

The Female Juvenile Offender in Hawaii

Understanding Gender Differences in Arrests,
Adjudications, and Social Characteristics
of Juvenile Offenders



Research and Statistics Branch
Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division
Department of the Attorney General

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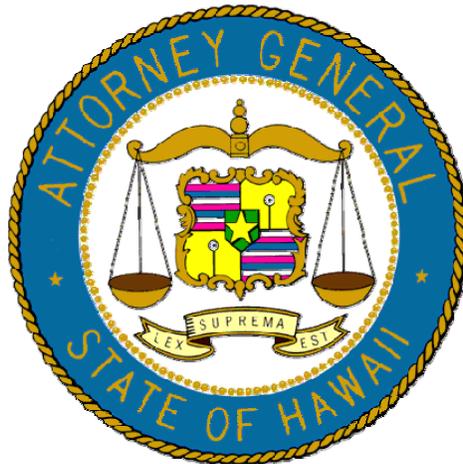
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Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	iv
Executive Summary	1
Introduction	3
Study Purpose	4
Methods.....	4
Gender and Juvenile Delinquency in Hawaii	6
Gender Differences in Hawaii’s Juvenile Arrests	6
Predicting Adjudication	6
Case File Analysis	11
Age and Offense Characteristics.....	11
Ethnicity and Circuit Court, by Gender	13
Social, Psychological, Family, and Academic Characteristics	13
Predicting Runaway Arrests	19
HYCF Girls and Non-HYCF Girls	20
Summary: A Profile of the Female Juvenile Offender	22
Policy Recommendations	23
References	24
Appendix A: Documents Analyzed	26
Appendix B: Coding Definitions	28

List of Tables

Table 1:	Arrest Type, by Gender, CY 2004	6
Table 2:	Adjudication, by Gender and Race/Ethnicity, CY 2004	7
Table 3:	Logistic Regression, Offense and Offender-Specific Predictors of Adjudication, CY 2004	9-10
Table 4:	Offense-Specific Frequencies, by Gender	12
Table 5:	Ethnicity and Circuit Court, by Gender	13
Table 6:	Abuse and Sexuality Variables, by Gender	14
Table 7:	Mental Health Variables, by Gender	15
Table 8:	Peer Group and School Variables, by Gender	16
Table 9:	Drug Use, by Gender.....	17
Table 10:	Family Variables, by Gender	18
Table 11:	OLS Regression, Predictors of Runaway Arrests	20
Table 12:	Predictors of HYCF Commitment for Female Juvenile Offenders.....	21

Executive Summary

This report provides a statistical profile of female juvenile offenders in Hawaii. It utilizes two main datasets: (1) CY 2004 Juvenile Justice Information System data; and (2) Family Court case file information on juvenile offenders who were either on probation or incarcerated at the Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility (HYCF). The report first examines general trends in juvenile arrests and adjudications, focusing on gender and racial/ethnic differences in each category. It then analyzes gender differences in the social, psychological, family, drug use, and academic backgrounds in the case file sample. Finally, the report examines intra-gender differences between HYCF girls and non-HYCF girls.

What gender differences exist in juvenile arrests and adjudications?

The study data reveal that runaway and truancy were numerically and proportionally the top two charges for both boys and girls during CY 2004. However, the number of runaway arrests for girls was 47% higher than for boys, while boys had 56% more arrests for truancy. Additionally, three of the top five arrest charges for girls included status offenses: runaway, truancy, and beyond parental control. Three of the top five arrests for boys included law violations, two of which were person offenses: assault 3, theft 4, and harassment. The strongest predictor of adjudication was offense severity. However, two other predictors were also statistically significant when controlling for offense severity; juveniles who reside in Maui County and girls in general were less likely to be adjudicated.

What gender differences exist in the social, academic, drug use, mental health, and family backgrounds of juvenile offenders?

Girls' case files, versus those for boys, reveal more reports of witnessing domestic violence and experiencing physical abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect. Boys and girls differ slightly in the mental health areas. Nearly 30% of the girls, compared to 10% of the boys, have at least one prior suicide attempt recorded in their case file. Additionally, close to half of the girls' files report current or past suicidal ideation, while less than one-quarter of the boys' files contain such reports. Girls were five times more likely than boys to report self-injurious behavior (such as cutting), while boys' case files were more likely to contain reports of physical aggression. The boys' files were significantly more likely than the girls' files to document an Attention Deficit/Hyperactive Disorder (ADHD) diagnosis (23% v. 7%), while girls' files were significantly more likely to reveal a diagnosis of depression/Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (28% v. 14%).

