

# **Previously Incarcerated Juveniles In Oregon's Adult Corrections System**

State of Oregon  
Office of Economic Analysis  
May 23, 2003

## Foreword

The Office of Economic Analysis (OEA) produces forecasts of youth and adult offenders in State custody. OEA uses data sets of individual offenders from each system to produce these forecasts. The Oregon Youth Authority provides data from the Juvenile Justice Information System (JJIS) for a forecast of youth incarcerated in State training schools, or *youth correctional facilities (YCFs)*. The Oregon Department of Corrections provides data from their Corrections Information System (CIS) for a forecast of offenders in prison or on the felony community corrections caseload.

The forecasts involve comparing juvenile and adult data sets to find offender matches. The cases that are matched in the process are the basis for this analysis. This study follows the general structure of studies conducted in South Carolina and Utah. The results are similar to a study done in the State of Washington.

OEA would like to thank the following for their review and critique of this paper:

Oregon Youth Authority  
Oregon Department of Corrections  
Jan Rivers Solomon  
Daniel Mears, The Urban Institute  
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## Executive Summary

The purpose of this study is to document the characteristics of a set of juvenile offenders incarcerated in Oregon that went on to become adult felons. “Juvenile incarceration” is defined in this study as commitment to a state training school, or *youth correctional facility (YCF)*. Adult felons are defined as offenders sentenced to felony probation or state prison.

The Office of Economic Analysis (OEA) produces forecasts of youth and adult offenders in State custody. The juvenile forecast involves comparing juvenile and adult data sets to find offender matches. The cases that are matched in the process are the basis for this analysis. This study follows the general structure of studies conducted in South Carolina and Utah. The results are similar to a study done in the State of Washington.

In Oregon, juveniles can be committed to a state YCF at age 12. They can remain in Oregon Youth Authority (OYA) custody until age 25, although most do not remain in a YCF beyond the teenage years. In Oregon, offenders are normally charged as adults at age 18. However, juveniles 15 and older can be remanded to the adult system for some felonies.

Our analysis is based a study population of persons born between 1976 and 1982 that have an Oregon YCF record for a juvenile adjudication and were released from their latest YCF episode prior to January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2001. There were 3,335 such persons in our files. These records were matched against a file of adult corrections intakes.

We found adult felony records for 41.8 percent of the study population (1,394/3335 offenders). Just over half of the oldest cohort (born 1976) had an adult felony record by their 25<sup>th</sup> year. This is roughly consistent with findings in Washington and South Carolina. The percentage of offenders with adult records increased with age, consistent with the South Carolina studies.

A smaller percentage of females than males became adult felons. Among racial and ethnic groups, only African American offenders had a higher percentage with adult records than the group as a whole. This is consistent with the South Carolina study. Those with more YCF episodes had a higher rate of adult criminality. This is generally consistent with the Washington and South Carolina studies.

About half of the offenders who spent their longest YCF episode as the result of a parole violation went on to become adult criminals. Among crime categories, property offenders had the highest rate of adult criminality. Among crime types, burglary, robbery, and auto theft were common juvenile crimes with some of the highest rates of adult criminality. Those incarcerated for a juvenile sex crime had

one of the lowest rates of adult criminality. These patterns of recidivism by crime type are generally true for adult felons in Oregon and the nation.

The study population indicates that about 50 percent of offenders last released from a YCF at age 17 or 18 can be expected to migrate to Oregon's adult corrections system by the end of six years of full adult eligibility. For offenders last released from a YCF at age 16, 40 percent can be expected to migrate to the adult system by six years of adult eligibility. For those last released from a YCF at age 15, 30 percent can be expected to migrate.

The analysis indicates that both age at release and length of time since release play roles in determining adult criminality. Regardless of the age at which an offender was last released from a YCF, he or she was most likely to enter the adult corrections system at the onset of full eligibility, age 18 or 19. Further, if an offender made it through the first two years post-release without being convicted as an adult felon or being sent back to a YCF, the prognosis for staying out of the adult system was improved.

The first two years after YCF release and the onset of adult eligibility coincide for offenders released at age 17 or 18. Just over half of all adult criminality detected in this study occurred among offenders last released from a YCF at age 17 or 18 and entering the adult corrections system at age 18 or 19.

For the 1,394 offenders with YCF *and* adult corrections records, the major juvenile crime was compared with the first adult crime. Nearly 75 percent (1,038) of the adult recidivists in the study population served their major juvenile episode for one of five crime types, with burglary being the most common type at 23.8 percent. Similarly, 76 percent of the 1,394 offenders entered the adult corrections system for one of six crime types, with drug offenses being the most common type at 17.2 percent.

There was a tendency to continue with the same crime type into the adult corrections system. For example, the most common first adult crime for the released auto thief was auto theft (20.2 percent). This pattern was true for juveniles who served for all five major crime types. However, it was also true that for all five major crime types, a majority of offenders entered the adult system for a crime other than the one for which they were incarcerated as a juvenile. Using the above example, if 20 percent of juvenile auto thieves were convicted for auto theft as adults, it follows that 80 percent were convicted for something other than auto theft.

