

Analysis Report



RECIDIVISM RATE IN JUVENILES IN CONFLICT WITH THE LAW IN THE PENITENTIARY SYSTEM 2013-2014

July, 2015

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**Accompanying Causes and Factors
of Recurring Criminal Behaviour**

Produced by:

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July, 2015

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Save the Children is the world's leading independent organization for children. It works in around 120 countries. It saves children's lives; fights for their rights and helps them fulfill their potential.

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List of acronyms

ESPAD	European School Survey Project on Alcohol and Other Drugs
DPB	General Directorate of Prisons
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
I.E.P.D	Institution of Execution of Penal Decision

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I. Introduction

Adolescents constitute one of the most active age groups in terms of legal and social norms violation, although not all adolescents choose the life of crime, and of those who do, only a small share gets to repeat criminal behaviour during adulthood.

Many studies conducted in different countries show that about 70% of serious crimes are committed by no more than 8% of male juveniles in representative samples of the population (Moffit, 1993; Snyder, Espiritu, Huizinga, Loeber, & Petechuk, 2003; Snyder, 2001). Other studies have found that 15-18% of the adolescents in conflict with the law are responsible for most repetitive and violent crimes (ENZMANN, etc., 2010; Tatem Kelley, Huizinga, Thornberry, & Loeber, 1997; Howell, 1995). As regards the profile of criminal behaviour, crimes against property account for about 2/3 of all cases of criminal offenses committed by recidivist juveniles, followed by an increase in the number of crimes related to drug manufacturing and trade (UNICEF, 2000).

The index of juvenile criminality in Albania, although lower than that of north-western European countries, and even of Mediterranean ones, (Junger-Tas, etj., 2012), has steadily grown over the last years, save for 2013 during which, according to official statistics, these figures dropped (Statistical Report 2013; Annual Raport on the State of Delinquency for 2013). In addition, the number of crimes committed by juveniles under the age of 14, who are not subject to criminal liability, has also increased (Sufaj, 2011).

These arrested and convicted juveniles, especially those in the penitentiary system, have an increased risk of recidivism and reconviction due to the perpetration of criminal behaviour also during adulthood (Snyder, Espiritu, Huizinga, Loeber, & Petechuk, 2003); school drop-out or problems in school (Zabel & Nigro, 1999; Sedlak & Bruce, 2010); addiction to substance use (Young, Dembo, & Henderson, 2007; Robertson, Dill, Husain, & Undesser, 2004); and a number of other factors that accompany and predict recidivism among youth.

Some authors support the idea that the conviction of juveniles in conflict with the law by officially placing them in a penitentiary institution, deters them from repeating criminal offenses in the future. Others, on the other hand, argue that the penitentiary system has little to do with recidivism prevention and, in some cases, the placement in a penitentiary institution can increase the risk of criminal behaviour recurrence (Lin, 2007). The penitentiary institutions and pre-detention sections may serve as “training centres” where juveniles in conflict with the law have the opportunity to “be enriched” by the criminal experiences of their peers or older persons, to adopt the identity of the criminal, and to learn more advanced criminal techniques. Unfortunately, based on the results of the review of judicial institutions data, no statistics specifically related to the rate of recidivism in juveniles in conflict with the law are reported, and there is not any study undertaken by these institutions to reflect on the dynamics of the phenomenon of recidivism among juveniles. Such a study would help in the reflection on the effects and consequences of their placement in penitentiary institutions for the prevention of recidivism.

Despite this deficiency, the indicators concerning juveniles involved in criminal behaviour and the convicted ones indicate a growing phenomenon and suggest the conduction of in-depth studies to explore the dynamics of juvenile recidivism and understand the individual and social factors related to the re-arresting and reconviction of juveniles in conflict with the law.

1.1 Definition of recidivism

In order to understand the dynamics of the evolution of recidivism among juveniles in conflict with the law, we should analyse the definitions given to the term 'recidivism' according to different theoretical and institutional perspectives.

The definition of recidivism includes two very important elements: 1) the perpetration of a criminal offence envisaged by the relevant Criminal Code, 2) by a juvenile who is known to have committed at least one criminal offence previously (Blumstein & Larson, 1971).

Recidivism or involvement in criminal behaviour that leads to the repetition of a criminal offense is one of the fundamental concepts in criminal justice. Recurrence is measured by the criminal offenses that result in re-arrest, reconviction, or return to the penitentiary system, within a period of three years after the release from penitentiary institutions (Gjerazi & Tafaj, 2014). In criminology, recidivism is defined as "the return to the previous criminal habits, especially after a conviction", so, recidivism means the perpetration of an offense by a juvenile who has previously committed at least one other criminal offense, without taking into consideration whether he/she is convicted for that offence or not. In criminal legal sense, recidivism is the repeated perpetration of a criminal offence by a juvenile who has been convicted for a prior criminal offense. In criminal law, recidivism exists when a person returns to a penitentiary-correction institution as a consequence of the execution of a sentence for an offense he has committed after the conviction for a prior criminal offense.

In this report, the term 'recidivist juveniles' refers to persons aged 14 to 18, who have been previously convicted and placed in a penitentiary institution, and have returned to such institution for a new offense (regardless of the type of offence), in other words, who have received a new sentence.

1.2 Measurement of the recidivism rate in penitentiary institutions

The term "measuring recidivism specifically in the penitentiary system" refers to the use of scientific methods, which periodically determine the extension or rate of recidivism among juveniles in the penitentiary system. The most used methods for this purpose include self-reporting of recidivist juveniles through interviews or questionnaires, official data on juveniles suspected of or detained for the perpetration of criminal offenses, data from the courts related to the trials and convictions of the juveniles in a specific period of time.

Given that the measurements are made at different levels of the judicial system, the results about the rate of recidivism may vary significantly from one level to another. Usually, the later in the process of juvenile crime case management we measure the rate of recidivism, the lower it turns out to be. So, if recidivism is measured based on the number of juveniles

suspected and arrested as perpetrators of criminal offences, the results are higher, while as we jump to the estimation of the number of reconvictions in the penitentiary system, the recidivism rate drops (Mears & Travis, 2004). This difference is a result of several factors: due to the young age or other mitigating circumstances, judges might give alternative sentences instead of placing them to a penitentiary institution; juveniles might be proceeded out of custody; depending on the trial process and the time needed, some of them may be set free from the pre-trial section, while others may serve only a small part of the sentence in the institution and be released before completing it by pardon; during the trial or while serving the sentence, some juveniles might turn the legal age of adulthood and be transferred to the adult correctional facilities; or other specific factors.

1.3 Purpose and objectives of the study

The purpose of this study is to explore an important element of juvenile delinquency in Albania, namely recidivism in the penitentiary system, its rate for the 2013-2014 period, and the various factors associated with recidivism.

The main objectives related to the purpose of the study are the following:

- To describe and analyze the official data of the judicial institutions, especially the penitentiary ones, regarding juveniles in conflict with the law and recidivist juveniles for the 2013-2014 period;
- To identify the categories of juveniles in conflict with the law who are at risk of repeating criminal behaviour, through the analysis of socio-demographic features, individual factors, and factors related to the family, peers and community in some recidivist juveniles in the penitentiary system;
- To identify and analyze the issues raised and the suggestions expressed by the specialists of the penitentiary system and by the providers of social and reintegration services for juveniles in conflict with the law;
- To identify, based on the review of the related literature and on the findings of this study, some strategies and actions to measure and analyze recidivism among juveniles in the judicial system.

2. Methodology and structure of the study

The results and recommendations presented in this report are based on the processing of data obtained from three different research sources (the triangulation technique of data collection): 1) Through the official data provided by the judicial institutions, we analysed the juvenile delinquency rate as well as recidivism indicators in the penitentiary system for the 2013-2014 period; 2) Through the structured interviews conducted with the (male) recidivist juveniles in the penitentiary system, we identified and described the personal and social characteristics and factors associated with the probability of repeating criminal behaviours. The characteristics identified were discussed along with a review of the relevant literature on the factors associated with the risk of being involved in criminal behaviour and recidivism; and 3) Through the semi-structured interviews conducted with the specialists of judicial institutions focused on juvenile justice, we could explore their experiences, reflections and suggestions for the improvement of the procedures and practices of recidivism measuring and prevention.

2.1 Collection of data from judicial institutions

To explore the rate of delinquency and recidivism among juveniles for the period 2013-2014, official data from judicial institutions were collected, making sure to cover all the stages of the proceedings.

In order to have a more complete overview of the juvenile recidivism and delinquency rate and to cross-check the data, we also consulted the annual statistical reports of the Ministry of Justice and the Prosecutor's Office for the year 2013. For the year 2014, the two institutions had not published any report on their official websites.

In addition, we also collected and processed data related to these two years from the Directorate of State Police, Prosecutor's Office, General Directorate of Prisons, Juvenile Institute of Kavaja and "Meridia" organization, one of the partner organizations of Save the Children in Albania which provides services for the reintegration of imprisoned juveniles into the society.

2.2 Interviews with the recidivist juveniles

2.2.1 Population and sample

The subject of our data collection for the exploration of the causes of recidivist criminal behaviour were the juveniles in conflict with the law currently inside the penitentiary system, either already convicted or awaiting conviction. The data provided by the GDP showed that

the juveniles in the penitentiary system were only male. Therefore, the criterion of the examination of data related to both genders remained unfulfilled. In order to identify and analyze the socio-demographic characteristics and the individual, family, community and peer factors associated with recidivist criminal behaviour, 10 recidivist male juveniles in the JI of Kavaja were purposefully selected. The structured interviews were conducted in May 2015 and the process lasted 7 days.

The JI of Kavaja is the only penitentiary institution that serves as a rehabilitation, counselling, and education centre for male juveniles who have been involved in criminal offences (either convicted or pre-detained) from all over the country, thus covering also for the other institutions, which only keep juveniles in pre-detention sections. The institution consists of four sections where juveniles are separated according to the status of the criminal proceedings (convicted or in pre-trial detention), age, and type of offence. The convicted juveniles come from all over the country, as soon as the decision on their sentence becomes final, whereas the juveniles in pre-trial detention come from areas situated close to the institution, namely the regions of Durrës, Elbasan, and Tirana.

The ten male juveniles of the institution (either convicted or awaiting conviction), who agreed to be interviewed of their own free will, were selected based on a number of pre-defined criteria.

The first criterion for the participation in the study was to be a minor who, during the period of the study, had received a final court sentence for the perpetration of one or several criminal offences, or was in pre-trial detention, and who had undergone at least two preliminary court hearing sessions and was awaiting the court decision, i.e., the criminal offense which they were accused for was proven. In addition, to be included in the sample, the juveniles had to have admitted the perpetration of the criminal offence. Other criteria were: to have been previously convicted and placed in a penitentiary institution during the 2013 -2014 period; and to have no history of mental disorder (schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, etc.), brain impairments or trauma, hearing disorders, or mental retardation, according to the assessment of the institution's psychologist. The selected juveniles were referred by one of the educators of the education department, based on the aforementioned criteria. Using this selection method, no other criteria/reasons identified by the staff during the referral of the juveniles were taken into account. Therefore, this sample selection method should be considered a limitation of the data collection and generalization process.

2.2.2 Data collection procedures

A structured questionnaire was used to interview the selected juveniles (Annex 2). They were individually asked if they were willing to participate in the interview. Subsequently, they were informed about the purpose of the questions asked and the procedure of data collection and reporting. Participation in the interview was free and confidentiality was maintained throughout the entire process of data collection and processing¹.

The face-to-face interviews, conducted upon the verbal and individual consent of each juvenile, were recorded on paper and administered only by the consultant, without the

1. One of the fundamental ethical criteria of empirical scientific research, the maintenance of confidentiality implies that the researcher shall not disclose the identity of those participating in the study, even though he knows them, to anyone. (Babbie, 2007).

presence of any other staff member of the institution. Before and during the interview process, the official guide was used to guide the direction and recording of the questions included in the questionnaire (Asset-Young Offender Assessment Profile Guidance, 2006). Each interview lasted about 45-60 minutes.

The instrument used to explore the causes of recidivist criminal behaviour (Baker, 2006) has been already piloted and used during 2012, initially with 15 and afterwards with 150 male juveniles involved in criminal offences and placed in the same institution, who were randomly selected and who tried to fill in the questionnaire individually, on different days. During the piloting process it was observed that almost all of them experienced difficulty in reading and understanding the questionnaire, quickly lost focus, and were not able to complete it, similarly to several other studies conducted with juveniles in conflict with the law (Bryan, Freer, & Furlong, 2007; Humber & Snow, 2001; Baker, Jones, Roberts, & Merrington, 2003). This is understandable if we take into account the low level of education of the minors and the length of the questionnaire. Considering these difficulties, some of the questions were simplified in terms of the language used and of their complexity (Snow & Powell, 2004), and the instrument was administered orally, in the form of a structured interview.

2.1.3 The instrument used

The interview with recidivist juveniles was conducted through a structured format of questions (Baker, Jones, Merrington, & Roberts, 2005; Youth Justice Board, 2000). "ASSET" has been used since 2000 by the multidisciplinary teams of the Board of Juvenile Justice in the UK and aims to assess risk factors and intervention needs for juveniles in conflict with the law aged 10-17.

The instrument is based on the theory of the social development perspective of delinquency, which means that the roles, responsibilities, opportunities, and events experienced during the development of the adolescent have shaped his prosocial and antisocial behaviour and attitudes. All the stages of development are interdependent and strongly define the future development of the juvenile (Moffit, 1993; Patterson, DeBaryshe, & Ramsey, 1989). Another theoretical explanation on which the instrument is based is the theory of social interaction, which places the juveniles, as they develop, in interaction with individuals and institutions (conventional or deviant ones), and sees their behaviour as a result of these interactions (Thornberry, 1987).