Very few variables relating to peer group and school dynamics show any significant gender differences. Based on the case file research, male and female juvenile offenders are equally likely to have failed academically and to be chronic truants. In terms of special education needs, 63% of the overall sample is certified as special education, with boys significantly more likely than girls to be so certified (67% v. 59%). There are a few statistically significant gender differences in drug use; boys have more reports of frequent marijuana use (37% v. 21% for girls), while girls are more likely to have ever tried crystal methamphetamine (or "ice," 45% v. 28% for boys). Girls are also more likely to be frequent ice users (23% v. 17% for boys), although this difference is not statistically significant.

Boys and girls in the study sample are similar in their family backgrounds:

- 1 in 10 has experienced the death of at least one parent.
- 1 in 2 has a parent who is or was involved in the criminal justice system.
- 1 in 4 has been placed in a foster care home (not *hanai* or extended family).
- 2 in 5 have no contact with their father; 1 in 5 has no contact with their mother.
- Almost 1 in 3 has a family history of suicide/mental illness.

How do HYCF girls differ from female juvenile offenders who have never been committed to the facility?

HYCF girls, compared to non-HYCF girls on probation, are significantly more likely to have histories of neglect and sexual abuse; foster care placement; relationships with older men; self-injurious behavior; frequent ice use; risky sexual behavior, including prostitution; negative peer group involvement; and academic failure. Additionally, girls with histories of neglect were over five times more likely to be committed to the HYCF than were girls without such experiences.

What is the profile of the female juvenile offender? How does it differ from the profile for boys?

Several areas distinguish female juvenile offenders in Hawaii from their male counterparts. Overall, girls differ from boys in that they are more likely to be arrested for status offenses, especially runaway; to have tried ice; to have histories of trauma, suicidal ideation, and suicide attempts; to suffer from depression/PTSD; and to engage in self-injurious behaviors. Boys, on the other hand, are more likely than girls to be arrested for law violations, particularly person crimes, and to be adjudicated for their offenses. They are also more likely than their female counterparts to engage in physically aggressive behaviors, to be certified as special education, and to be frequent marijuana users.

Policy Recommendations

This report concludes with several policy recommendations. Overall, it is recommended that “girl offender” programming should incorporate the necessary education, treatment, and other opportunities, in order to build resiliency in these girls’ lives. Secondly, it is also suggested that further research on understanding boys’ pathways to crime and delinquency should be conducted. Possibilities include exploring the correlation of delinquency with mental health issues (e.g., ADHD), substance abuse (specifically, frequent marijuana use), aggression, peer group dynamics, and family stressors.

Introduction

Female involvement in the juvenile justice system has emerged as a significant trend over the past three decades (Budnick and Shield-Fletcher 1998). Although the majority of juvenile arrestees have always been male, the proportion of females has been increasing. In 1975, girls accounted for 15% of all juvenile arrests. In 1990, they represented 19% and by 2004 they comprised nearly 30% (Steffensmeier 1993; FBI 2005). While overall delinquency rates have declined since the late 1990s, the decrease has not been equally shared by both boys and girls. From 1995 to 2004, boys' arrests dropped 47% for Index Offenses (including murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft, larceny-theft, and arson) and fell 18% for Part II Offenses (all other, less serious offenses) (FBI 2005). In comparison, girls' arrests for Index Offenses decreased 24% and fell only 5% for Part II Offense arrests (FBI 2005).

Juvenile court data also suggest a similar trend. Whereas boys represent the majority of cases handled by juvenile courts, girls now comprise one-quarter of these cases, up from 19% in 1985. In 1985, the delinquency case rate for boys was four times greater than for girls; by 2000, it was less than three times greater (OJJDP 2004). From 1985 to 2000, the overall female delinquency caseload grew by 4% per year, compared to 2% for boys (OJJDP 2004). Increases in female caseloads outpaced boys in three of the four general offenses categories: person (185% v. 88%), property (28% v. -11%), and public order (144% v. 96%) (OJJDP 2004).

Girls also comprise an increasing proportion of juveniles in custody. Between 1989 and 1998, detentions of girls increased 56%, whereas detentions of boys rose only 20% (Harms 2002). Nationally, girls comprise 18% of those in detention and 12% of those in public correctional facilities; girls in custody tend to be younger than their male counterparts and are more likely to be committed for status offenses or technical violations of probation and parole (Sickmund 2004). More than 24% of females in detention are charged with probation and parole violations, compared with only 12% of male juveniles (Poe-Yamagata and Butts 1996).