We compared the 1976 through 1979 birth cohorts of adult offenders with YCF records to the same cohort of adult offenders with no YCF record. More than 60 percent of those with YCF records entered the adult corrections system before

age 20, compared to 39 percent of those with no record. Nearly one-third of the former received a prison sentence, compared to 15 percent of the latter.

For those sent to prison on their first adult corrections intake, a higher percentage of those with YCF records were convicted of property crimes. Those with YCF records were more likely to be convicted of a burglary, and were less likely to be convicted of a sex crime or drug offense than were inmates with no YCF record. For those who received probation on their first corrections intake, property crime convictions were the most common for those with YCF records, while behavioral crimes were most common for those with no YCF record.

This analysis does not account for interstate migration or death of YCF inmates. The matches were based on surname and birthdate, so missed matches were possible. Readers should be careful when comparing the results presented here with studies done in other states. Each state has a distinctive legal system that makes it difficult to determine by mere comparison if one state is “doing better” than another. The comparisons we made in this paper were intended to show that Oregon’s experience is roughly similar to other states that have published studies on adult criminality of juvenile offenders.

Similar caution should be taken when comparing the outcomes of incarcerated juveniles with juvenile offenders who were not incarcerated. The former may be more criminally inclined than the latter, and this inclination may play a role in both their juvenile incarceration and their adult criminality.

Adult criminality among the study population was concentrated among offenders who were last released from a YCF at age 17 or 18 and entered adult corrections at age 18 or 19. This suggests an opportunity for policy makers to focus efforts on this select group of YCF parolees.

The data also suggest that YCF property offenders who become adult property offenders may continue to recidivate through their adult criminal careers at a higher rate than other adult criminals. Continued follow up with the study population over the coming years would provide a clearer picture of how former YCF offenders differ from other adult criminals over time.

A more encompassing historical comparison could be useful. We did not have data on offenders’ family situation, educational level, or family criminal history for this study. Adding these factors to the analysis could help practitioners identify clients at greater risk of becoming adult criminals.

# 1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to document the characteristics of a set of juvenile offenders incarcerated in Oregon that went on to become adult felons. “Juvenile incarceration” is defined in this study as commitment to a state training school, or *youth correctional facility (YCF)*. Adult felons are defined as offenders sentenced to felony probation or state prison.

We compare the YCF records of adult recidivists with those who did not recidivate as adults according to these factors:

- Overall percentage of adult recidivists
- Race, ethnicity, and gender
- Age at first YCF episode
- Number of YCF episodes
- Total number of months in a YCF
- Type of juvenile crime

We document migration between the adult and juvenile corrections systems:

- Age at last release from a YCF
- Probability of adult criminality
- Migration time between systems
- Age at first intake to adult corrections

For the adult recidivists, we compare the major juvenile crime with the first adult crime. We also compared the adult recidivists with other adult felons with no Oregon YCF record.

## **a. Background**

The Office of Economic Analysis (OEA) produces forecasts of youth and adult offenders in State custody. OEA uses data sets of individual offenders from each system to produce these forecasts. The Oregon Youth Authority provides data from the Juvenile Justice Information System (JJIS) for a forecast of youth incarcerated in State facilities. The Oregon Department of Corrections provides data from their Corrections Information System (CIS) for a forecast of offenders in prison or on the felony community corrections caseload.

A regular part of the juvenile forecast involves identifying the group of juvenile parolees who could be revoked back to a YCF. This group is called the *revocation risk pool*. Offenders are removed from the revocation risk pool as they enter the adult corrections system because they are no longer at risk to be revoked back into juvenile custody. Juvenile records from the JJIS file are

compared against adult correctional offenders in the CIS file. This study is based on the cases matched during that process.

This study follows the general structure of research done by Rivers and Trotti in South Carolina and Utah<sup>1,2,3</sup>, with some exceptions. Rivers and Trotti had data on all juvenile offenders – not just those who were incarcerated. Only a small percentage of all juvenile offenders are committed to state YCFs. Most remain in the community on probation. We do not have data on locally supervised juveniles for this study. Rivers and Trotti also had data on juvenile offenders' living arrangements, education and family criminal history. These data are not available for our study. Finally, we do not exclude females from our study, as did Rivers and Trotti.

***b. Oregon's Juvenile Justice System***

In Oregon, juveniles can be committed to a state YCF at age 12. In 1995, the law was changed to extend the jurisdiction for juvenile incarceration from 21 to 25. Oregon juveniles do not typically remain in YCFs beyond the teenage years. Of the 2,885 offenders released between 1999 and 2001, 172 were older than 19; 22 of these were older than 21. Typically, more than 90 percent of the YCF juvenile-court population is under 20.

In Oregon, offenders are normally charged as adults at age 18. However, juveniles 15 and older can be remanded to the adult system for some felonies. Oregon passed a mandatory sentencing law in 1995 that included automatic remand for 15 to 17-year olds for any of 21 violent crimes. Since the mandatory sentencing law, the number of remanded juveniles has increased from about 30 per year to more than 100 per year.

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<sup>1</sup>South Carolina Delinquent Males: A Follow-up Into Adult Corrections, Rivers, J; Trotti, T, South Carolina Department of Youth Services, 1989.

