the Criminal Record Office at Scotland Yard. This category is more or less synonymous with 'serious' or 'criminal' offences. For example, no convictions for traffic offences are included... nor convictions for offences regarded as minor (e.g., public drunkenness or common assault)." (Farrington, 1981b, p. 10). Subjects: "the sample was made up of two successive classroom generations, the older group (231 boys), born in 1952/53, called the first age cohort, and the younger group (157 boys), called the second age cohort. In addition, a small pilot group of 23 boys, born 1951/52 was admitted to the study a little in advance of the two main cohorts." (West, 1969, p. 15).

As can be seen in Table 15, the prevalence figures at the different ages are almost identical for the two Swedish cohorts, and they differ very little from the estimates for British citizens. The figures are higher for the London boys. This is to be expected as the subjects were geographically located in a working-class, densely populated, urban district. Thus, despite differences in the legal definitions of crime between the British and Swedish judicial systems, in addition to differences with respect to the density of the areas, etc., the data shows the prevalence of crime to be rather similar between the countries. A more detailed comparison will be presented in forth-coming studies.

To summarize, our data show that it is not a rare event for a boy to be registered by the police. In the present study more than every third male (37.7%) was found to be registered for one or more criminal offences before age 30. Excluding all types of traffic offences (alcohol and non-alcohol), thus defining crime as non-traffic law-breaking, 32.5 percent of the males still would be found registered before age 30. Note that the offences drunkenness and disorderly conduct, are not included in the above figures. If criminality is defined as the total number of registered police contacts leading to arrest, temporary custody, court convictions or treatment by child welfare authorities, 40.8 percent of all males in our research group would be recorded for at least one offence before the age of 30.

The prevalence figures for females are lower. Nine percent committed one or several offences before age 30. If the traffic offences are excluded, 7.2 percent of the females still would be registered. Finally, including the females with drunkenness offences or disorderly conduct, above the nine percent with court convictions or early contacts with child welfare authorities for a law-breaking act, 10.3 percent of all females in the research group were found to have at least one police contact before the age of 30.

In this study, we have analyzed criminal activity at different ages as obtained from official delinquency records for a longitudinal research population. The subjects under study, totalling 1,393 males and females, constituted almost all of the ten-year-old population in a Swedish community in 1965. The emphasis in the present report has been on describing the crime rate and the crime volume at different ages for these subjects. In the studies that are to be reported next, the individual stability of criminal behavior will be discussed and the following questions addressed: Are the juvenile delinquent and the adult offender one and the same person? To what extent do there exist homogeneous subgroups of persons that share a common crime pattern over time? Do people tend to specialize in certain types of crimes?

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APPENDIX A

Classification of specific offences into types of crime

VIOLENT CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS:

- Unlawful threat
- Threat to a public official
- Outrageous conduct toward a public official
- Assault
- Aggravated assault
- Molestation
- Violence to a public official
- Breach of domiciliary peace
- Causing another's death
- Unlawful deprivation of liberty
- Causing bodily injury
- Violent resistance
- Unlawful coercion
- Sexual assault
- Indecent conduct
- Attempt to aid someone to escape
- Creating danger to another

PROPERTY DAMAGE:

- Trespassing
- Inflicting damage
- Causing a fire
- Arson
- False alarm
- Misuse of alarm
- Carelessness endangering the public (not traffic)

CRIMES FOR PERSONAL GAIN:

- Unlawful possession of property
- Unlawful use
- Unlawful disposal
- Petty theft
- Theft
- Grand theft
- Unlawful taking of a vehicle
- Family theft
- Fraudulent conduct
- Fraud
- Grand fraud
- Petty receiving stolen goods
- Receiveing stolen goods
- Smuggling of goods
- Tax offence
- Robbery
- Extortion
- Embezzlement

TRAFFIC OFFENCES:

(A) Alcohol:

- Driving under the influence of alcohol
- Drunken driving

(B) Non-alcohol:

- Unlawful driving
- Hit-and-run-driving
- Careless driving
- Leaving the scene of an accident
- Reckless driving

NARCOTIC OFFENCES:

- Petty offences against the Narcotic Drug Act
- Offences against the Narcotic Drug Act

MISCELLANEOUS OFFENCES:

Unlawful use of alcohol beverages
Unlawful sale of alcohol beverages
Unlawful possession of alcoholic beverages at public place
Unlawful intrusion
Perjury
Tampering with a document
False certification
Misuse of document
Aiding someone to escape
Pretending to be a public official
Violation of official order
Unlawful fishing
Unlawful hunting
False incrimination
Improper conduct to a public official
Obstructing a public official in his duties
Interference in the cause of justice

APPENDIX B :1

The number of boys having committed the following specific offences:

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Offence</u>
95	Unlawful possession of property
70	Theft
69	Unlawful driving
51	Grand larceny
51	Petty theft
50	Property damage
49	Driving under influence of alcohol
46	Unlawful taking of a vehicle
41	Assault
38	Careless driving
33	Receiving stolen goods
26	Drunken driving
16	Petty offence against the narcotics drug act
16	Fraudulent conduct
15	Violent resistance
14	Leaving the scene of an accident
13	Fraud
12	Unlawful use
12	Violence to a public official
12	Molestation
11	Offence against the narcotic drug act
11	Unlawful threat
10	Petty receiving of stolen goods
08	Unlawful disposal
07	Carelessness endangering the public
07	Smuggling of goods
06	Petty property damage
05	Breach of domiciliary peace
04	Breach of official duty
04	Perjury
04	Grand fraud
04	Unlawful intrusion

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Offence</u>
03	Embezzlement
03	Tax offence
03	Aiding someone to escape
03	Hit-and-run driving
03	Unlawful sale of alcohol
03	Tampering with documents
02	Accomplice to drunken driving
02	Causing bodily injury
02	Causing another's death
02	Aggravated assault
02	Slander of a public official
02	Unlawful fishing
02	Violation of an official order
02	Unlawful distribution of alcohol
02	Indecent conduct
02	Robbery
02	Threat to a public official
01	Interference in the cause of justice
01	Unlawful deprivation of liberty
01	Obstructing a public official in his duty
01	Misuse of document
01	False certification
01	Pretending to be a public official
01	Extortion
01	Family theft
01	Unlawful coercion
01	Unlawful hunting
01	Reckless driving

APPENDIX B:2

The number of girls having committed the following specific offences:

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Offences</u>
22	Unlawful possession of property
16	Petty theft
12	Theft
08	Driving under the influence of alcohol
06	Careless driving
06	Fraud
06	Grand larceny
05	Drunken driving
04	Receiving stolen goods
04	Assault
03	Unlawful driving
03	Property damage
03	Tampering with documents
02	Petty offence against the narcotic drug act
02	Unlawful taking of a vehicle
02	Molestation
01	Accomplice to drunk driving
01	Slander of a public official
01	Misuse of a document
01	Perjury
01	Leaving the scene of an accident
01	Grand fraud
01	Fraudulent conduct
01	Violent resistance
01	Violence to a public official