"ASSET" has been designed to be used by judicial system professionals (not by health professionals), and comprises socio-demographic data and static (non-variable) factors of the risk of juvenile recidivism, which are those related to the criminal history: the typology of the criminal offense, the age of committing the first criminal offense, the age of the first conviction, and the number of previous convictions; as well as dynamic factors, which include characteristics or circumstances present in the past and present life of the juvenile, ranging from individual factors, to factors related to the family, peers, community, education, employment, and substance use. The form used in the institution has 13 pages and 145 articles, grouped into 20 sections.

2.1.4 Processing of data obtained from the interviews with the juveniles

The data obtained from the interviews with the juveniles were processed and presented according to the qualitative approach, describing the socio-demographic characteristics identified in the juveniles and the accompanying factors of criminal behaviours. The results obtained were discussed along with a review of the literature related to the causes of recidivism for each group of factors.

2.3 Interviews with the specialists of the judicial institutions

To identify the problems encountered in measuring the recidivism rate and to explore the experiences and suggestions related to the improvement of the recidivism measuring and assessing system in juvenile penitentiary institutions, a semi-structured interview was carried out with specialists from the following organizations:

- General Directorate of Prisons (interview with the Head of the Social Affairs Department);
- IEPD of Kavaja (interview with the Head of the Social Care Department and with the lawyer of the Legal Department);
- “Meridia” (interview with the Program Manager).

Interviews were carried out individually on the basis of previously prepared questions (Annex I) focusing on their experiences and the procedures applied by their respective institutions to measure the rate of recidivism among juvenile offenders. The questions also tried to investigate on whether the periodical data on recidivist juveniles were shared with other institutions of the judicial system; the causes of this phenomenon they had identified during work practice; their recommendations for the improvement of the system of recidivist juveniles data collection, documentation, and referral; the evaluation of the criminal activity recurrence causes; and whether specific services were provided in the penitentiary system to prevent recidivism among juveniles, both while they were in the institution and following their release and return to their communities.

2.4 Study limitations

2.4.1 Regarding the selected sample of recidivist juveniles in the penitentiary system

One of the most important limitations of this study is the small number of interviewed recidivist juveniles, which makes the results not completely reliable and does not allow their generalization to all recidivist juveniles in the same institution or in other penitentiary institutions at national level. In addition, the group of interviewed juveniles was composed of two categories, i.e. the convicted ones and those awaiting a court decision, and the small number of interviewees makes the comparison between these two categories as regards the

causes of recidivism difficult.

Furthermore, it would have been of great interest to explore whether there are different characteristics as regards the dynamics of criminal behaviour between male and female juvenile recidivists. As explained above, this was not an available option.

However, it should be pointed out that this is only an exploratory qualitative study of the most relevant factors identified in the selected sample.

To be able to distinguish the most important causes that foresee recidivism among juveniles in the penitentiary system, a comparative study of two independent groups/samples consisting one of recidivist juveniles and the other of non-recidivist ones belonging to both sexes would have been necessary.

Finally, in order to obtain comparable and reliable data at national level, their collection from recidivist juveniles needs to be repeated in other contexts and periodically, in different institutions and times, in recidivist juveniles who have received alternative forms of punishment (for example probation service) and with a higher number of juveniles.

2.4.2 Regarding the data collection methods

Another limitation is related to the type of instrument used with the juvenile recidivists, i.e. the interview. This may have limited the genuine reporting of their (or their peers') previous criminal or antisocial behaviour and experiences (Kirk, 2006). Due to their reluctance to report the number of previous criminal behaviours and their typology, for a part of which they were never identified and tried, as it could aggravate their punishment or other measures used by the judicial system, it is possible that we only were reported partial criminal histories.

Moreover, we noticed that the more an individual has been detained or arrested, the vaguer is their memory as related to the number of cases. This can be a problem in the self-reporting of juveniles who have a long record of contacts with the judicial system (Blumstein, Cohen, Roth & Visher, 1986).

Another limitation identified is the fact that the data on the criminal history of recidivist juveniles before the age of criminal liability (14 years old) could only be obtained through self-reporting, since there were no data stored in the penitentiary institution or other institutions.

Also, more complete and reliable information on the juveniles would have been collected by using additional sources, such as interviews with parents, or by comparing our information with information provided by other institutions that have accompanied the juveniles during their experiences of conflicts with the law, such as the police, Prosecutor's office, probation service, or other similar institutions.

Given that the data collection with the juveniles was conducted within a certain time, through an interview that explored the causes of recurring criminal behaviour, there may be a risk of prejudgment towards the juveniles past situations, behaviours and attitudes, as well as some uncertainty about the order of the causes. In order for a situation or characteristic to be considered a cause of recidivist criminal behaviour, it should occur or appear before the juvenile has recommitted criminal offences. Only longitudinal studies, which track the juvenile from childhood to adolescence and beyond, can minimize this limitation and give a perspective of the development of recidivist criminal behaviour, by determining the order

of factors (Farrington, 2001; Farrington 2004 ; Loeber, Farrington, Stouthamer- Loeber, & Raskin White, 2008).

Despite our concern to maintain confidentiality, we have to take into account the possibility that the recidivist juveniles may have not had the courage to answer the truth about their behaviours, attitudes, and opinions and may have given the answers they considered to be the right ones or the ones we expected them to give. Similarly, it is possible that their reporting about experiences, events, and other quantitative data has been (negatively) affected by the subsequent experience of the arrest, judicial process, and return to the institution. However, none of the juveniles interviewed reported any difficulty in recalling the events they were asked about.

Regarding the statistical indicators collected from the judicial institutions, they resulted to be incomplete since they lacked data on juvenile recidivists both in penitentiary institutions and other stages of the administration of cases of juveniles in conflict with the law. Although it was reported that the rate of recidivism was periodically calculated by the GDP, it was not referred how such rate has changed, at least during recent years, and there is no detailed analysis of the different categories of recidivist juveniles in terms of age, ethnical and cultural descent, criminal history, antisocial behaviours, or other socio-demographic characteristics. This limitation damages the periodical analysis of the progress of the recidivism rate in the penitentiary system, as well as of its accompanying factors.

3. Results

3.1 Official data from the institutions

The following is a general overview of juvenile delinquency indicators according to the aforementioned institutions for 2013 and 2014.

Based on the data from the Directorate of the State Police, the number of juveniles (aged 14-18) suspected as perpetrators of criminal offences during 2013 was 1,535, whereas in 2014 this number was reduced to 1506. According to this institution, the two most widespread categories of criminal offenses are property crimes and offences against the person. Approximately, of all the suspected juveniles, the ones detained for being suspected of property offences represented the 45% in 2013 and the 35% in 2014. The category of juveniles suspected of crimes against the person, on the other hand, has had an increase from 21.8% in 2013 to about 22% in 2014.

According to the Annual Report of the Prosecutor's Office of the same year (Annual Report on the State of Delinquency for 2013), male juveniles indicted for criminal offenses were 885, or 9% of all defendants. Nearly 55% of the defendant juveniles were charged with property offences, mainly theft, and 28% with criminal offenses against public order and security. Still, according to the data obtained by the same institution, during 2013, a total of 93 juveniles were registered, of which 81 were tried. 2014 marks an increase of the registered juveniles (101), of which 89 were tried. The increase of the number of juveniles sent for trial from 2013 to 2014 suggests an increase in the number of juveniles convicted or placed in pre-trial detention.

According to the Ministry of Justice, in 2013, there were 680 convicted juveniles or 8% of all the convicted persons (8577), of whom 434 were convicted for property offence based on Article 134 of the Criminal Code (Criminal Code of the Republic of Albania, 2011). As for 2014, this institution has not published any statistical report so far. Table I summarizes some statistics on convicted juveniles from 2007 to 2013. As we can see, the number of juveniles convicted for crimes has been progressively increasing, except for year 2013.

Table I. *Delinquency trends in convicted juveniles 2007-2013*

Të dënuar të mitur (Juvenile Delinquency)	Viti (Year) 2007	Viti (Year) 2008	Viti (Year) 2009	Viti (Year) 2010	Viti (Year) 2011	Viti (Year) 2012	Viti (Year) 2013
Për krime (Criminal offenses)	198	356	362	594	610	826	589
Për kundërvajtje (Contraventions)	13	51	49	62	73	57	91
Totali	211	407	411	656	683	883	680

Source: Ministry of Justice, (Stistical Annual Report 2013, 2014) <http://www.drejtesia.gov.al>

The data obtained from the General Directorate of Prisons provide some indicators related to juveniles in the penitentiary system, both in pre-trial detention and in prison, divided by gender, age, and typology of criminal offenses. Data on the categories of convicted recidivist juveniles and on the typology of criminal offences for the year 2014 have not been reported by this institution; therefore it is not possible to compare the indicators of the recidivism rate between these two years.

However, in the table below we see some worrying values for these two years as regards the juveniles in pre-trial detention centres. In 2014, their number grew from 199 to 338, and the same happened with the number of the recidivist ones, which went from 35 to 87, reaching a rate of 17.6% in 2013 and 25.7% in 2014.

The convicted juveniles reported for 2014 were 44 compared to the 65 in 2013.

It is observed that all the juveniles in pre-trial detention as well as the convicted ones were males. In addition, the data obtained from this institution, confirmed once again the data obtained from other institutions as related to the fact that the most common criminal offenses juveniles have been accused and convicted for are property offences (theft, theft in collusion, attempted theft).

Table 2 *Statistical data on juveniles in pre-trial detention and convicted juveniles*

Year	In pre-trial detention		Convicted	
	2013	2014	2013	2014
Age				
14	13	15	1	3
15	33	61	4	4
16	67	97	26	14
17-18	86	165	34	23
Total	199	338	65	44
Gender				
Female	-	-	-	-
Male	199	338	65	44
Recidivist juveniles	35	87		
Typology of the criminal offence				
Against property ^a	148	206		
Against the person ^b	38	61		
Distribution and manufacturing of narcotics	18	34		
Other	33	37		

Source: General Directorate of Prisons. Dated 27.05.2015

Note. The number of offences committed is higher than the number of juveniles because part of them have committed more than one criminal offence (i.e. are recidivists in crime).

^a Includes theft, burglary, theft of cars or other vehicles.

^b Includes robbery, murder, injury, non-consensual sexual intercourse through violence, and assault on a person.

In 2013, the IEPD of Kavaja counted a total of 18 recidivist juveniles, while in 2014, out of a total of 200 juveniles placed in the institution, 59 were identified as recidivists, indicating a high degree of recidivism in this institution, specifically 29.5%.

According to the data supplied by “Meridia” organization, a total of 20 cases of recidivist juveniles serving prison time in penitentiary institutions in 2013 have been identified, whereas the reintegration program itself had just started, and therefore the number of recidivist juveniles followed by the program has not been calculated. The data reported in Table 3 belong to 2014. There is no division of the juveniles by age since the program does not provide age-based services, and no information as to whether the convicted juveniles in the penitentiary system are recidivists or not.

As you can see, there is a discrepancy between the data of 2014 obtained from the General Directorate of Prisons and the data obtained for the same year by “Meridia” organization regarding the convicted juveniles (44) and the recidivist ones (64). This may be due to the incompatibility between their definitions of recidivism, to the passage of the juveniles from the status of a person in pre-trial detention to the status of convicts, or to the inclusion in the calculation of the number of recidivist juveniles for one year the numbers of the previous year as well.

Table 3 *Data on the recidivists in penitentiary institutions compared to the data provided by “Meridia” program for 2014*

Penitentiary institutions	Recidivists in institutions	Recidivists according to the program
Kavaja	39	7
Vlora	9	0
Korça	3	1
Lezha	2	2
Tirana	11	5
Total	64	15

Source: Meridia. Date 03.06.2015

No specific values on the different categories of juveniles in conflict with the law (except for the age and gender) or other socio-demographic data on recidivism and criminal behaviour history were found in the statistical reports or among other data revised for the purpose of this study.

3.2 Profile of recidivist juveniles in the penitentiary system

3.2.1 Personal data

Table 4 describes the characteristics of the sample as related to age, ethnicity, place of birth, and residence. It is observed an unequal distribution in terms of the ethno-cultural composition. Most of the juveniles (8) reported to be coming from the majority of the population, while the juveniles coming from the Roma and Egyptian communities were one for each ethnic group. The average age of a recidivist juvenile resulted to be 16.7 years old. More than a half of them (seven) had already turned 17. As regards the education level, with an average of 5.7 years of education, only half of them reported to have managed to

complete the primary education, one had completed the nine-year education, four had not completed the basic education, and two of the juveniles, who had never gone to school, were now completing the second grade in the institution.

Data obtained from interviews showed that up to six months before entering the institution, seven of the juveniles had lived in nuclear families, with two parents and a total of five or less members, while the other three had been living in larger families with more than 5-10⁺ members. With regards to geographical origin, nine reported to have lived in areas of Central Albania (the cities of Durrës, Fushë-Kruja, Tirana and their surroundings) before entering the institution. On the other hand, eight of the juveniles were born in cities of northern Albania (Shkodra, Puka, Burreli, Bulqiza) and had moved to live in large urban centres together with their families during their early childhood.

Table 4. *Socio-demographic characteristics of recidivist juveniles*

Demographic characteristics	Frequency
Age (years)	
15	1
16	2
17	6
18	1
Average age 16.7	
Ethno-cultural composition	
	8
White	1
Balkano-Egyptian	1
Roma	
Level of education	
Primary education	5
9-year education	1
No education	2
Secondary education	-
Number of school years completed 5.7	
Size of the family	
4-5 members	4
6-9 members	2
≤ 2-3 members	3
≥ 10 members	1
Region of residence^a	
Central Albania	9
South	-
North	1
Residence	
Urban area	5
Urban periphery	4
Rural area	1
Total	10

^a Northern Albanian is considered to include the towns of Bulqiza, Dibra, Kukësi, Kurbini, Lezha, Mati, Mirdita, Puka, Shkodra, Tropoja.

Central Albania is considered to include the towns of Durrës, Elbasan, Kavaja, Kruja, Peqin, Tirana, Shijak.

Southern Albania is considered to include the towns of Berat, Devoll, Fier, Gramsh, Korça, Librazhd, Lushnja, Përmet, Pogradec, Vlora.