<sup>2</sup>South Carolina Delinquent Males: An 11-Year Follow-Up Into Adult Probation and Prison, Rivers, J; Trotti, T, South Carolina Dept. of Corrections, 1995.

<sup>3</sup>Utah/South Carolina Delinquent Males: A Comparative 11 Year Follow-up into Adult Probation and Prison..., Rivers Solomon, J; Trotti, T, June 1998.



## 2. Methodology

Our analysis was based on this study population:

- Offenders born between 1976 and 1982;
- who had an Oregon YCF record for a juvenile adjudication;
- and who were released from their latest YCF episode prior to January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2001.

**Table 1: Study Population by Birth Year**

<b>Birth Year</b>	<b>No. of Offenders</b>	<b>Age on 12/31/2001</b>
1976	437	25
1977	496	24
1978	514	23
1979	505	22
1980	514	21
1981	483	20
1982	386	19
Total	3335	

Table 1 shows the birth years of the 3,335 YCF offenders in our files who matched these criteria. We used these criteria for several reasons. First, all offenders had at least one year of full adult eligibility<sup>4</sup>, one year since their last release from a YCF, and had reached age 19<sup>5</sup>. These criteria ensured that the study population had a minimal risk of re-entering a YCF and any further criminal prosecution would occur in adult court. We started with the 1976 birth cohort to ensure we had reasonably complete juvenile incarceration records for the entire study population. The 1976 birth cohort was 12 years old in 1988, so they were eligible for incarceration in a YCF. Our JJIS data appeared reasonably complete beginning in 1988.

Offenders who matched these criteria were extracted from a JJIS file. The JJIS file was compared to a CIS file of adult corrections intakes. The CIS file contained all adult felony intakes from July 1, 1991 through February 28<sup>th</sup>, 2002. The oldest cohort (those born in 1976) reached age 15 in 1991, so our adult data covered virtually all of the time for which the study population was eligible for adult prosecution.

We ran an additional matching pass to look for females who changed their names. Females were matched by first name and birthdate. Females with different surnames but matching first names and birthdates were researched on the State's court database, the Oregon Judicial Information Network (OJIN). If both surnames were tied to the same offender in OJIN, the case was deemed a match.

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<sup>4</sup> Although Oregon law allows for juveniles aged 15 or older to be remanded to the adult justice system, this is a rare occurrence reserved for the most serious crimes.

<sup>5</sup> Most juvenile revocations occur within one year of release from a YCF, so if no revocation occurred during 2001, it was unlikely to occur in 2002 or later. Moreover, YCF intakes of 19 year olds are extremely rare.

### 3. Results

#### I. Comparison of Juvenile Offenders

##### a. *Percent with Adult Corrections Records*

We found adult felony records for 41.8 percent of the study population (1,394/3335 offenders). Table 2 shows that just over half of the oldest cohort (born 1976) had an adult felony record by their 25<sup>th</sup> year. This is roughly consistent with findings in Washington<sup>6</sup> and South Carolina<sup>7</sup>. Table 2 also shows how the percentage of offenders with adult records increased with age. This is consistent with the South Carolina studies.<sup>8</sup>

**Table 2: Adult Criminality of Previously Incarcerated Juveniles Oregon Offenders by Birth Year Cohort**

Birth Year	Age in 2001	Years of Adult Eligibility	Number of Juvenile Offenders	No Adult Record	Adult Corrections Record
1976	25	7	437	49.4%	50.6%
1977	24	6	496	50.2%	49.8%
1978	23	5	514	54.5%	45.5%
1979	22	4	505	53.5%	46.5%
1980	21	3	514	59.5%	40.5%
1981	20	2	483	67.3%	32.7%
1982	19	1	386	76.2%	23.8%
<b>Total</b>			<b>3335</b>	<b>58.2%</b>	<b>41.8%</b>

##### b. *Comparison of Demographic, Judicial, and Crime Characteristics*

We compared the available demographic and criminal history characteristics of those with adult records to those with no adult record. Demographics are compared in Table 3, and criminal history variables are compared in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 3 shows that a lower percentage of females than males became adult felons. Among racial and ethnic groups, only African American offenders had a

<sup>6</sup> The Class of 1988, Seven Years Later: How a Juvenile Offender's Crime, Criminal History, and Age Affect the Changes of Becoming an Adult Felon in Washington State, Washington State Institute for Public Policy, January 1997, p.3.

<sup>7</sup> Rivers and Trotti, 1989, p.9.

<sup>8</sup> Rivers and Trotti, 1989 p. 7; 1995, p. 11

higher percentage with adult records than the group as a whole. This is consistent with the findings of the South Carolina studies.<sup>9</sup>

Table 4 compares age at first YCF episode, number of YCF episodes, and total time in a YCF. Those aged 12 and 13 when first incarcerated had the highest rate of adult criminality, but the number of offenders in these age groups was small. Results were more defined for number and duration of YCF episodes. In general, those with more YCF episodes had a higher rate of adult criminality. Those who became adult criminals spent significantly more time incarcerated as juveniles than those with no adult record.