In Hawaii, juvenile delinquency has generally followed national trends, with a steady and dramatic decline in overall juvenile arrests over the last decade. From 1995 to 2004, Hawaii boys' arrests for Index Offenses plummeted 52%, while Hawaii girls' Index Offense arrests fell 55%. During this same time period, Part II Offense arrests for Hawaii boys decreased 60%, and fell 63% for their female counterparts. Additionally, runaway arrests for both boys and girls fell by 33% (Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division 2005). Despite this overall decline in the last decade, the proportion of girls' arrests in Hawaii is higher than it is nationally. In Hawaii, girls account for 33% of Index Offense arrests and 42% of Part II Offense arrests, both of which are up slightly from their respective proportion in 1995. While the majority of girls' arrests are for status offenses (e.g., running away, truancy, beyond parental control), girls also accounted for 31% of juvenile arrests for "other assaults" and 39% of juvenile arrests for drug possession in 2004 (Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division 2005).

Because of the increasing visibility of girls in the juvenile justice system, many states have launched initiatives to better understand the relationship between female delinquency and

girls' risk factors¹ (Budnick and Shield-Fletcher 1998). Such risk factors include girls' greater likelihood to experience physical and/or sexual abuse (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 1996); to suffer from depression and other mental disorders (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development 1995; Timmons-Mitchell, et al. 1997); to have low self esteem and higher incidences of eating disorders, suicidal ideation and self-injury (Mullis, et al. 2004; McCabe, et al. 2002); and to experience sexual harassment and interpersonal rivalries (Acoca 1998). Other studies have shown that female juvenile offenders also have high rates of truancy and low school attachment (Sommers and Gizzi 2001; Rumberger and Lawson 1998); intergenerational patterns of criminal justice involvement (Acoca 1998); fragmented families (Acoca 1998); and residence in distressed and socially disorganized neighborhoods (Katz 2000).

Study Purpose

Given that girls account for a considerable and, by some measures, growing proportion of overall juvenile arrests, this report examines the profile of the female juvenile offender in Hawaii. The report first provides a look at general trends in juvenile arrests and adjudications, as it pays attention to gender and racial/ethnic differences. Secondly, the report examines gender differences in the social backgrounds of youth on probation versus those committed to the Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility (HYCF). Specifically, this study report addresses the following questions:

- What gender differences exist in juvenile arrests and adjudications?
- What gender differences exist in the social, academic, drug use, mental health, and family backgrounds of juvenile offenders?
- How do HYCF girls differ from female juvenile offenders who have never been committed to the facility?
- What is the profile of the female juvenile offender? How does it differ from the profile for boys?

Methods

This study first analyzed Juvenile Justice Information System (JJIS) data on all juvenile arrests made in the State of Hawaii during Calendar Year 2004. The JJIS, housed in the State of Hawaii's Department of the Attorney General, is responsible for the development, maintenance, and implementation of a statewide database on all juvenile offenders. Agencies include county police departments, Family Courts, county prosecutors, and the HYCF. Because of the participation and coordination of these agencies, information on every juvenile who enters the justice system is available. The JJIS summarizes the information on juvenile offenders in separate tables: arrests, referrals to Family Court, and commitment to the HYCF. This report uses JJIS data to examine gender differences in arrests, demographic characteristics of arrested and adjudicated juveniles, and predictors of adjudication.

¹ Risk factors are characteristics and experiences that may influence youth to engage in delinquent acts, such as drug use, negative peers, school failure, etc. (Wasserman, et al. 2003).

The second part of this report utilizes Family Court case files to present an analysis of probation versus HYCF youth. Juveniles in the study were either on probation or were incarcerated at the HYCF at least once during CY 2004. Every effort was made to include a variety of juvenile offenders. Low-level probationers (one or two offenses), more chronic offenders (three or more offenses, history of detainment), and juveniles at the most serious end of the spectrum (those committed to the HYCF) were all included in the study. The sample was drawn from statewide JJIS listings of juvenile probationers and three random HYCF population days. The JJIS sample reflected the proportion of juvenile probationers, by gender and by court. Accordingly, 40% of the sample were girls, 64% were from the City & County of Honolulu (Oahu), 19% were from Hawaii County, 9% were from Maui County, and 8% were from Kauai County. In the HYCF sample, girls were slightly over-sampled, representing about one-third of the analyzed case files. (Girls generally comprise 10-20% of the HYCF population). Overall, 178 probationer files and 93 HYCF files (n=271) were used. Originally, 300 files were selected for the sample, but 29 files were not used because they were either incomplete or unavailable at the time of data collection.