3.2.2 Criminal behaviour history

The criminal behaviour history (frequency of criminal offenses, age of the first engagement in criminal behaviour and of the first detention by the police, and seriousness of criminal behaviour) is considered as the strongest predictor of the recidivism rate among juveniles (Cottle, Lee & Heilbrun, 2001) .

Juveniles were asked about the criminal offense for which they were in the institution and about all the characteristics of other previous criminal behaviours (Table 5).

More than half of them (six juveniles) reported to have committed the current criminal offense in collusion with others (four with older people, and two with their peers). This high rate of involvement in criminal offences in group suggests that one of the causes of recidivist criminal behaviour is socialization with other juveniles who have had deviant experiences. In terms of type of criminal offence, eight juveniles were convicted or awaiting a decision for theft, which suggests, together with the non-violent character of the criminal behaviour, that the juveniles may have been pushed to get involved by economic reasons. For two other juveniles, the criminal offences were more serious, namely robbery through violence and unlawful possession of a weapon.

However, other questions explore the violent experiences of juveniles during childhood and adolescence. Six of the juveniles had received only one previous conviction, the others two or more. For one of the juveniles the current conviction was the fourth one. Eight of them had served all the previous convictions in the penitentiary system; only for the other two alternative sentences (probation service) were used. This suggests that the penitentiary system has not been effective in terms of assessing the risk for recidivist criminal behaviour or the needs for intervention while the juvenile was placed in the penitentiary institution. On the other hand, the social reintegration community services focusing on juveniles (if available in the areas where the juveniles live) have failed to identify and treat the presence of social causes (related to family, school, peers, etc.), which have most likely remained unchanged for the entire time in which the juvenile has served the previous sentence and has returned to the community.

For 6 of the juveniles a period of 3-6 months had passed between the previous sentence and the current one; for 3 of them such period was 7-12 months; and only for one of them, the time passed between the previous sentence and the current one was more than 12 months.

There are conflicting studies with regards to the effectiveness of imprisonment in reducing the odds of recidivism. On the one hand, the researchers support the argument that imprisonment as a punishment reduces recidivism because coping with difficult life in prison, isolation from family and other social systems, stigma and labelling by the society seems to refrain from involvement in further criminal offences. On the other hand, many juvenile delinquency researchers emphasise the idea that prisons are real schools of crime for juveniles because of positive reinforcement received from their peers in the institution (Lilly, Cullen, & Ball, 2010), while violent experiences they have in the institution have a negative impact on their psychological and emotional development as they grow up, and on the cognitive perspective on themselves and on the world that every adolescent experiences during growth and transition to adulthood.

However, in our opinion, in order to assess the effects of incarceration on the recidivist behaviours of adolescents, the risk levels as well as the attitudes, motivations, and behaviours of the juveniles during the time they are in the penitentiary system must be also assessed.

More than half of the juveniles reported to have been involved 8-11 times or more in behaviours they identified as criminal offenses, mainly theft. The data concerning the reporting of criminal behaviour and the age of the perpetration of the first criminal offence (and first contact with the police) are likely to be unauthentic. We believe the frequency of criminal behaviour may be higher than reported and the age of the first criminal offence younger, but, given the illegal nature of the experiences and their legal status, the juveniles may have feared that a honest reporting would have put them in a more vulnerable position in front of the judicial system.

3.2.3 Age

Age is an important factor in the assessment of recidivism among juveniles in conflict with the law. The younger is the juvenile at the time of the perpetration of his/her first criminal offence, the higher are the risks of reoffending (Zgoba, etc., 2012). By comparing a sample of recidivist juveniles and a sample of non-recidivist juveniles confined in a penitentiary institution, Katsiyannis and Archwamety (1997) found that the age of the first criminal activity and the age of the first detention by the police were the main distinguishing factors between the two groups. In addition, the sooner the first confinement in the penitentiary system and the younger the age of release, the higher the risk the offending behaviours will be repeated within a short period of time (Harrison, Maupin, & Mays, 2001).

As it can be observed from Table 5, the age 10-14 has been the most 'intense' age for the juveniles as regards the contacts with the police and the involvement in a criminal offence for the first time. More than half of them had committed the first criminal offence before reaching the age of criminal liability and had had contacts with the police even before the age of 11-12. According to Yoshikawa (1994), juveniles who have committed criminal offences and are detained by the police between the ages of 10-14, are more likely to reoffend, as compared to those detained after the age of 16.

During the interviews, five of the juveniles reported to have committed the first offence before the age of 13. They are identified by the literature with the term 'early juvenile offenders' (Patterson, DeBaryshe, & Ramsey, 1989; DeLisi, Neppl, Lohman, Vaughn, & Shook, 2013; Livingston, Stewart, Allard & Ogilive, 2008). The early age of starting criminal behaviour is significantly linked to the number of criminal offenses committed and the convictions received; the younger is such age, the more it is likely the juvenile in conflict with the law will become a recidivist and will continue to commit criminal offences even during adulthood (Trulson, Marquart, Mullings, & Caeti, 2005). Also, the early age (before 14 years old) of committing a criminal offense for the first time or of being detained by the police for the first time results to be a strong predictor of typical characteristics of serious (recidivist) delinquency such as the chronic and increasingly specialized criminal behaviours in terms of violence, risk, frequency, and duration of the criminal career (Delisi, 2006; Farrington, 1995; Harrison, Maupin, & Mays, 2001).

3.2.4 Gender

There were no females in the sample taken, due to the profile of the penitentiary institution (only for boys) where the interviews were carried out. This does not allow us to make a comparison between the factors associated with recidivist behaviours among

juveniles in conflict with the law in terms of gender differences. Similarly, in the official data of the judicial institutions it can be observed that the number of female juveniles in the penitentiary system is zero; all juveniles in these institutions are male.

Meanwhile, numerous studies in different countries have consistently shown that boys are more likely not only to commit crimes, but also to become recidivists (McElfresh, Yan & Janku, 2009; Shepherd, Luebbers, & Dolan 2013; Dembo, Schmeidler, Nini-Gough, & Manning, 1998), despite their ethnic or racial descent (DeComo, 1998).

3.2.5 Ethno-cultural origin

Studies in the United States and Europe show that recidivist juveniles in the penitentiary system from ethnic and cultural minorities occupy a higher percentage compared to other juveniles (Yordanova & Markov, 2011; Hartney & Vuong, 2009; Barclay, Munley, & Munton, 2005; Gordon, Roche, & Depuisset 2012, Abbas, 2004; Dünkel; Albrecht, 1997). This may

Table 5 *Criminal history of the sample*

Analysis of the criminal offence	Frequency
Status in the institution	
Convicted	5
Awaiting the final decision	5
Partners in the criminal offence	
Peers	2
Group of older people	4
Alone	4
Typology of the current criminal offence	
Against property ^a	8
Against the person ^b	1
Distribution and manufacturing of narcotics	-
Other	1
1 previous conviction	6
2 or more previous convictions	4
Involvement in other previous criminal offences	
1-3 times	3
4-7 times	6
≥ 8-11 times	
Age of the first contact with the police	
<10 years old	1
10-14 years old	7
≥15 years old	2
Average age 13.1 years old	
Age of perpetration of the first criminal offence	
<10 years old	6
10-14 years old	3
≥15 years old	
Average age 13.3 years old	

^a Includes theft, burglary, theft of car or of any other vehicle.

^b Includes robbery, murder, injury, non-consensual sexual intercourse through violence, and assault on a person.

be related to the difficult socio-economic context in which these juveniles live, the social exclusion of the community they come from, the lack of access to public goods and services, as well as the selective and prejudicial attitudes of both the judicial and penitentiary systems.

According to data from the penitentiary system in Albania, juveniles in conflict with the law and recidivists from the Roma and Balkan Egyptian communities have been sentenced most often for criminal offenses against property and a very small minority for violent offenses against the person.

Interviews conducted in the JI of Kavaja showed that only two boys had a Roma and Egyptian origin. They had the lowest level of education and a number of other socio-economic factors that had made them more susceptible to the phenomenon of recidivism. They also reported a higher number of criminal offenses and convictions compared to the rest of the sample.

3.3 Dynamic factors related to recidivism

3.3.1 Family factors

3.3.1.1 Living conditions

The socio-economic situation of the family is one of the most studied factors which is supposed to predict recidivism among juveniles in conflict with the law. There are conflicting opinions and arguments as regards the effect of economic factors, mainly including the low family income, lack of employment and poor housing conditions, on the criminal behaviours of juveniles. According to Elliot (1994), the low socio-economic level of the family is more linked to the recurrence of criminal behaviours than the age at which juveniles commit a criminal offence for the first time. This is due to the fact that children living in poverty have limited opportunities to assume pro-social roles and responsibilities as they start to become adults and independent. The size of the family and the family status are also significantly connected with recidivism among adolescents. Juveniles living in single-parent families (mainly with their mothers) suffer the lack of stability that comes from a male figure. This is strongly related especially to problematic behaviours in adolescent males (Johnson, 1987). Juveniles coming from large families have less opportunities for positive attention and discipline from both parents. Living in such family contexts means more economic difficulties and less parental influence, as well as less control over the problematic behaviours and attitudes of children and their socialization with deviant peers (Farrington, 2010).

This part of the interview focuses on the living conditions in which the juvenile has been living including the family members/persons with whom he has lived in the up to 6 last months before entering the institution, the housing quality and conditions, as well as their living in a disorganized residence from which the juvenile himself or his family members have often departed for certain periods of time.

Only three of the juveniles had lived in a small nuclear family with the two parents together, three others had lived only with their mother and other brothers and sisters, while the other four reported to have lived in large families with grandparents and married brothers.

Eight of the juveniles reported to have lived in families with economic difficulties, in houses lacking the basic living conditions. Seven had lived in an unstable family system, with members who had left the house several times and had stayed away for long periods.

3.3.1.2 Family relations

The questions about the family relations and family environment focused on the criminal history and other problematic behaviours of the juveniles' family members; the perception of the juveniles about the communication with parents and parental supervision; and the experiences of violence or abuse they had had within the family.

The presence of family problems strongly predicts recidivism in juvenile age, regardless of whether these problems have to do with the relations between the family members or physical and mental factors (Cottle, Lee & Heilbrun, 2001).

Studies suggest that juveniles who have strong relationships with their parents are less likely to be recidivists (Rankin & Kern, 1994; Gibbs, Giever, & Martin, 1998). Passive or tolerant parenting style², criminal history of family members, experiences of violence and abuse suffered during childhood, are often discussed as factors that are closely related to recidivist criminal behaviour and, more generally, to the trend of teenagers to be deviant and violent. These factors result statistically even more significant than the socio-economic situation of the family and its structure, regardless of the ethnic descent of the juvenile or other demographic factors (Matsueda & Heimer, 1987).

According to Wright and Cullen (2001), the ability or the efficiency of parents in controlling and limiting the antisocial behaviours of their children from the early stages has a strong impact on the prevention of the involvement of adolescents in criminal offences and their ability to manage their own behaviours. The lack of stability in the supervision of the adolescents, the empty threats, or the harsh punishments are very likely to be followed by antisocial and criminal behaviours (McCord, 1997; Hawkins, Catalano, & Brewer, 1995; Farrington, 2010) and predict an early start of delinquency and frequent and extended (in adulthood) repetition of behaviours (Patterson, Forgatch, Yoerger, & Stoolmiller, 1998).

Other researchers have also identified some indirect effects of the parenting style on recidivism. The juveniles who report low levels of emotional care from parents and inconsistent discipline were more likely to have deviant friends and to be involved in problematic behaviours during adolescence, compared to those who reported warm relations with their parents and consistent discipline (Williams & Smalls, 2015).

On the other hand, experiencing violence and abuse within the family also resulted to have a strong relation with juvenile delinquency and recidivism. Recidivist adolescents in penitentiary institutions who had experienced domestic violence and reported problematic relations between family members, were found more difficult to be rehabilitated after having served the sentence, regardless of their gender and of the typology of criminal offenses (Uekert, etc., 2006).

Children who have experienced cases of violence and neglect in early childhood, are more prone to start and repeat criminal behaviours while growing up and to interact

2. According to Diane Baumrind (1966; 1991), the parenting style is composed of 2 important factors, support and care towards children, and their controlling and disciplining, which range depending on the type of parenting from high level to low level.

violently with the others (Ryan, Williams, & Courtney, 2013; Smith & Thornberry, 1995). Very early in their childhood, these children learn that violent interactions are an effective way to get the attention of parents. Due to their violent interaction with others, they are often avoided by their pro-social peers and are more likely to socialize with juveniles similar to themselves, thus entering in an spiral of repeated antisocial and criminal behaviour at an early age (Patterson & Yoerger, 1997).

Widom and colleagues (1989, 1996) also confirmed the previous conclusions about the strong relationship between the experiences of domestic abuse and violence and the recurrence of cases of arrest and violent behaviour.

The criminal history, the use of substances, and the mental illness of family members are also suggested, by several studies, as strong recidivism predictors. Adolescents are more likely to engage in recidivist criminal offences if one of the parents or brothers has issues with justice, uses alcohol or drugs (Farrington, 1989; Petrosino, Derzon, & Lavenberg, 2009). Dannerbeck (2005) observed that ineffective parenting was the main influencing factor in the repeated criminal experiences of juveniles. According to her, the ineffective parenting comes as a result of the imprisonment, substance abuse, continuous departures from the family, and mental illnesses of one of the parents or other family members.

Out of the ten interviewed juveniles, only one reported that, during the period of his stay in the institution, none of the family members had come to visit him, whereas for half of them it was the mother or the brothers who visited them the most.

Four of the juveniles reported that one of the family members had a criminal history (was currently or had previously been convicted, and was involved in criminal activities). For three of the juveniles it was the father, while for the other one it was the brother.

Five of the juveniles told us that they were raised in an environment in which one of the members abused with alcohol, while another one reported he had a brother who had a history of drug abuse.