These findings are generally consistent with the Washington and South Carolina studies. Washington used juvenile convictions rather than YCF episodes. They found that juveniles first convicted at an early age were at higher risk of becoming adult felons

**Table 4: Adult Criminality of Previously Incarcerated Juveniles According to Judicial Characteristics Oregon Offenders**

Characteristic	No of Juvenile Offenders	Percent with Adult Record
<b>Age at First YCF Episode</b>		
12	51	56.9%
13	185	53.5%
14	443	38.1%
15	801	40.1%
16	879	41.6%
17	859	42.8%
18	114	34.2%
Unknown	3	
Total	3335	41.8%
<b>Number of YCF Episodes</b>		
1	1909	34.9%
2	760	45.0%
3	368	61.7%
4+	298	53.0%
Total	3335	41.8%
<b>Mean Total Months in YCF</b>		
	No of Juvenile Offenders	Mean Total Mos. In YCF
Adult Record	1394	14.8*
No Record	1941	13.6
All Offenders	3335	14.1

\*Statistically significant at .05 (t-test)

**Table 3: Adult Criminality of Previously Incarcerated Juveniles According to Demographic Characteristics Oregon Offenders**

Characteristic	No of Juvenile Offenders	Percent with Adult Record
<b>Gender</b>		
Female	416	21.4%
Male	2919	44.7%
Total	3335	41.8%
<b>Race</b>		
Asian	77	32.5%
African American	332	57.2%
Native American	119	40.3%
White	2627	40.8%
Unknown	180	32.8%
Total	3335	41.8%
<b>Ethnicity</b>		
Hispanic	318	39.9%
Non-Hispanic	3017	42.0%
Total	3335	41.8%

<sup>9</sup> Rivers and Trotti, 1989, p.8; 1995, p.3.

than were older first-time juvenile offenders. They also found that the more juvenile felony or misdemeanor convictions accumulated by an offender, the greater the likelihood of becoming an adult felon.<sup>10</sup> The South Carolina studies found that the probability of adult criminality increased with the number of juvenile institutionalizations.<sup>11</sup>

Table 5 compares adult criminality according to the major juvenile crime. About half of the offenders who spent their longest YCF episode as the result of a parole violation went on to become adult criminals. Among crime categories, property offenders had the highest rate of adult criminality. In a comparison of crime types, burglary, robbery, and auto theft were common juvenile crimes with some of the highest rates of adult criminality. Those incarcerated for a juvenile sex crime had one of the lowest rates of adult criminality. These patterns of recidivism by crime type are generally true for adult felons. Recent studies of adult recidivism in Oregon and the nation found the highest recidivism rates among property offenders and the lowest rates among sex offenders

<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup>

**Table 5: Adult Criminality of Previously Incarcerated Juveniles**

**According to Major Juvenile Crime**

	No of Juvenile Offenders	Percent with Adult Record
<b>Reason for Longest Juvenile Incarceration</b>		
New Crime	2987	40.7%
Parole Violation	348	50.9%
Total	3335	41.8%
<b>Juvenile Crime Category</b>		
Property	1639	45.3%
Violent	1382	37.7%
Behavioral	303	42.6%
Unknown	11	18.2%
Total	3335	41.8%
<b>Juvenile Crime Type</b>		
Burglary	704	47.2%
Sex Crimes	533	32.8%
Assault	528	37.1%
Auto Theft	460	45.2%
Robbery	255	49.8%
Theft	223	43.5%
Drugs	187	44.9%
Other/Unkn	171	40.4%
Arson	78	44.9%
Weapons	70	37.1%
Forgery	44	31.8%
Homicide	39	25.6%
Kidnap	23	47.8%
Misc. Beh	20	50.0%
Total	3335	41.8%

<sup>10</sup> The Class of 1988..., State of Washington, pp. 4-5.

<sup>11</sup> Rivers and Trotti, 1989, p.9; 1995, p.11.

<sup>12</sup> Recidivism of Parolees and Probationers, Oregon Department of Corrections, May 8, 2001, <http://www.doc.state.or.us/research/RecidOff.pdf>, p 1 (11/18/02).

<sup>13</sup> Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994, U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, June, 2002, p.8.

## II. Probability of Adult Criminality, Migration Time, and Typical Age of Entry to Adult System

The probability of adult criminality is affected by the offender's age at release from a YCF. Offenders younger than 15 are not at immediate risk of adult prosecution. Those aged 15 to 17 are at some risk, as they can be remanded to the adult system for some felonies. Those aged 18 and older are at risk of adult prosecution for any offense. Table 6 shows the study population's age at last release.

**Table 6: Age at Last Release from YCF**

Age	No of Juvenile Offenders	Percent	Cumulative Percent
12	1	0.0%	0.0%
13	11	0.3%	0.4%
14	66	2.0%	2.3%
15	200	6.0%	8.3%
16	543	16.3%	24.6%
17	1212	36.3%	61.0%
18	1044	31.3%	92.3%
19	157	4.7%	97.0%
20	44	1.3%	98.3%
21	54	1.6%	99.9%
22	3	0.1%	100.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3335</b>		

To get a clearer picture of the timing and probability of adult criminality, we divided the study population according to the age at last YCF release. Figure 1 shows the probability of adult corrections intake for offenders last released from a YCF at age 18 or older. The study population indicates that for every 100 such offenders released, 19 will migrate to the adult system during the first year, another 15 in the second year, and so on. By the end of six years, 50 of the 100 offenders will have migrated to Oregon's adult corrections system (50 percent).

**Figure 1: Probability of Adult Corrections Intake During Each Year After Last YCF Release at Age 18 and Older**

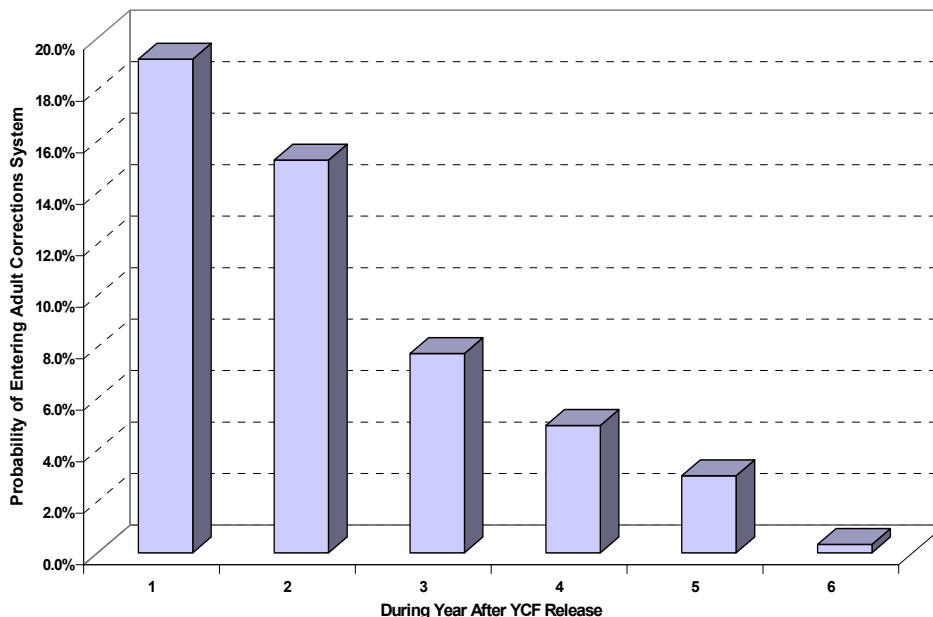


Figure 2 shows the probability of adult corrections intake for offenders last released from a YCF at age 17. As with their older counterparts, the study population indicates that about 50 percent of released offenders will have migrated to the adult system after six years of adult eligibility (year 7). However, migration peaks in the second year, as 17 year-olds turn 18 and become fully eligible for adult prosecution.

**Figure 2: Probability of Adult Corrections Intake During Each Year After Last YCF Release at 17 YOA**

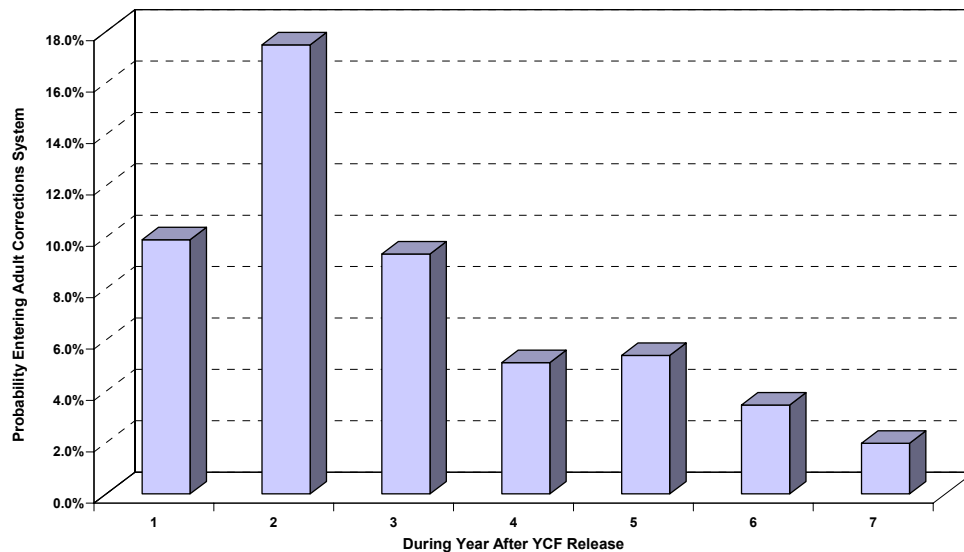
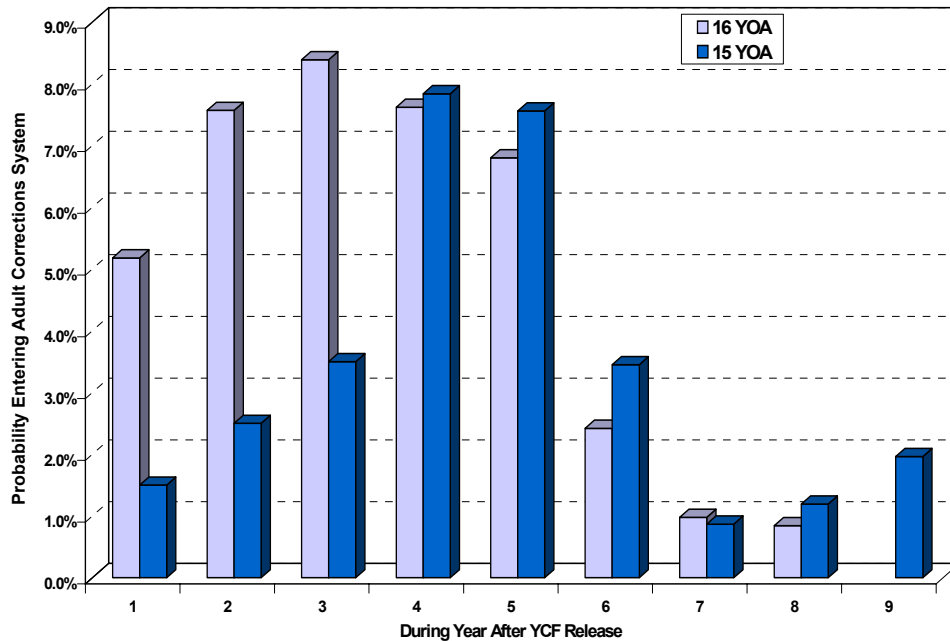