Nine of the ten recidivist juveniles had the perception that they had not had good communication in the relationship with their parents while growing up, that parents did not care or show any interest about their needs, and that no clear rules were in place at home as regards appropriate behaviour and attitudes. Parents were unaware of their children's friendships and of the way they spent their spare time. Similarly, although parents had established a curfew, it was often breached by the adolescents without any consistent consequences or punishment.

Four adolescents reported to have experienced forms of abuse and violent behaviour from parents and other family members, while three had witnessed the use of domestic violence all the time. Three juveniles reported to have lived with relatives with physical and mental health issues. Also, three of the ten juveniles reported conflicting relationships and a difficult divorce between the parents.

3.3.2 Education and employment factors

The section exploring school-related factors focuses on the possibilities the juveniles have to access education, and their experiences with the education system.

After the family, the school is the most important institution in terms of children's socialization and their mental, emotional, social, moral, and physical development. From the

age of five to the completion of the high school, children and adolescents spend almost half of their time in school; an average of 15,000 hours in total, during which the institution, the teachers, and the peers have a significant and long-term impact on every child. In general, children who are committed to the educational process are less likely to be oriented towards antisocial behaviour and deviant peers.

3.3.2.1 Attachment to school

Among the characteristics, relationships, and experiences that make up the school system, there are a number of factors that negatively affect children's development and the continuance of problematic behaviour. The low level of education, and poor academic motivation and efficiency are among the most common school-related factors observed in juveniles in conflict with the law, which also reflect other dynamic factors, such as the low level of intelligence, learning difficulties, attention disorder, lack of parental interest and care, and a non-motivating and non-inclusive climate at school.

Poor school performance is one of the main predictors of recidivism, regardless of the socio-economic status of the family (Maguin & Loeber, 1996). In a meta-analysis of more than 100 studies of the phenomenon, the authors observed that this factor has a strong relation with the onset, frequency, and seriousness of juveniles' criminal behaviours.

Similarly, problematic behaviours at school such as aggressiveness towards peers, damaging of the school facilities and materials, conflict with teachers, and bringing and using weapons at school, are some of the factors that are positively linked to antisocial and criminal behaviours in juveniles. Bullying at school is a common phenomenon which predicts a growing risk of involvement in violent recidivist behaviours. A longitudinal study in Norway found that 60% of the students who were authors of bullying attacks at school were later sentenced before reaching the age of 24, and that the chances for them to become recidivists were four times higher than those of the other non-bullying students (Olweus, 1997).

3.3.2.2 Non-regular school attendance and school drop-out

It seems that the temporary suspension and subsequently the expulsion from the school employed by the staff of the school as a form of punishment in cases of deviant behaviours of the adolescents, do not have an effective impact in reducing undesirable behaviours. On the contrary, they increase the likelihood for juveniles to develop a sense of rejection and dissatisfaction towards the school, while, on the other hand, the same behaviours bring immediate benefits and positive reinforcement from the peers or adults with a criminal history. In addition, a non-regular attendance of the educational process and school drop-out makes children and adolescents more vulnerable to negative influence from deviant peers in terms of engaging in offending behaviours (Bynum & Thompson, 2005). For example, in his longitudinal study, Farrington (1989) found that minors who during the age of 12-14 had not attended school regularly and had dropped-out school before the age of 15, were more likely to be involved in recidivist violent criminal behaviours during adolescence and adulthood. Generally, the more years of education an adolescent has completed, the less he/she is likely to repeat criminal behaviours.

Furthermore, it seems that the negative feelings and the experiences of failure related

to the learning process and socialization with peers at school are more determining than their own mental abilities to learn, and significantly predict their involvement in deviant behaviours (Gottfredson, 2001).

3.3.2.3 Employment and qualification

Employment and vocational training are also important elements to be taken into account in the discussion about the factors that have an impact on the rate of delinquency and recidivism among juveniles.

Many discussions on recidivism focus on the relation between unemployment and repeated delinquency. One of the main arguments in considering unemployment as a cause for recidivism is the fact that unemployment is undeniably a cause of financial difficulties, and involvement in criminal activities is thus seen as an opportunity to ease these difficulties. This argument would explain the typology of juveniles' criminal behaviour, mainly consisting of crimes against property, theft, robbery, burglaries, and so on. Another way in which unemployment may push them towards crime is the fact that unemployed adolescents have more free time and opportunities to engage in problematic behaviours. Moreover, unemployment can bring frustration and disappointment. These two factors, combined with the socialization with peers who are in the same situation and the time spent in dangerous environments such as streets and places of gambling and alcohol consumption, may encourage problematic behaviours.

There is a strong relation between recidivism and unemployment. A Swedish study (Bondeson, 2002) revealed that the rate of recidivism among young people also dropped as the unemployment rate dropped. Also, Darrington and colleagues (1986), in a longitudinal study with 411 persons aged 8 and more, discovered that the delinquency and recidivism rate in juveniles 15-16 years old, especially in relation to criminal offenses against property, was higher during unemployment periods compared to the periods in which they were employed.

Employment and qualification become even more difficult for juveniles who have served a sentence in the penitentiary system because of the stigma and prejudice of employers, and of their low level of education and vocational training. A longitudinal study on recidivists who had completed their sentences in the penitentiary system, found that the more significant predictive factors for further recidivism were the unemployment status (together with the duration of unemployment), the early age (under 17 years), and the level of education, regardless of the typology of criminal offenses (Nally, Lockwood, Ho, & Knutson, 2012). Education in particular is an important mediator for the reintegration of recidivist juveniles into the labour market because it affects both the employment and the non-repetition of criminal behaviours.

During the interviews with the juveniles, the following results came out as related to education and employment:

Only five juveniles from the sample had completed elementary school, two others had completed basic education, while the others, who had never attended school outside of the institution, were currently completing the second grade.

Concerning employment, two juveniles reported to have worked full-time for more than 6 months before entering the institution, six had never worked, while the other two had worked part-time for more than six months. Eight juveniles reported to have attended a vocational training course in the institution, while serving the sentence/previous sentences,

but never in the community. Among the reasons for not having completed school (basic education), they reported economic difficulties of the family, learning difficulties, and frequent skipping of classes.

3.3.2.4 Commitment/motivation at school

In relation to the questions about their emotional attachment and commitment to school, nine of the juveniles reported to have had a weak connection with the school. They said they did not see any benefit in attending it; during the time they attended, they constantly wanted to drop out; they never attended regularly, and always skipped it for long periods of time. Three of the interviewed juveniles reported to have harassed/assaulted their peers within the school premises; only one of them had had difficult relationships with teachers; and three of them had been involved, together with other peers, in episodes of violent actions causing damage to school facilities or materials. Eight of the boys reported that their parents had been indifferent about their school attendance and academic progress and had not been present during their children's academic experiences and commitments.

3.3.3 Community factors

3.3.3.1 Living in marginalized communities

Children living in poor and isolated neighbourhoods, with inadequate infrastructure and high unemployment and informality rates, have a high risk to consider crime as a way to get out of such situation and be successful (Tannenbaum, 1938, Wareham, Cochran, Dembo, & Sellers, 2005; Bursik & Grasmick, 1992). There are studies which show that the juvenile delinquency rate is higher in disorganized communities³, in neighbourhoods that have experienced frequent population movements, or in impoverished areas. In a disorganized community, the informal and formal social institutions, such as family, school, neighbours, police, and so on, do not operate efficiently in supporting the socialization of young people, and maintaining order and respect for social norms. They lose the ability to control the behaviour of their members, thus facilitating the development of criminal values and culture, as adolescents do not get to know any rules of behaviour other than those meeting their interests (Bursik & Grasmick, 1992).

In several empirical studies conducted during the twentieth century and the present millennium in Europe and the US, a significant number of researchers (Kingston, Huizinga, & Elliot, 2009; Boardman & Saint Onge, 2005; Shaw & McKay, 1969) found a correlation between the juvenile delinquency and recidivism and the community social-demographic and economic conditions such as population density, average age, poverty rate, level of education and school dropout rate. According to their repeated results, disorganized communities, especially those in or near urban centres, characterized by a high poverty and unemployment rate, low education and cultural level, large or single-parent families, cultural or ethnic heterogeneity, and frequent population movements, were also characterized by high delinquency rates.

3. Bursik (1992) defines 'social disorganization' as the inability of organizations, groups, or members of a community to jointly solve the problems they experience or to reach common goals.

Other researches on the correlation between the characteristics of the community and violent behaviours and recidivism among juveniles support the argument that the community conditions, especially poverty, high delinquency rate, lack of cohesion among the members, and population movements, have some direct and significant effects (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997) as related to individual factors. On the other hand, individual factors, as well as factors related to the peers and family, are also important for understanding and explaining criminal behaviour in adolescents (Wareham, Cochran, Dembo, & Sellers, 2005; Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002; Farrington, Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber, Van Kammen, & Schmidt, 1996). It would be difficult to isolate the difficult conditions of the community from the other factors, such as economic and psychological difficulties of the families that live in this community, the high number of family members, the departure of family members from the community (to find better living conditions), the criminal history of the family, etc. (Rutter, etc., 1975).

3.3.3.2 High delinquency rate in the community

American and British studies on marginalized communities and the relations between their conditions and the delinquency rate, have shown how the combination of several characteristics such as poverty, frequent population movements, problems with employment, infrastructure, public services, housing, and other social problems, and predominating of low-income families, leads to an increase in the delinquency rate. These communities, labelled as 'problematic communities' (Dean & Hastings, 2000), are subject to strong prejudices and their residents have more chances than others to be in the focus of the police attention if crimes are committed in the area, while young people and families do not enjoy equal access to employment and other public services (public transport, health care, schools and kindergartens, etc.). In such cases, delinquency rate increases, even among juveniles, inducing these areas to enter into a vicious cycle of poverty, degradation, and delinquency (Hope, 1996).

In his transversal study conducted in 61 urban and rural communities in Germany, Oberwittler (2004) found that high concentration of adults and adolescents with typical criminal and antisocial attitudes and experiences in a community increases the risk of juvenile recidivism. Other authors also confirmed the theoretical arguments related to the fact that the high delinquency rate in an area exposes juveniles to social norms that favour delinquency, and gives them a reinforcing model to be imitated, especially in cases in which the offenders have had more benefits than punishments from their actions (MacRae, Bertrand, Paetsch, & Hornick, 2011; Wasserman, etc., 2003). In addition, living in a community that favours delinquency increases the risk for recidivist adolescents to socialize with deviant peers in the same context and to continue to engage in risky behaviours after they have served the sentence (Kosterman, etc., 1996).

3.3.3.3 Possibilities to find drugs and weapons easily

The norms and attitudes of the adult members of a community are important in shaping the attitudes and behaviours of children and adolescents as related to their perception of what is right and wrong. If the community has wrong or tolerant attitudes towards crime (e.g. the use of substances and weapons), the risk for children to be involved in criminal

behaviour becomes real and difficult to avoid.

On the other hand, the opportunities offered by the community to find illegal substances and weapons, and the perception of adolescents that these items can be found easily and without being punished, increase the risk for juveniles to learn to use them and to commit criminal offenses (Gorsuch & Butler, 1976; Hawkins JD, 1999; Hawkins, Catalano, & Miller, 1992), especially offences related to the manufacture, sale, and trafficking of drugs or weapons. Often, the juveniles (even those under the age of criminal liability), precisely because of the lighter punishments provided for their age range, are recruited by adults to engage in such offences. Furthermore, the fact that they have a concrete possibility to find and carry weapons in their community, increases the possibility for any conflict in which they engage to escalate into an event in which they or other persons may get hurt.

The interviews conducted with the juveniles indicated a number of factors associated with juvenile recidivism. Six of them had lived in the outskirts of urban areas and only two of them in city centres, while the other two had been often moving and had lived in different communities.

The perception of the majority of them (7-9 juveniles) was that the area in which they lived was inhabited by people coming from different areas of the country, and had been populated only in the recent years. To their knowledge, the area where they lived had a high poverty and delinquency rate; a large number of inhabitants (mainly young people) who sold and used drugs; no community facilities or activities addressed to them and their peers; and no public offices or services for the inhabitants. Six of the juveniles had witnessed cases in which inhabitants of their community had engaged in conflicts between each other, as well as situations of tension between the inhabitants and the police or local government officers.

3.3.4 Individual factors

3.3.4.1 Risky lifestyle and socialization with deviant peers

This group of factors includes information about the juveniles' perception of the society, experiences with friends, money, and the way they spend free time.

The results of the interviews showed that seven of the juveniles had committed the current offense in collusion with friends, five of them with older friends, and that, in general, all the previous offences were committed in collusion with other people. Eight of them reported to have friends both of their age and older, while the other two only had older friends. A concerning indicator was the fact that nine of the juveniles reported to be friends with peers who had committed criminal offences and had been involved in problematic and violent behaviours. In addition, they all spent most of their time in worthless or even dangerous activities, in adult environments where they gambled or drunk alcohol. Other risky experiences also turned out to be quite common for the interviewed juveniles such as involvement in car/motorcycle racings, carrying blade weapons, staying outdoors at late-night hours, and involvement in violent conflicts.

For years, researchers have agreed on the fact that the dynamics of juvenile criminal behaviour have an important common component: co-offending. The antisocial and criminal behaviours are learned and usually occur in socialization with peers or adults predisposed to deviant behaviour and attitudes (Sutherland & Cressey, 1978; Patterson & Yoerger, 1997).

Juveniles who engage in recidivist criminal behaviour are more likely to start them in company of small groups of peers, rather than alone (Reiss & Farrington, 1991), as peers provide support and reinforcement in undertaking risky activities. The younger the age of the perpetration of the first criminal activity (under 14), the stronger this relationship becomes. According to Lipsey and Derzon (1998), socializing with antisocial peers resulted to be one of the strongest predictors of involvement in violent and recidivist criminal behaviour for juveniles 10-14 years old. In another self-reporting study with 4000 juveniles aged 12-15, socializing with antisocial peers resulted to be the second most important factor in predicting general criminal behaviours in juveniles (Latimer, KLEINKNECHT Hung, & Gabor, 2003).