Figure 3 shows the probability of adult corrections intake for offenders last released from a YCF at ages 15 and 16. The study population indicates that for those last released at 15, 30 percent can be expected to migrate to the adult system after six years of adult eligibility. For 16 year olds, 40 percent can be expected to migrate. For these offenders too, the migration rate gradually increases to peak at age 18 and declines thereafter.

These analyses indicate that both age at release and length of time since release play roles in determining adult criminality. Regardless of the age at which an offender was last released from a YCF, he or she was most likely to enter the adult corrections system at the onset of full eligibility, age 18 or 19. Table 7 shows that nearly 64 percent of all offenders in the study group who migrated to the adult system did so in their 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> year.

Further, if an offender made it through the first two years post-release without being convicted as an adult felon or being sent back to a YCF, the prognosis for staying out of the adult system was improved. This is evident among those last released from a YCF at age 15. Those offenders managed to avoid recommitment to a YCF over their remaining juvenile years, and more than 90

**Figure 3: Probability of Adult Corrections Intake During Each Year After YCF Release – 15 and 16 YOA**



percent avoided adult prosecution through the end of their 17<sup>th</sup> year. Throughout the first six years of adulthood, 20 percent fewer of them migrated to the adult system compared to offenders whose juvenile careers continued to age 17 or 18.

The first two years after YCF release and the onset of adult eligibility coincide for offenders released at age 17 or 18. Just over half of all adult criminality detected in this study occurred among offenders last released from a YCF at age 17 or 18 and entering the adult corrections system at age 18 or 19.

**Table 7: Age at Intake to Adult Corrections System**

Age	No of Juvenile Offenders	Percent	Cumulative Percent
15	3	0.2%	0.2%
16	23	1.6%	1.9%
17	58	4.2%	6.0%
18	450	32.3%	38.3%
19	437	31.3%	69.7%
20	204	14.6%	84.3%
21	115	8.2%	92.5%
22	64	4.6%	97.1%
23	21	1.5%	98.6%
24	16	1.1%	99.8%
25	3	0.2%	100.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1394</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	

### III. Comparison of Juvenile and Adult Crime - Specialization

This section deals with the 1,394 offenders with YCF *and* adult corrections records. Offenders' major juvenile crimes were compared with their adult crimes. Table 8 shows the most common juvenile and adult crime types. Nearly 75 percent (1,038) of the adult recidivists in the study population served their major juvenile episode for one of five crime types, with burglary being the most common at 23.8 percent. Similarly, 76 percent of the 1,394 offenders entered the adult corrections system for one of six crime types, with drug offenses being the most common at 17.2 percent.<sup>14</sup>

**Table 8: Most Common Juvenile and Adult Crimes  
Adult Recidivist Group**

Major Juvenile Crime	Percent of Total	First Adult Crime	Percent of Total
Burglary	23.8%	Drugs	17.2%
Auto Theft	14.9%	Burglary	14.8%
Assault	14.1%	Auto Theft	14.2%
Sex Crime	12.6%	Assault	12.3%
Robbery	9.1%	Robbery	8.8%
Top Five Total	74.5%	Theft	8.6%
		Top Six Total	76.0%

Table 9 cross-tabulates the five most common juvenile crime types in the study population (the 1,038 offenders shown on the left side of Table 8) by the first adult crime. The tendency for offenders to be repeatedly convicted for the same type of crime is called *specialization*.

Table 9 shows the tendency for specialization between the juvenile and adult corrections systems. For example, the most common first adult crime for the released auto thief was auto theft (20.2 percent). This pattern was true for juveniles who served for all five major crime types. However, it was also true that for all five major juvenile crime types, a majority of offenders entered the adult system for a crime other than the one for which they were incarcerated as a juvenile. Using the above example, if 20 percent of juvenile auto thieves were convicted for auto theft as adults, it follows that 80 percent were convicted for something other than auto theft. These tendencies were also documented in a nationwide study of adult felons<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> This clustering is not unique to the 1,394 adult recidivists in this study. It occurs among all offenders in the juvenile and adult systems.