Growing older, the criminal group tends to shrink and, potentially, adolescents, and later on recidivist adults, continue their criminal behaviours mainly on their own. However, even in the cases in which juveniles commit a criminal offense on their own, it is very much likely that they have been influenced by their peers.

Usually, 'friends' in crime meet in the common spaces at school or in the neighbourhood, in joint and risky activities which gradually acquire an illegal nature (Haynie, 2001). As they grow up, their experiences and environments where they spend their time also grow, both in terms of number and territorial extension; therefore, the criminal offenses they continue to commit often occur outside of their community.

The "recruitment" of younger adolescents by those who are experienced and trained offenders is also a common practice among groups of juveniles who repeatedly commit criminal offences, especially against property.

3.3.4.2 Engagement in antisocial and risky behaviour

By definition, antisocial and problematic behaviours include a large variety of actions which go against or deviate from the laws, rules, behaviours, and social norms approved and adopted by the state and by the majority of the members of a society at a specific time and place. They include criminal behaviour and infringements of the Criminal Code, as well as other actions such as continuous skipping of classes, use of substances, engagement in violent behaviours and crimes against the person or the property, engagement in sexual activity at an early age, running away from home, underage driving and drinking, gambling etc. (Hawkins, etc., 2000).

A self-reporting study with juveniles aged 11-16, conducted in Wales, UK, showed that the early and continuous engagement in antisocial behaviours was the most influential factor in criminal behaviours, regardless of the gender, age, and typology of criminal offenses reported (Case & Haines, 2007).

3.3.4.3 Substance abuse

The use of drugs increases the risk of involvement in criminal behaviours, as well as their persistence and severity. Such correlation is confirmed by a number of studies comparing samples composed of juvenile offenders and recidivist juveniles (Hawkins, Jenson, Catalano, & Lishner, 1988, p. 258; McElfresh, Yan & Janku, 2009) to other samples of adolescents selected at a community level or in the schools (Junger-Tas, etc., 2012; Hibell, etc., 2012; Hawkins, Jenson, Catalano, & Lishner, 1988). However, this correlation seems to be quite complex

and affects the severity and typology of criminal offences at different levels (White, Tice, Loeber, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 2002). For example, substance abuse and the perpetration of criminal offences under their effect was mainly observed in juveniles who were subject to more frequent arrests, had committed violent offences against the person, had committed offenses in collusion with other people, and had deviant friends who used substances (p. 147).

On the other hand, the causal relationship between these two behaviours is not clear; we cannot say whether it is the use of substances which increases the tendency and tolerance towards a life of crime, or it is the latter which is naturally accompanied by drug abuse (Huizinga, Loeber, & Thornberry, 1995).

There are studies that support the idea that criminal behaviour and substance use have the tendency to occur simultaneously (Henry, Tolan, & Gorman-Smith, 2001; White, Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber, & Farrington, 1999; Dishion, Capaldi, & Yoerger, 1999). Aggression and behavioural problems during childhood appear to be a warning for a tendency towards substance use and addiction during adolescence and early adulthood. On the other hand, juveniles who are users of substances at an early age are more likely to become chronic offenders (Huizinga, Loeber, & Thornberry, 1995; Bui, Ellickson, & Bell, 2000).

Drug and alcohol abuse may reduce or eliminate the moral and social inhibitions related to involvement in crimes or risky behaviours. On the other hand, the use of substances can be a typical adolescent behaviour that helps them avoid coping with personal or interpersonal difficulties such as family conflicts or problems at school. Involvement in criminal behaviours can also be a way to cover the costs of substance use and addiction (Winters, 1998).

Drugs, tobacco, and alcohol are often started and used in groups of peers, similarly to most of the antisocial activities, because adolescents consider them as means of socialization and adaptation to the group of peers who are regular users. This is important for adolescents as peers provide access, opportunities, and reinforcement. In addition to that, if the family members and other adult relatives use and tolerate the use of tobacco, alcohol, and drugs (and sometimes even encourage it), and these are easily accessible to adolescents, then the use of substances will not be perceived by them as an illegal activity (Cilingiri, 2014).

Finally, although the use of substances is not the primary cause for involvement in illegal activities, it may introduce or increase, alone or in combination with other factors, the risk of repeating criminal behaviour (Wiesner, Kim, & Capaldi, 2005; Wilson Mitchell, & Mackenzie, 2006, Huizinga, Thornberry, & cother, 2000).

The sample showed a high level of substance use throughout the various stages of their life, in particular smoking of cigarettes and cannabis, and alcohol consumption. Regular smoking of cigarettes (more than one pack a day) was reported by all the boys, with an average starting age of 12.4. Four of them had started before the age of 10. Eight juveniles admitted to have sometimes consumed alcohol in the form of beer, wine, or stronger drinks. The average starting age for drinking was 12.7. Only two of them smoked cannabis regularly, and other two smoked it only sometimes. None of them had experimented with other stronger substances. The average starting age for smoking cannabis resulted to be 13.2 years.

There is a significant difference between the use of tobacco, cannabis, and alcohol among the recidivist and confined juveniles of our sample and their average use at national level according to the ESPAD report (2011). According to this report, 55% of the interviewed Albanian males (15-18 year-old non-offenders) reported to have smoked tobacco throughout all their lives, 32% consumed alcohol, and 9% smoked cannabis.

In terms of the sequence in which criminal behaviours and the use of substances appear in their lives, as per average age of first experience, smoking of cigarettes is linked first (at the age of 12.4), followed by alcohol consumption (12.7 years), first contact with the police (13.1 years), smoking of hashish (13.2 years), and first perpetration of a criminal offense (13.3 years).

With regards to criminal offenses related to substances, the interviews revealed that five of the juveniles had committed criminal offenses in order to make some money to buy substances, and only one of them had been selling drugs.

Socialization with antisocial and drug-user juveniles, a family history of substance users, and the possibility to find them easily inside the community, are not the only factors playing an important role in the use of substances by juveniles. Cognitive factors such as low perception of the risks of drug use; and the perception that they will not be punished for using them, and that parents (or adults in general) have tolerant attitudes toward substance use play also a significant role. Interviews showed that half of the juveniles considered the use of substances as necessary and not harmful. Also those who reported not to use them, did not think substance use could have any damaging effect in the daily life of young people.

3.3.4.4 Attitudes and expectations towards criminal offences

Most of the interviewed juveniles were not able to explain the consequences of their illegal behaviour, especially the long-term ones and those affecting other people. The stay in the institution was for eight of them the only consequence they were able to see, while they were unable to recognise the effects of their behaviour on the victims of the crime or on a larger scale. All of them answered they regretted the criminal offences they had committed, but, when asked why, they answered it was because of the fact that they had to stay closed and were unable to make their choices.

When asked what they had experienced, or whether they had considered the risks before committing the criminal offenses, none of them reported to have been able to think of the different alternatives or consequences, and none of them had thought he would be identified by the police and convicted.

Seven juveniles answered they would not commit criminal offences in the future, while the other three answered that it was not up to them and that it was impossible for them to control such a thing.

There is a chance that, due to the interviewing method, which did not allow the possibility to maintain anonymity, the answers they gave were more what they thought it was better to answer in order to give a positive image of themselves and may not reflect their authentic thoughts.

Despite the attitudes shown, six juveniles answered that, even if they engaged in criminal behaviours again in the future, they did not think they would be rearrested or at least they would not be reconvicted in the penitentiary system. It is possible that staying in a harsh environment and socializing with other juveniles with a criminal history might have contributed to increase their confidence in their own ability to avoid justice.

Results from Cambridge's longitudinal study on juvenile delinquency factors show a relation between criminal behaviour and the inability of adolescents (and adults) to manipulate and think through abstract concepts. Recidivist adolescents did better in non-verbal and concrete tests, in which manipulation with objects was required, than in verbal test that

required logical thinking and processing of thoughts. According to Farrington (1995), limited reasoning abilities not only lead to poor performance at school, but also explain involvement in risky, aggressive, and criminal behaviours (Calvete & Orue, 2010), which are due to their inability to predict the consequences of their actions and to feel compassion or empathy for their victims.

Note on the recidivist juveniles

During the analysis of the factors identified in recidivist juveniles and the review of the literature, the correlative and predictive factors of recidivist criminal behaviour were specifically debated. Our conclusion is that the main difference between antisocial and criminal behaviour perpetrated only during adolescence and repeated offences that continue to persist even during adulthood is the exposure of the juveniles since an early age and while growing up to several different factors together.

3.4 Results of the interviews with the specialists of judicial institutions

The findings from the interviews reflect the attitudes, practices, and recommendations of penitentiary institutions, the staff of the social and legal departments of the JI of Kavaja, and the partner organization “Meridia” with regards to the assessment of recidivism among juveniles in conflict with the law and the interventions needed to reduce the spread of this phenomenon in the penitentiary system.

3.4.1 Institutions’ definition of recidivism

All the institutions in which the interviews were carried out adhere to the following definition: “recidivists in penitentiary institutions are the juveniles who have returned to the institutions to serve a new conviction”.

“Meridia” is concerned about the statistics provided by the various penitentiary institutions as sometimes their data do not match, and it is not always clear what are the indicators they use to measure the recidivism rate, i.e. if the recidivism rate is calculated on a year basis or by criminal offenses.

3.4.2 Evaluation of recidivism risk factors and needs for intervention

“Meridia” does not provide any specific intervention for juvenile recidivists, and the services of this organization are not particularly addressed to recidivist juveniles in penitentiary institutions. However, in all the cases of juveniles in conflict with the law in which they intervene through their reintegration services, a case evaluation tool is used to identify the juveniles’ risks and needs. To the knowledge of the “Meridia” social workers, to date, penitentiary institutions do not have any practices of individual risk and intervention

needs assessment in place. According to the GDP specialist, this institution has recently adapted an assessment form which will be used to identify the risk of repeated criminal behaviour in juveniles. The staffs of the penitentiary institutions have been trained on how to administer the form, but the administering process is yet to be started. The interviewed specialists from the JI of Kavaja confirmed that standardized instruments for the assessment of the risk of recidivism among juveniles are currently missing.

3.4.3 Reflection on the causes of recidivist criminal behaviour

In “Meridia’s social workers experience, the causes associated with recidivism are the economic and social conditions of the family, low educational level of the juveniles, and lack or low level of effectiveness of family and community-focused social services.

According to the GDP specialist, the causes of recidivism are various and reside in different levels. Some of the causes she mentioned were the age of involvement in criminal behaviour, migratory movements of the families, family conflicts, lack of reception services for the rehabilitation and reintegration into the community of juveniles leaving the penitentiary system, and prejudice and labelling from neighbours, peers, teachers, and employers. The categories of juveniles with the highest risk of recidivism are those of very young male juveniles, regardless of their geographical origin, and juveniles convicted for property offenses perpetrated in collusion with other people.

Specialists from the JI of Kavaja identified some characteristics of recidivist juveniles, such as the prevalence of criminal offenses against property, offences committed in collusion, poor economic conditions of the family, lack of parental attention, problems with school attendance and school performance, low level of education, and lack of attention from the social services in their community when they return after leaving the penitentiary institution.

3.4.4 Practices of collection and sharing of data on recidivist juveniles

According to “Meridia”, the practice used for the collection of information on the juveniles consists of the referral made by the social staff of penitentiary institutions, and the interviews conducted with juveniles. Similarly, periodical statistics elaborated by the institution itself and data on the criminal history of the juveniles are used, but these are not fixed procedures as they mainly depend on the availability of the institution.

The social department specialists and the lawyer of the Kavaja institution collect the data on a juvenile through an interview conducted with him. The general register of the institution is also checked to verify if the juvenile has been institutionalized before. No data on the criminal history of the juvenile is provided by the related police department or by the court; the only data they obtain from other institutions is the data contained in the juvenile’s file submitted by the prosecutor’s office.

The individual assessment (the juvenile’s file) made by the staff of the social department does not contain any information about the criminal or antisocial behaviour history of the juvenile before the age of 14, and no assessment of the risk for recidivism is made.

It is a common practice of the JI, but not a constant one (only when deemed reasonable or required by social service agencies or regional education directorates), to provide the juvenile, when released from the institution, with an information sheet about

his/her education, as related to the attendance and completion, within the institution, of compulsory education and vocational trainings. The institution is lacking institutional or legal procedures for obtaining information about the juvenile from the social services operating in the community, after he/she has been released. Its only sources of information are “Meridia” and the Christian Association of Albanian Prisoners.

“Meridia” reports that the education staff in the penitentiary system and the civil organization that provides reintegration services for juveniles in conflict with the law have no common and consolidated referral system for juvenile recidivists. The best experience so far has been the one with the JI of Kavaja and the IEPD in Vlora.

The General Directorate of Prisons collects data from all the penitentiary institutions, including data on recidivist juveniles, and processes it into the categories of age, gender, and typology of criminal offenses. However, as previously reported, during the review of the data collected from this institution we observed that no periodical assessment of the recidivism rate at national level is made, either on an institutional basis or by specific characteristics of the juveniles such as their criminal history. One of the difficulties identified by the GDP is the lack of information regarding the criminal and antisocial history of juveniles in conflict with the law before the age of 14. The only way educators in the institution have to obtain this kind of information is through interviews conducted with the juveniles individually, or with their families. The police authorities do not provide any information or evaluation related to the juveniles’ cases. This is also due to the principle of confidentiality that applies to juveniles under the age of criminal liability. This deficiency in information could be overcome through an agreement on information sharing between the GDP and the regional police directorates. Similarly, the creation of a national database containing data on criminal behaviour histories of the juveniles in conflict with the law would also help. This database would be accessed only by judicial institution specialists, with the obligation to comply, first and foremost, with the principles of privacy protection and confidentiality.

The GDP has put in place practices of data sharing, which are used to share the data collected by this institution annually, when requested by other judicial institutions, by organizations, or other bodies at local level, such as Save the Children in Albania, UNICEF, the Observatory for Children’s Rights, etc.

The GDP has signed a cooperation agreement with the Probation Service to share information and data on juveniles in conflict with the law, but concrete practices of cooperation between the two institutions have not been developed yet.

The penitentiary institutions still have not adopted any system of service planning and distribution based on the identification and assessment of needs and recidivism risks. As we mentioned above, the GDP has adapted a tool for the assessment of the recidivism risk of juveniles in the penitentiary system, and the penitentiary institutions’ social department staffs have been trained on how to use it. However, this tool has not been distributed in these institutions yet.

3.4.5 Processing of data on recidivist juveniles

As part of its work within the Save the Children program, “Meridia” collects and processes data on the juveniles who have received rehabilitation and preparation for integration services. This is done through the case management and evaluation system,

applying SC templates and criteria. In addition, from 2014 (the program started in 2013), data related to the recidivist juveniles has been calculated based on the number of juveniles that have been benefiting in the framework of the SC program implementation.

IEPDs also have started to collect data on recidivist juveniles, dividing it only into general categories and submitting it, on a yearly basis to the GDP, where it undergoes further processing.

Neither the institutions nor “Meridia” process the data on recidivist juveniles by socio-demographic categories and/or by criminal history.

4. Summary of findings

- All the convicted juveniles and those in pre-detention centres during the 2013-2014 period were males.
- Criminal offences against propriety were the most widespread among juveniles suspected as perpetrators of criminal offence, tried, and convicted in the penitentiary system.
- The recidivism rate in pre-detention centres has increased from 17.6% in 2013 to 25.7% in 2014.
- The younger the age of committing the first criminal offence or being detained for the first time, the higher the probability for serious (recidivist) criminality such as chronic and progressively more specialized criminal behaviour in terms of violence, risks, frequency and duration of criminal career.
- The earlier the involvement for the first time in criminal behaviour and the earlier the detention for the first time by the police, the higher the odds for a juvenile to become a recidivist.
- The earlier the juvenile is placed for the first time in a penitentiary institution and the younger the age of release, the higher the risk for recidivism.
- The recidivist juveniles have low level of education, with an average of 5.7 years of primary education completed.
- More than half of the interviewed juveniles have committed the current criminal offence in cooperation with adults and peers.
- The average time elapsed between the previous conviction in the penitentiary system and the current one is 10 months. For 6 of the juveniles a period of 3-6 months has passed since the last conviction.
- More than half of them were involved 8-11 or more times in criminal offenses, mainly thefts.
- 7 of 10 juveniles reported to have been involved in a criminal behaviour for the first time before the age of 14. Of these, 4 had committed the criminal offence before the age of 13, but had had contacts with the police before the age of 11-12.
- Juveniles belonging to Roma and Egyptian communities had the lowest educational level, and a large number of criminal offences committed and convictions received.
- The majority of the interviewed juveniles came from families in difficult economic conditions, and had lived in an unstable family system (e.g. divorced or dead parents, family members who continuously left the house and stayed away from the family for long periods of time).

- Almost half of the juveniles reported a criminal family history (where one of the family members, either the father or a brother, was currently or had been previously convicted or was involved in criminal activities).
- Half of the recidivists were raised in families where one of the members was a current substance user, mainly alcohol.
- The majority of the recidivists reported poor communication with their parents and poor disciplining from their side; parents had failed in taking care of and showing interest for their children's needs and no clear rules had been in place in the family with regards to proper behaviour and attitude.
- The higher the level of education completed, the less likely the adolescents are to repeat the criminal behaviour.
- Two of the recidivist juveniles had not completed any year of education out of the penitentiary institution, whereas half of them had only completed the primary education.
- The reasons reported for dropping out school included difficult economic conditions of the families, learning difficulties, and continuous skipping of classes.
- More than half of the juveniles had never worked and the majority of them had not attended any vocational training course before.
- The majority of the recidivist juveniles had had poor relations with the school and did not see any benefit in attending it, while their parents, on the other hand, had been uninterested in their school enrolment and progress.
- More than half of them reported to have lived in peripheral communities, in areas populated during the recent years, with high poverty and delinquency rates, where drugs were sold or used, and adequate facilities or activities for the youth and public services for the inhabitants were missing.
- Almost all of the juveniles reported to have had friends who had committed criminal offences and were involved in problematic behaviour. All had spent most of their time in worthless and risky activities, in adult environments, where they gambled or drunk alcohol, and carried cold weapons; had stayed outdoors at late-night hours; and had been involved in violent conflicts.
- Juveniles involved in recidivist criminal behaviour are more likely to start it in company, with small groups of peers, rather than alone, and this is more likely to happen if the first criminal offences are perpetrated at a younger age (under 14 years old).
- Although the use of substances is not the main cause of the involvement in criminal offences, this factor, alone or combined with other factors, may bring on or increase the risk of committing recidivist criminal offences.
- The sample of recidivist juveniles showed a high level of substance use, especially regular smoking of tobacco and cannabis, as well as a high level of alcohol consumption, starting at very young average age.
- There is a significant difference between the incidence of lifelong smoking (of both tobacco and cannabis) and alcohol consumption among the sampled juveniles, who are recidivists

and are placed in a penitentiary institution, and the average national incidence among adolescents of the same age not in conflict with the law, according to the ESPAD Report, 2011.

- Involvement in criminal offences increases with the use of substances. The first one to be used is the tobacco (at the age 12.4) followed by the consumption of alcohol (12.7 years). These are followed by the first contact with the police (13.1 years old), the smoking of cannabis (13.2 years old), and the average age of committing the first criminal offence (13.3 years old).
- Half of the juveniles reported positive attitude towards the use of substances, considering them as indispensable and not harmful in the everyday life.
- Even though the institutions involved in this study adhere to the same definition of recidivism, the procedures and practices employed by these institutions to calculate the recidivism rate are not always unified and sustainable in time, as regards the periodical measurement and data exchange.
- To date, the penitentiary institutions do not undertake any reflection upon the level of juveniles who have returned to the institution within one year, which would serve to further analyse the procedures of case evaluation, the services provided and their impact on the recidivist juveniles, and the reasons for the return.
- Undertaking empirical research to assess the impact of the services provided to juveniles in contact with law is indispensable in the planning and implementation of specific programs for the prevention of recidivism in the penitentiary system to guarantee their positive results and replicability in other stages of case processing.

5. Recommendations

4.1 Recommendations based on the interviews with the specialists

- According to “Meridia”, the most urgent intervention related to the measuring and assessment of the recidivism rate among juveniles in conflict with the law is the establishment of a unified and codified (to maintain juveniles’ anonymity) electronic system, addressed initially to the penitentiary system and the probation service, but to be later extended to all judicial institutions. Data on the cases should be periodically entered in this system and analyzed, and the results should be regularly referred to the organizations and agencies providing services for juveniles in conflict with the law.
- The GDP specialist recommends for the court to ask for and take into consideration, after the assessment of the recidivism risk level among juveniles in pre-trial detention centres and before issuing a final decision, the evaluation report of the penitentiary institutions. This would enable the court to adapt its decision, as effectively as possible, to the recidivism risk level and rehabilitation needs of the juveniles in pre-trial detention.
- Another concern of the GDP specialist was the fact that, although the cooperation agreement among the GDP, Ministry of Youth and Social Welfare, and Save the Children in Albania for the rehabilitation, through the social services provided in the community, of the juveniles who get out of the penitentiary institutions has already been signed, the responsibilities of the parties are still to be defined. Therefore, she recommends a clear definition of the responsibilities of all the parties and the provision of concrete guidelines for the implementation of this agreement.
- In order to prevent recidivism in the penitentiary system, special cooperation agreements need to be made between penitentiary institutions, social service agencies, and educational and vocational training institutions. For this purpose, awareness-raising seminars should be organized, at local and national level, to raise the awareness of organizations and institutions on their roles in the intervention for the reduction and prevention of recidivism.
- Concrete measures of prevention need to be taken at community level, in collaboration with the Child Protection Units, for juveniles under the age of 14. This can be done by strengthening the school and community-based social services, in order to identify juveniles at risk of being involved in antisocial and criminal behaviour.
- A national database needs to be created for the collection of data on recidivism in penitentiary institutions, as well as for the identification of needs and case referral. Organizations working in the field of children’s rights can be involved as well.
- Intervention should be also made at policy level: the Ministry of Social Welfare should finalize the strategy for juvenile justice and the strategy for social protection, and the juveniles in conflict with the law should be explicitly referred to in both these strategies.

- Organizations providing rehabilitation and reintegration programs for juveniles who get out of the penitentiary system should extend their services and contacts to other areas which are not currently covered.
- Given that the penitentiary institutions do not receive any information or requests for information about the juveniles who come out of the system, specific cooperation agreements should be made, with specific obligations for the parties (the penitentiary institution and the institutions/organizations in the community). Specialists in the community should play the role of mediators and do the referral between penitentiary institutions and social, education, and employment services at local level.
- As it resulted from the interviews with the specialists in the Juvenile Institute of Kavaja, most of the recidivist juveniles come from previous alternative punishments. This suggests the need to strengthen the intervention services of the probation service specialists, as well as social services at community level, which provide programs for the juveniles and their families.
- It is necessary to establish an enforcing mechanism in order for juveniles leaving the penitentiary system to receive rehabilitation services from local organizations and agencies that provide multidisciplinary services. If deemed necessary, the family can also be involved.

4.2 Recommendations

- The measurement of recidivism among juveniles in conflict with the law should be done by using several criteria simultaneously, and taking into account the different forms and levels (detention-redetention, trial-retrial, conviction-reconviction, incarceration-reincarceration) and the chronology of their contacts with the law (including those occurred before the age of criminal liability). Currently, all the institutions involved in the collection of data for this report see recidivism as a repetition of the prison sentence as a consequence of the perpetration of subsequent criminal offenses.
- All the institutions involved in juvenile justice, as well as organizations that provide services to juveniles in conflict with the law, should unify the criteria and standards related to the measuring of the recidivism rate, in order to avoid overlaps, duplication, or lack of quantitative data.
- The measuring and reporting of the rate of recidivism among juveniles in conflict with the law should be done periodically (annually), using unified assessment tools and procedures which are shared by Save the Children in Albania, its partner organizations, the institutions for the execution of criminal judgments that have a section for minors, and the entire juvenile judicial system.
- The social department staffs of penitentiary institutions and the partner organizations of Save the Children in Albania must place a special and immediate focus on the provision of specific and more intensive services for recidivist juveniles in the penitentiary system after the assessment and classification of the risk level and intervention needs. Currently, all institutionalized juveniles in the IEPD institutions are provided the same services and engaged in the same activities as other groups, both by the institution and by partner organizations.

- In order for the interventions and actions taken for the prevention of juveniles' recidivist criminal behaviour to be more accurate and effective, the assessment of the recidivism rate among juveniles in conflict with the law should be extended, through a network, to all judicial institutions (police, prosecutor's office, courts and probation service, or other institutions that administer alternative punishments).
- The assessment of the recidivism rate among juvenile offenders should be conducted together with an analysis of the level of risk for repeating criminal behaviour as well as of the factors and causes that accompany these behaviours. This assessment system would be particularly useful to reflect on the effectiveness of the services currently provided to juveniles in conflict with the law, and to provide argumentation for recommending other family, school, or community-focused services.
- Lawyers in the penitentiary system or the staff of the partner organizations should improve the provision of information to the juveniles on the legal aspects of the offence (short and long-term, and direct or indirect effects; role and responsibility of the juveniles, as well as of individuals and institutions involved in the judicial system).
- The lack of information about the consequences of engaging in dangerous and illegal activities often pushes adolescents to socialize with peers with a criminal history and be oriented towards crime. An information and awareness campaign about the legal aspects of juvenile delinquency should be undertaken by Save the Children in Albania and its partner organizations in schools or in the community to prevent the spread of the phenomenon.
- The annual report of the Ministry of Justice on delinquency should also include a reflection on juvenile recidivism, in order to provide a clear picture of the development of the phenomenon and its dynamics, and reflect further about prevention programs in the community and in the penitentiary system.
- The analysis of the recidivism rate should be also carried out from the perspective of the various composing factors of the phenomenon, which means that the group of recidivist juveniles should be analysed on the basis of their criminal and antisocial history, especially before the age of 14; the penitentiary institution in which they have served their sentence; their geographical origin and other socio-demographic factors; the typology of criminal offense/s; the risk; the identified needs; the services received in the institution, and the services received in the community.
- Parallel to the development and implementation of the programs for the prevention of recidivism in the penitentiary system, it is indispensable to also create a network for the distribution and strengthening of services in the community focused on family, school, employment and vocational training, and group of peers. Communication (reference) and cooperation with service providers in the community need to be included in the official practices of the penitentiary institutions in order to improve the juveniles reintegration process and the prevention of their return to the institution.
- The assessment of risk factors related to the recurrence of criminal behaviour, and of the needs identified should be adopted as a necessary and mandatory procedure which prosecutors and judges must refer to during the process of investigation and trial, in

order to avoid, at all costs, the institutionalization of the juveniles (which is often given as the only alternative for the punishment of juvenile crimes), and to identify supporting arguments for the alternative punishments suggested.

- The staff of penitentiary institutions and partner organizations of Save the Children in Albania should be evaluated and monitored by a group of specialists of the GDP and Save the Children on their current capacities, and should be trained on the collection, analyzing and periodical reporting of data on the recidivism rate among juveniles in the penitentiary system.
- The collection and storage of data on institutionalized juveniles in conflict with the law (individual case management in the institution) should be performed in a unified electronic system, which would extremely facilitate data protection, accessing and reporting.
- In the future, this electronic system for the collection of data on recidivism (while maintaining at all costs the juveniles privacy) should be extended to all the levels of the juvenile judicial system. Also, procedures must be established in order to enable its consultation by social, education, and health services in the community (Regional Directorate of State Social Service, Child Protection Units, Regional Education Directorates, etc.). This would make it possible to explore and assess in time the developing factors of recidivism in juveniles in conflict with the law.
- The periodical analysis of the recidivism rate, conducted by each institution of the juvenile judicial system, should be shared publicly and formally with the institutions/organizations that are part of the cooperation, in order to confront the data and identify the progress (or regress) of the phenomenon at country level, and to analyse the effectiveness of services/programs provided for recidivist juveniles.
- Annual data and analyses should be used to inform policies, practices, and fund allocations in order to prevent the growth of juvenile delinquency and especially the rate of recidivism in the judicial system.
- It is important for juvenile justice to avoid the execution of punishments in the penitentiary system and to be oriented instead towards community-based alternative punishments, by intervening with services for the family and school in order to prevent recurrence of criminal offenses, and by focusing on the analysis of recidivism risk factors and of the developmental characteristics of the adolescent.
- It has been proved that the use of risk assessment tools in the penitentiary system reduces the rate of recidivism in juveniles in conflict with the law as it provides arguments and recommendations for interventions and services focused on the individual (the juvenile) and on the factors that increase his/her risk for criminal behaviour in the future (Vincent, Guy, & Grisso, 2012; Vincent, Paiva-Salisbury, Cook, Guy, & Perrault, 2012).