<sup>15</sup> Recidivism of Prisoners..., U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, p.9.



**Table 9: Specialization in Juvenile And Adult Crime Types**

First Adult Crime	<i>Percentages</i>				
	Major Juvenile Crime				
	Assa	Sex Crime	Robb	Burg	Auto Theft
Assa	<b>19.9%</b>	10.3%	15.0%	9.0%	9.6%
Homi	3.1%	3.4%	3.1%	1.2%	2.9%
Sex Crime	4.1%	<b>24.0%</b>	0.8%	3.6%	3.4%
Kid	2.0%	1.1%	0.8%	0.0%	1.4%
Robb	5.6%	6.3%	<b>18.9%</b>	7.5%	9.1%
Arso	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	0.3%	0.5%
Burg	11.2%	13.1%	11.0%	<b>20.8%</b>	14.9%
Forg	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	0.9%	2.4%
Thef	7.7%	6.3%	8.7%	10.2%	10.6%
Auto Theft	10.2%	15.4%	10.2%	14.8%	<b>20.2%</b>
Driv	3.1%	1.7%	3.1%	2.7%	1.9%
Drug	17.3%	8.6%	18.1%	15.4%	11.5%
Esca	0.5%	2.3%	2.4%	1.5%	1.4%
Othr	7.7%	2.9%	1.6%	5.7%	5.3%
Weap	6.6%	2.9%	4.7%	4.8%	3.4%
Unkn	1.0%	0.0%	0.8%	1.5%	1.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

#### **IV. Comparison with other Adult Corrections Offenders**

In this section, we compare adult offenders with YCF records to adult offenders with no YCF record. We are comparing offenders with Oregon records. We did not account for interstate migration in this study. We limited the analysis to those born between 1976 and 1979. These offenders all had at least four years of adult eligibility as of December 31, 2001. As we saw in section II, above, the onset of adult criminality typically occurs within four years after turning 18.

12,624 adult offenders born between 1976 and 1979 entered the adult corrections system between July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1991 and December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2001. Of those, 937 (7.4 percent) had an Oregon YCF record. Of the 12,624 total offenders, 2,022 went to prison on their first adult corrections intake and 10,602 received a probation sentence.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The remaining 334 offenders received other miscellaneous community supervision sentences.

Table 10 shows that the study population with YCF records entered the adult corrections system at a younger age than those with no YCF record. More than 60 percent of those with YCF records entered the adult corrections system before age 20, compared to 39 percent of those with no YCF record.

Offenders with YCF records were also more likely to receive a prison sentence on their first adult corrections intake than were offenders with no YCF record. Nearly one-third of the former received a prison sentence, compared to 15 percent of the latter.

**Table 10: Comparison of Adult Offenders**

<b>Age at First Adult Corrections Intake</b>	<b>Juvenile Incarceration Record</b>	
	<b>No Record N=11,687 Percent</b>	<b>Record N=937 Percent</b>
<b>15</b>	0.1%	0.1%
<b>16</b>	0.7%	0.6%
<b>17</b>	1.8%	4.2%
<b>18</b>	14.8%	28.3%
<b>19</b>	21.9%	29.2%
<b>20</b>	18.4%	14.8%
<b>21</b>	16.9%	11.5%
<b>22</b>	12.7%	6.9%
<b>23</b>	7.9%	2.2%
<b>24</b>	4.0%	1.7%
<b>25</b>	1.0%	0.3%
<b>Under age 20</b>	<b>39.3%</b>	<b>62.4%</b>

<b>Disposition of First Adult Corrections Intake</b>	<b>Juvenile Incarceration Record</b>	
	<b>No Record N=11,687 Percent</b>	<b>Record N=937 Percent</b>
<b>Prison</b>	14.9%	29.8%
<b>Probation</b>	82.6%	65.6%
<b>Other</b>	2.5%	4.6%

**Prisoners**

Table 11 compares crime type and category for those sent to prison on their first adult corrections intake (2,022 total offenders). While person crime convictions were the most common for both groups, a higher percentage of those with YCF records were convicted of property crimes. Those with YCF records were more likely to be convicted of a burglary, and were less likely to be convicted of a sex crime or drug offense than were inmates with no YCF record.

**Table 11  
Sentenced to Prison on  
First Adult Corrections Intake**

Crime Category	Juvenile Incarceration Record	
	No Record	Record
	N=1,743	N=279
First Adult Corrections Intake	Percent	Percent
Prison Inmates		
Person Crime	76.8%	69.9%
Property Crime	10.0%	21.1%
Behavioral Crime	13.3%	9.0%

Crime Type	Juvenile Incarceration Record	
	No Record	Record
	N=1,743	N=279
First Adult Corrections Intake	Percent	Percent
Prison Inmates		
Assault	23.1%	18.3%
Robbery	20.6%	23.3%
Sex Crimes	17.4%	10.0%
Drugs	10.8%	5.7%
Homicide	9.5%	7.2%
Burglary	7.3%	14.7%
Weapons	3.2%	5.7%
Other	2.9%	4.7%
Kidnap	2.2%	2.5%
Auto Theft	1.5%	2.9%
Theft	0.9%	3.9%
Arson	0.5%	1.1%
Forgery	0.1%	0.0%

**Probationers**

Table 12 compares the same information for those who received probation on their first corrections intake (10,268 total offenders). Property crime convictions were the most common for those with YCF records, while behavioral crimes were most common for those with no YCF record. Drugs were the most common offense for both groups, but they were much more prevalent among those with no YCF record. Those with YCF records were more likely to be convicted of auto theft than those with no YCF record.

**Table 12  
Sentenced to Probation on  
First Adult Corrections Intake**

Crime Category First Adult Corrections Intake Probationers	Juvenile Incarceration Record	
	No Record N=9,653 Percent	Record N=615 Percent
Property Crime	39.9%	50.4%
Behavioral Crime	43.6%	35.4%
Person Crime	16.5%	14.1%

Crime Type First Adult Corrections Intake Probationers	Juvenile Incarceration Record	
	No Record N=9,653 Percent	Record N=615 Percent
Drugs	35.3%	22.9%
Theft	12.9%	11.4%
Burglary	12.4%	16.3%
Other	8.4%	7.8%
Auto Theft	7.8%	18.5%
Assault	7.7%	8.6%
Sex Crimes	4.3%	3.9%
Forgery	3.1%	1.8%
Driving	3.0%	2.6%
Weapons	2.2%	3.1%
Robbery	2.0%	2.6%
Arson	0.3%	0.2%
Kidnap	0.3%	0.3%
Homicide	0.3%	0.0%

## 4. Limitations

Matching offenders on surname and birthdate missed those who entered the adult corrections system under an alias, a different birthdate, or a significantly different surname spelling. We have no way to know how many were missed due to spelling or birthdate differences. The number missed was probably minimal, as the use of aliases is more typical of older offenders<sup>17</sup>.

This analysis did not cover Oregon juvenile offenders that moved into the adult corrections system of another state. It did not cover offenders that were in the youth facilities of another state before entering Oregon's adult system. As in the 1989 Rivers and Trotti study, migration and death were not taken into account.

Caution is advised when comparing the results presented here with studies done in other states. Each state has a distinctive legal system that affects the number of youth sent to YCFs, the age at which they become adult criminals, the proportion of misdemeanors to felonies, and the likelihood of being sentenced to prison rather than probation. These and other factors can affect the percentage of youth offenders who are incarcerated and the migration rate into the adult corrections system. These differences make it difficult to determine by mere comparison if one state is "doing better" than another. The comparisons we made in this paper were intended to show that Oregon's experience is roughly similar to other states that have published studies on adult criminality of juvenile offenders.

Similar caution should be taken when comparing the outcomes of incarcerated juveniles with juvenile offenders who were not incarcerated. Rivers and Trotti found that incarcerated youth represented a small fraction of all juvenile offenders in South Carolina and Utah, but a very high percentage of them entered the adult corrections system<sup>18</sup>. The vast majority of youth offenders in these states were on probation, and a small percentage of them entered the adult corrections system – six percent in Utah and 23 percent in South Carolina. The State of Washington conducted a similar study and found roughly the same composition and adult criminality among juvenile offenders<sup>19</sup>. There is little doubt that this too is the case in Oregon. The small percentage of juvenile offenders who are incarcerated should not be compared with probationers. The former may be more criminally inclined than the latter, and this inclination may play a role in both their juvenile incarceration and their adult criminality.

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<sup>17</sup> Southdown Press, "Henry Forger – A Psychological Study of the Criminal Alias," Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 10:1, March 1977, 17-25.

<sup>18</sup> Rivers and Trotti, 1998, p.iii.

<sup>19</sup> The Class of 1988..., State of Washington, p.3.

## 5. Conclusions

Adult criminality among the study population was concentrated among YCF inmates who were last released from a YCF at age 17 or 18. They tended to enter the adult corrections system in short order, most before age 20. YCF inmates that were last released from a YCF at age 17 or 18 and entered adult corrections at age 18 or 19 comprised 52 percent of the adult criminality detected in this study. This suggests an opportunity for policy makers to focus efforts on this select group of YCF parolees.

The adult recidivists in the study population tended to enter the adult corrections system at an earlier age and were more likely to receive prison on their first intake when compared to other adult offenders at their first intake. The data also suggest that YCF property offenders who become adult property offenders may continue to recidivate through their adult criminal careers at a higher rate than other adult criminals. Three factors support this notion: YCF inmates adjudicated for burglary and vehicle theft had some of the highest rates of adult criminality; these same crimes also have high rates of recidivism among the adult correctional population; and a degree of specialization was detected between offenders' juvenile and adult crimes. Continued follow up with the study population over the coming years would provide a clearer picture of how former YCF offenders differ from other offenders over their adult criminal careers.

A more encompassing historical comparison could be useful. We did not have data on offenders' living arrangements, education, or family criminal history for this study. In the South Carolina studies, these factors were significantly different between juvenile offenders who recidivated as adults and those who did not. Adding these factors to the analysis could help practitioners identify clients at greater risk of becoming adult criminals.