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ANNEX I

Questions for the specialist – General Directorate of Prisons

- What is the definition (description) of recidivism in juveniles in conflict with the law according to you (as an institution)?
- Do you have any information or data about the rate of recidivism among juveniles in conflict with the law in one year? In the recent years? How was this piece of data obtained and what indicators is the calculation of the recidivism rate based on?
- Based on your experience, which could be the causes and risk factors related to this phenomenon?
- Does the institution have any system of collecting and storing the data about juveniles in conflict with the law, specifically recidivist ones? Is it a periodical one? Is it divided in categories of juveniles according to gender, age, socio-demographic characteristics, typology of committed criminal offences, or other specificities?
- How are the data concerning juveniles in the institution collected? Do you only use the documentation available, or also interviews and other sources? Which sources? To what age does the history of behaviours in conflict in with the law go back?
- Are documented data on the criminal and antisocial history of juveniles in conflict with the law under the age of criminal liability (14 years old) collected? Which institutions do you obtain such data from? Are the data national and periodical?
- Are the statistical data shared? What are the institutions you receive data from or provide data for?
- In your experience, which juveniles are likely to be recidivists as related to gender, age, socio-demographic characteristics, typology of criminal offenses committed or other features, poverty, socialization with older persons?
- Is there any assessment tool used for juveniles in conflict with the law with regards to the causes of their criminal behaviours?
- If not, does the education staff in the IEPD in which juveniles in conflict with the law are placed perform any documented assessment of the causes?
- Do you have any information on how work is done by the education staff of institutions focused on recidivist juveniles (IEPDs)? Do they implement any special program/intervention?
- Once these juveniles get out of the institution, are there any agreements/institutions dealing with the assessment of the causes of their behaviour, and the continuation of the rehabilitation and recidivism prevention processes?
- If yes, how would you describe/evaluate these actions/institutions?
- What more do you think could be done about recidivism among juveniles in conflict with the law? Which institution could do more and what could it do?
- What do you suggest should be done about the collection and documentation of data on juveniles in conflict with the law, specifically recidivists?
- What institutions or organizations can be involved in these actions?
- Who, according to you, can be their role and function in relation to this phenomenon?

Question for the Institute of Juveniles in Kavaja

Lawyer

- What is the definition (description) of recidivism in juveniles in conflict with the law according to you (as an institution)?
- Do you have any information or data about the rate of recidivism among juveniles in conflict with the law in one year? In the recent years? How was this piece of data obtained and what indicators is the calculation of the recidivism rate based on?
- Based on your experience, which could be the causes and risk factors related to this phenomenon?
- Does the institution have any system of collecting and storing the data about juveniles in conflict with the law, specifically recidivist ones? Is it a periodical one? Is it divided in categories of juveniles according to gender, age, socio-demographic characteristics, typology of committed criminal offences, or other specificities?
- How are the data concerning juveniles in the institution collected? Do you only use the documentation available, or also interviews and other sources? Which sources? To what age does the history of behaviours in conflict in with the law go back?
- Are the statistical data shared? What are the institutions you receive data from or provide data for?
- Are documented data on the criminal and antisocial history of juveniles in conflict with the law under the age of criminal liability (14 years old) collected? Which institutions do you obtain such data from?
- In your experience, which juveniles are likely to be recidivists as related to gender, age, socio-demographic characteristics, typology of criminal offenses committed or other features, poverty, socialization with older persons?
- Once these juveniles get out of the institution, are there any agreements/institutions dealing with the assessment of the causes of their behaviour, and the continuation of the rehabilitation and recidivism prevention processes?
- If yes, how would you describe/evaluate these actions/institutions?
- What more do you think could be done about recidivism among juveniles in conflict with the law? Which institution could do more and what could it do?
- What do you suggest should be done about the collection and documentation of data on juveniles in conflict with the law, specifically recidivists?
- What institutions or organizations can be involved in these actions?
- Who, according to you, can be their role and function in relation to this phenomenon?

Questions for the IEPD in Kavaja

Head/Chief of Education

- What is the definition (description) of recidivism in juveniles in conflict with the law according to you (as an institution)?
- Do you have any information or data about the rate of recidivism among juveniles in conflict with the law in one year? In the recent years? How was this piece of data obtained and what indicators is the calculation of the recidivism rate based on?
- Based on your experience, which could be the causes and risk factors related to this phenomenon?

- Does the institution have any system of collecting and storing the data about juveniles in conflict with the law, specifically recidivist ones? Is it a periodical one? Is it divided in categories of juveniles according to gender, age, socio-demographic characteristics, typology of committed criminal offences, or other specificities?
- How are the data concerning juveniles in the institution collected? Do you only use the documentation available, or also interviews and other sources? Which sources? To what age does the history of behaviours in conflict in with the law go back?
- Are documented data on the criminal and antisocial history of juveniles in conflict with the law under the age of criminal liability (14 years old) collected? Which institutions do you obtain such data from? Are the data national and periodical?
- Are the statistical data shared? What are the institutions you receive data from or provide data for?
- In your experience, which juveniles are likely to be recidivists as related to gender, age, socio-demographic characteristics, typology of criminal offenses committed or other features, poverty, socialization with older persons?
- Is there any assessment tool used for juveniles in conflict with the law with regards to the causes of their criminal behaviours?
- If not, does the education staff in the IEPD in which juveniles in conflict with the law are placed perform any documented assessment of the causes?
- Do you have any information on how work is done by the education staff of institutions focused on recidivist juveniles (IEPDs)? Do they implement any special program/intervention?
- To your knowledge, once these juveniles get out of the institution, are there any agreements/institutions dealing with the assessment of the causes of their behaviour, and the continuation of the rehabilitation and recidivism prevention processes?
- If yes, how would you describe/evaluate these actions/institutions?
- What more do you think could be done about recidivism among juveniles in conflict with the law? Which institution could do more and what could it do?
- What do you suggest should be done about the collection and documentation of data on juveniles in conflict with the law, specifically recidivists?
- What institutions or organizations can be involved in these actions?
- Who, according to you, can be their role and function in relation to this phenomenon?

Questions for the program manager – “Meridia”

- What is the definition (description) of recidivism in juveniles in conflict with the law according to you (as an institution)?
- Do you have any information or data about the rate of recidivism among juveniles in conflict with the law in one year? In the recent years? How was this piece of data obtained and what indicators is the calculation of the recidivism rate based on?
- Based on your experience, which could be the causes and risk factors related to this phenomenon?
- Do you have any information on whether the institutions of IEPD with which you work have a system of collecting and storing of data on juveniles in conflict with the law, specifically recidivists? Do they share it with you? If yes, with what frequency? Is it divided

in categories of juveniles according to gender, age, socio-demographic characteristics, typology of committed criminal offences, or other specificities?

- Is any specific work being conducted with recidivist juveniles in institutions?
- How many recidivist juveniles have you intervened for in 2013? And in 2014?
- Is there any practice of continuous and regular referral of cases of recidivist juveniles by the education staff to your mediators? How would you define this experience?
- Do you have any knowledge on whether the education staff in institutions makes a specific evaluation of recidivist juveniles as related to the causes of their behaviours and the needs they have for intervention and rehabilitation?
- Are the collected information and the evaluation made referred? Is the evaluation discussed with you?
- How do you collect the data concerning juveniles in institutions? Do you use only individual interviews, or also documentation and other sources? What sources?
- Do you collect documented data on the criminal and antisocial history of juveniles in conflict with the law before the age of criminal liability (14 years old)? What sources do you obtain such data from?
- Do you use any assessment tool for juveniles in conflict with the law with regards to the causes of their criminal behaviours?
- Are statistical data on recidivist juveniles exchanged? What are the institutions/ organizations you receive data from or provide data for? Do you have any relation or agreement with them? With which of them do you have an agreement? Is the relation with them regular, or rather sporadic and difficult? Why do you define it like that?
- In your experience, which juveniles are likely to be recidivists as related to gender, age, socio-demographic characteristics, typology of criminal offenses committed or other features, poverty, socialization with older persons?
- Do “Meridia” mediators have any special intervention plan or practice focused on recidivist juveniles? Do they implement any special program/intervention? How would you evaluate the efficiency of these interventions and programs? What hinders or helps their efficiency?
- What more do you think could be done about recidivism among juveniles in conflict with the law? Which institution could do more and what could it do?
- What do you suggest should be done about the collection and documentation of data on juveniles in conflict with the law, specifically recidivists?
- What institutions or organizations can be involved in these actions?
- Who, according to you, can be their role and function in relation to this phenomenon?

ANNEX 2

Interview with the juveniles in IEPD KAVAJA

Hello, my name is Julinda Cilingiri, and I am a social worker. I am conducting a study which aims to identify the risk factors related to the behaviours of the adolescents placed in this institution.

I am interested in talking with you about your experiences, your life and your past.

This conversation will last approximately 45 minutes to one hour. I will read the questions and write down your answers. Before we start, I also have to say:

If it is difficult for you to answer the questions, or you do not understand them, please tell me;

None of the questions I will ask, intends to insult/offend you or your family;

I do not judge you or criticise your actions;

The information from this conversation will be used only for study and statistical purposes and your identity will remain secret;

Do you have any question before we start? _____

Date of the interview: _____

PERSONAL DATA

1. Sex:

1 Male 2 Female

2. Age:

1 14 y/o 2 15 y/o 3 16 y/o 4 17 y/o 5 18 y/o

3. Ethno-cultural classifications:

1 White 2 Roma 3 Egyptian 4 Other (specify): _____

4. What is the highest educational level completed:

1 no education 2 primary education 3 nine-year education
4 secondary education

5. How many years of schooling have you completed in total? _____

6. Where were you born?

1 city 2 village 3 suburban area 4 I don't know

7. In which city (municipality)/village where you born? _____

8. Where did you live before you entered here?

- 1 city 2 village 3 suburban area

9. What city/village do you live in? _____

10. How long have you been living there?

- 1 less than one year 5 12 years or more
2 1-3 years 6 All life
3 4-7 years 7 I don't know
4 8-11 years

11. How many people is the biological/foster family in which you have lived composed of?

- 10+ 8-9 6-7 5 4 3 2 I don't know

8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

If you answered 'I don't know' to any of the above, explain the reason.

DETAILS ON THE CRIMINAL HISTORY OF THE JUVENILE

12. Criminal offence for which you have been convicted/ are awaiting conviction?

- 1 theft 2 robbery 3 murder 4 injury
5 non-consensual sexual intercourse through use of violence
6 trade of drugs 7 criminal organization
8 Exploitation of prostitution 9 fraud 10 Other _____

Level of seriousness of the criminal offence (1-8)

13. What is your current situation?

- 1 Detained 2 In pre-trial detention 3 Convicted

14. For how long have you been sentenced?

- 1 Awaiting judgment 2 less than 1 year 3 1-2 years
4 3-5 years 5 6-8 years 6 9 years or more

15. Victim/s of the criminal offence (more than one option can be selected)

- 1 crime without a victim 2 Specific victim (characteristics)
3 Vulnerable victim 4 racist crime 5 repeated victim
6 victim unknown to the juvenile 7 more than one possibility

16. The criminal offence for which you are detained/ convicted was committed:

- 1 valone 2 with relatives 3 gwith a group of younger peers
4 with a group of same-age peers 5 With a group of adults

17. Age at which he has/is suspected to have committed the first criminal offence

- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| -10 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | P/P | I don't know |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9 | | | | | | | | | | 19 | 20 |

18. Age at which he was detained by the police for the first time

- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| -10 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | P/P | I don't know |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9 | | | | | | | | | | 19 | 20 |

19. Number of previous detentions

- | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 10+ | 8-9 | 5-7 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | I don't know |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | | | | | | 8 |

20. Number of previous convictions by the court

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 2+ | 1 | 0 | I don't know |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2 | | | 3 |

21. Time elapsed between previous and current conviction

- | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 0 days (1st conviction) | up to 3 months | 3 -6 months | 7-12 months | 1 year + | P/P | I don't know |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

22. Note down if the juvenile has previously received any of the following provisions by the court:

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 0 <input type="checkbox"/> No provision | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Imprisonment | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Probation service |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Mediation as a restorative measure | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Vocational/education training | |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> Fine | 6 <input type="checkbox"/> Community service | 7 <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |

23. Has there been any case of failing to fulfil the provisions set out by the court?

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Yes | No | P/P | I don't know |
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> |

If you answered 'I don't know' to any of the above, explain the reason.

I. LIVING CONDITIONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES

24. With whom has the juvenile been living during the last 6 months before being detained/placed in the institution?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>01 Mother <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>02 Father <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>03 Nuclear family <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>04 Large family <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>05 Step father/mother <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>06 Sisters/brothers <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>07 Grandparents <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>08 Foster family <input type="checkbox"/></p> | <p>09 With friends <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>10 In the institution <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>11 With his children <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>12 With others <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>13 With relatives <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>14 Alone <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>15 With the partner <input type="checkbox"/></p> |
|--|---|

If the juvenile has lived in circumstances different from the options above, specify them below.

Indicate whether any of the options below regarding housing/family applies to the juvenile.

- | | 1
Yes | 2
Somehow | 3
No | 4
I don't know |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 25. Has often changed residence | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 26. Inappropriate housing (overcrowded, missing the necessary equipment) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 27. Family with economic difficulties (receives aid from the state) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 28. Lived with persons with previous criminal history | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 29. Has left home or stayed for a long time away from home | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 30. Disorganized or chaotic house/family(people coming and going) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 31. Other problems (isolation, easy procurement of drugs from the family members) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If you answered 'I don't know' to any of the above, explain the reason.

Taking into account the options above, evaluate the level at which the living conditions of the juvenile are connected to his past and current criminal behaviour.

(0 = no connection, 4 = strong connection)

0	1	2	3	4

2. FAMILY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

32. Which of the family members has been visiting the juvenile more often since the detention/during the last six months?

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 01 Mother <input type="checkbox"/> | 05 Sisters/ brothers <input type="checkbox"/> | 09 Other adults <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 02 Father <input type="checkbox"/> | 06 Relatives <input type="checkbox"/> | 10 His children <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 03 Both <input type="checkbox"/> | 07 Partner <input type="checkbox"/> | 11 Adoptive parents <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 04 Grandparents <input type="checkbox"/> | 08 Juvenile friends <input type="checkbox"/> | 12 Step mother/father <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | 13 None <input type="checkbox"/> |

Indicate whether any of the following alternatives regarding family/caregivers applies to the juvenile.

	1 Yes	2 Somehow /Before	3 No	4 I don't know
33. Members of the family involved in criminal activity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34. Members of the family convicted for a criminal offence	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35. Members of the family abusing with alcohol	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36. Members of the family abusing with drugs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
37. Members of the family did not communicate with the juvenile/have not shown any interest on, and have never taken care of him	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. Irregular supervision and poor parenting environment with no boundaries	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39. Has experienced abuse (physical, sexual, emotional)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40. Has witnessed use of violence in the family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41. Has experienced the loss/death of one of the family members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42. Had to take care of other members of the family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43. Other problems (parent/family member with physical/mental problems; abandonment by one/both of the parents; a hostile divorce; other stress factors or tension	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you answered 'I don't know' to any of the above, explain the reason.

3. EDUCATION, TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT (ETE)

Which of the following alternatives describes more accurately the ETE situation of the juvenile?

	1 Yes	2 No	3 I don't know
44. Has never attended school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45. Has completed the elementary education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
46. Has completed the compulsory 9-year education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
47. Public 9-year school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
48. Public special needs 9-year school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
49. General high school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
50. Vocational high school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
51. Has worked full-time for more than 6 months	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
52. Has worked part-time for more than 6 months	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
53. Has never worked	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
54. Has worked with parents/relatives (family business)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
55. Has worked without salary (to learn a profession)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
56. Has attended vocational training courses	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
57. Is physically/mentally not able to work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
58. Has not worked because had to take care of the family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

59. If he has not completed the compulsory 9-year education, what has been the reason for that?

1 Expulsion from the school for discipline reasons	<input type="checkbox"/>	6 Conflicts with teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>
2 Family problems	<input type="checkbox"/>	7 Conflicts with students	<input type="checkbox"/>
3 Economic problems	<input type="checkbox"/>	8 Distance from school	<input type="checkbox"/>
4 Emigration	<input type="checkbox"/>	9 Illness/disability	<input type="checkbox"/>
5 Learning difficulties	<input type="checkbox"/>	10 Other _____	<input type="checkbox"/>
		11 Has completed it	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other factors related to inclusion in school/ employment

	1 Yes	2 Somehow /Before	3 No	4 I don't know
60. Negative attitude towards school/work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
61. Poor connection with the school (wanted to leave school, did not attend school regularly, did not see any benefit in it)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 62. Left school often for long periods | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 63. Was subject to harassment (bullying) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 64. Used harassment (bullying) against other students
in school | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 65. Poor relations with the majority of the teachers | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 66. His actions caused damages to school facilities | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 67. Negative/indifferent attitude of the parents/
Caregivers toward schooling/employment | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 68. Other problems (e.g. continuous changing of school,
finding the school boring, lack of income to buy
books and other tools) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If you answered ‘I don’t know’ to any of the above, explain the reason.

Taking into account the alternatives above, evaluate to what extent the juvenile’s education level and his relation with school and employment are connected to his past and current criminal behaviour.

(0 = no connection, 4 = strong connection)

0	1	2	3	4

4. Neighbourhood /COMMUNITY

69. The juvenile has often (more than 3 times) changed neighbourhood/community

1 Yes	2 No	3 I don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

70. Which of the following alternatives describes more accurately the neighbourhood/community which the juvenile has lived in?

1 Metropolitan urban area 2 Urban area 3 Suburban area
 4 Rural area 5 Mountainous area

	1 Yes	2 No	3 I don't know
71. Homogeneous community (with local inhabitants)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
72. Heterogeneous community (inhabitants coming in different periods, and from different regions)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
73. Community containing ethnic/cultural minorities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
74. New community, established over the last 10-15 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
75. Community of young residents/new families	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Indicate whether any of the following alternatives represents a problem for the community/neighbourhood

	1 Yes	2 No	3 I don't know
76. Use/trade of drugs by the members of the community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
77. The community is isolated/means of transport are missing/limited	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
78. Youth-appropriate environments/activities are missing (youth/sport centres)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
79. Is infamous for racial, religious or ethnical tensions among the inhabitants	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
80. Is infamous for the high level of poverty/unemployment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
81. Is infamous for the high level of delinquency	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
82. Other problems (public services, local government offices missing)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
83. Tensions between the police/local government & the community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
84. The juvenile has committed the offence/s in the community he lives in	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you answered 'I don't know' to any of the above, explain the reason.

Taking into account the alternatives above, evaluate the level at which the neighbourhood and the community the juvenile has been living in are connected to his past and current criminal behaviour.

(0 = no connection, 4 = strong connection)

0	1	2	3	4

5. LIFESTYLE

Which of the following alternatives represent a characteristic of the juvenile's lifestyle?

	1 Yes	2 No	3 I don't know
85. Has no friends of his age	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
86. Has no friends at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
87. Socialises with peers involved in anti-social behaviours/criminal offences	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
88. Has only friends/peers involved in criminal behaviours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
89. Has committed the criminal offence with a group of peers.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
90. Did not know how to spend free time/no social activities available	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
91. Spent free time in the street, or in mainly adult environments.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
92. Participated in risky activities.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
93. Had no access to cash (from family/work)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
94. Other problems (gambling, staying outdoors at late-night hours, carrying cold weapons)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you answered 'I don't know' to any of the above, explain the reason.

Taking into account the alternatives above, evaluate the level at which the lifestyle of the juvenile is connected to his past and current criminal behaviour.

(0 = no connection, 4 = strong connection)

0	1	2	3	4

6. USE OF SUBSTANCES/DRUGS

The following questions provide information on the use of substances by the juvenile.

	1 Used sometimes	2 Continuous use	Age of 1 st use	3 Does not use
95. Tobacco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input style="width: 80px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
96. Alcohol	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input style="width: 80px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
97. Hashish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input style="width: 80px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
98. Amphetamines	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input style="width: 80px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
99. Cocaine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input style="width: 80px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
100. Heroin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input style="width: 80px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
101. Other _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input style="width: 80px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Indicate whether any of the following alternatives applies to the juvenile.

	1 Yes	2 No	3 I don't know
102. Behaviours that place the juvenile in real danger (injection, use of many drugs simultaneously).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
103. Considers the use of substances a positive and/or necessary thing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
104. Damaging effects in education, relations with the others, everyday life	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
105. Has committed criminal offence to procure/buy drugs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
106. Has traded/exchanged drugs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
107. Other behaviours related to drugs (anti-social/criminal behaviour under the effects of drugs; fraud to obtain drugs)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you answered 'I don't know' to any of the above, explain the reason.

Taking into account the alternatives above, evaluate the level at which the use of substances/drugs by the juvenile is connected to his past and current criminal behaviour

(0 = no connection, 4 = strong connection)

0	1	2	3	4

7. HEALTH

Indicate whether any of the following alternatives applies to the juvenile

	1 Yes	2 No	3 I don't know
108. The health condition of the juvenile affects his everyday life (chronic illness).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
109. Delayed physical development	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
110. Lack of access to health care (dentist, vaccination).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
111. Health is at risk due to his behaviour (use of strong drugs, unprotected sexual intercourse).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
112. Other problems (diseases suffered and untreated, obesity, poor diet, early smoking of tobacco and consumption of alcohol).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you answered 'I don't know' to any of the above, explain the reason.

Taking into account the alternatives above, evaluate the level at which the health of the juvenile is connected to his past and current criminal behaviour.

(0 = no connection, 4 = strong connection)

0	1	2	3	4

8. EMOTIONS AND MENTAL ILLNESS

- | | 1
Yes | 2
No | 3
I don't
know |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 113. Has the juvenile ever been formally diagnosed for mental illness/disorder? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Are the functions in the juvenile's life influenced by daily thoughts or emotions coming as a result of the following alternatives?

- | | 1
Yes | 2
No | 3
I don't
know |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 114. Personal/family-related/contextual past events (feelings of anger, sadness, mourning, grief) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 115. Concerns regarding the future (worry, anxiety, fear, uncertainty) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If you answered 'I don't know' to any of the above, explain the reason.

Does the juvenile show any of the following indicators?

- | | 1
Yes | 2
No | 3
I don't
know |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 116. Has emotional or psychological difficulties (phobia, eating or sleeping disorders, suicidal thoughts, hypochondria) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 117. Has intentionally damaged himself | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 118. Has attempted to kill himself before | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Details (specify the type of illness, the treatment received, whether the treatment has given results, etc.) _____

If you answered 'I don't know' to any of the above, explain the reason.

Taking into account the alternatives above, evaluate the level at which the mental and emotional health of the juvenile is connected to his past and current criminal behaviour.

(0 = no connection, 4 = strong connection)

0	1	2	3	4

9. PERCEPTION OF ONESELF AND OF THE OTHERS

Indicate whether any of the following alternatives applies to the juvenile.

	1 Yes	2 No	3 I don't know
I19. Has an inappropriate level of self-esteem (very high/very low)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I20. Does not trust in others	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I21. Sees himself as a victim of discrimination or unfair treatment within the institution, family, school, community.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I22. Has discriminatory attitude towards the others (based on race, ethnicity, social class, age)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I23. Perceives himself as a criminal.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Taking into account the alternatives above, evaluate the level at which the perception the juvenile has of himself and of the others connected to his past and current criminal behaviour.

(0=no connection, 4= strong connection)

0	1	2	3	4

10. THOUGHTS AND BEHAVIOUR

Is the behaviour of the juvenile characterized by any of the following alternatives?

	1 Yes	2 No	3 I don't know
124. Does not understand the consequences of his actions (long-term and immediate as well as direct and indirect consequences)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
125. Is impulsive (acts without thinking, rushing, and regrets afterwards)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
126. Submits easily to the pressure of others	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
127. Poor control of aggressive temper	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
128. Inappropriate social and communication skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Has the juvenile shown/does he show any of the following behaviours?

	1 Yes	2 No	3 I don't know
129. Destruction/damaging of property (planned and intentional behaviour)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
130. Verbal or physical aggression towards the others	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
131. Tries to manipulate/control the others	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you answered 'I don't know' to any of the above, explain the reason.

Taking into account the alternatives above, evaluate the level at which the thoughts and actions of the juvenile are connected to his past and current criminal behaviour.

(0=no connection, 4= strong connection)

0	1	2	3	4

II. ATTITUDES TOWARDS CRIMINAL OFFENCE/S

Does the juvenile show/has he shown any of the following attitudes?

	1 Yes	2 No	3 I don't know
132. Denies/minimizes the seriousness of his behaviour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
133. Is unwilling to accept full responsibility for the involvement in the criminal offence/s he has committed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
134. Does not understand the effects of his behaviour on the victims (if there are no victims, the effects on the society)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
135. Does not regret the criminal offence/s he has committed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
136. Believes that some types of crimes are acceptable and not punishable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
137. Believes that some people/groups are the acceptable 'targets' of criminal offences.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
138. Believes that the inclusion in criminal offences in the future is inevitable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you answered 'I don't know' to any of the above, explain the reason.

Taking into account the alternatives above, evaluate the level at which the attitudes of the juvenile towards penal offences are connected to his past and current criminal behaviour.

(0=no connection, 4= strong connection)

0	1	2	3	4

12. MOTIVATION TO CHANGE

Indicate whether the juvenile shows any of the following attitudes.

	1 Yes	2 No	3 I don't know
139. Understands the problematic aspects of his behaviour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
140. Shows readiness to face and resolve all the problems in his life	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
141. Understand the consequences of the criminal offence/s he has committed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
142. Has identified valid reasons or incentives to avoid future criminal offences	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
143. Shows clearly that he will not commit criminal offences any more	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
144. Will be positively supported by the family, friends/others after the completion of the sentence.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
145. Is ready to cooperate with others (family, social, state agency) in order to change.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you answered 'I don't know' to any of the above, explain the reason.

Taking into account the alternatives above, evaluate the level at which the motivation of the juvenile to change is connected to his past and current criminal behaviour

(0=no connection, 4= strong connection)

0	1	2	3	4

SUMMARY OF THE DYNAMIC FACTORS OF RISK

	Evaluation
1. Life circumstances	<input type="text"/>
2. Personal and family relations	<input type="text"/>
3. Education, training and employment	<input type="text"/>
4. Neighbourhood and community	<input type="text"/>
5. Lifestyle	<input type="text"/>
6. Use of substances/drugs	<input type="text"/>
7. Health	<input type="text"/>
8. Emotions and mental health	<input type="text"/>
9. Perception of oneself and of the others	<input type="text"/>
10. Thoughts and behaviour	<input type="text"/>
11. Attitude towards criminal offence	<input type="text"/>
12. Motivation to change	<input type="text"/>
Total of the scores of all the sections	<input type="text"/>

I-12 (max. 48)