All study data extracted from Family Court case files (social history, academic, medical, and mental health records), and the JJIS (legal records) were kept confidential. When Child and Protective Services records were included, information covering these domains was also incorporated. See Appendix A for a complete listing of all documents examined. The following variables were explored, when available: arrest and adjudication histories; demographic characteristics (e.g., race/ethnicity, gender, age, residence); mental health diagnoses; drug use; gang involvement; peer relationships; sexual histories and orientation; school performance; histories of physical and/or sexual abuse, or neglect; family dynamics; and family histories of criminal justice involvement. See Appendix B for variable and coding definitions.

Gender and Juvenile Delinquency in Hawaii

Using the 2004 JJIS data, this section of the report examines gender differences in Hawaii juvenile arrests and predictors of adjudication.

Gender Differences in Hawaii’s Juvenile Arrests

Basic frequencies showing gender differences in arrests were calculated using the JJIS data. These data reveal that runaway and truancy are the top two arrest charges for both boys and girls. However, the number of girls’ runaway arrests was 47% higher than the figure for boys, while boys had 56% more arrests for truancy. Boys also had twice as many arrests for assault 3 (“Assault in the Third Degree”) than did girls, and almost two-thirds as many arrests for theft 4. Overall, four of the top ten arrest charges for girls included status offenses: runaway, truancy, beyond parental control, and curfew violation. Seven of the top ten arrest charges for boys included law violations, three of which were person offenses: assault 3, harassment, and terroristic threatening 2.

Table 1: Arrest Type by Gender, CY 2004

Boys	Girls
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Runaway (1,906) • Truancy (760) • Assault 3 (751) • Theft 4 (720) • Detrimental Drug 3 (526) • Criminal Property Damage 2 (495) • Harassment (441) • Curfew Violation (393) • Disorderly Conduct (339) • Terroristic Threatening 2 (229) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Runaway (2,808) • Truancy (485) • Theft 4 (441) • Assault 3 (363) • Beyond Parental Control (298) • Curfew (238) • Harassment (172) • Detrimental Drug 3 (154) • Theft 3 (118) • Disorderly Conduct (115)

Predicting Adjudication

Slightly over 9% of the 17,340 juvenile arrests listed in the JJIS for 2004 ended in adjudication. The JJIS data were used to identify and examine predictors of adjudication. First, cross-tabulations between gender, race/ethnicity, and adjudication were performed, and when group differences were ascertained, Chi square (χ^2) analyses were used. An important caveat is that for the race/ethnicity variable, only the first racial/ethnic category listed in the juvenile’s JJIS record was utilized. Table 2 summarizes these findings and shows that juvenile arrestees are significantly more likely to be boys than girls (62% v. 38%), and that boys are more likely to have their arrests result in adjudication (11% v. 7%). Additionally, Samoan (12%) and Hawaiian/part-Hawaiian (10%) youth were significantly more likely to have their arrests end in adjudication, while Chinese youth were least likely (6%). (“Statistical significance” is herein defined to mean that the likelihood an observed difference could occur by chance is no greater than 5%.)

Table 2: Adjudication, by Gender and Race/Ethnicity, CY 2004

Independent Variables	Adjudicated	Not Adjudicated	Total
Boys*	1,185 (11%)	9,508 (89%)	10,693 (62%)
Girls	450 (7%)	6,197 (93%)	6,647 (38%)
Hawaiian/part-Hawaiian*	521 (10%)	4,582 (90%)	5,103 (30%)
Caucasian	393 (9%)	3,994 (91%)	4,387 (25%)
Filipino	307 (9%)	3,113 (91%)	3,420 (20%)
Japanese	85 (9%)	854 (91%)	939 (6%)
Samoan*	89 (12%)	680 (88%)	769 (5%)
Black	36 (9%)	355 (91%)	391 (2%)
Chinese	15 (6%)	222 (94%)	237 (1%)
Tongan	16 (9%)	161(91%)	177 (1%)
Micronesian	12 (8%)	140 (92%)	152 (<1%)
Korean	15 (10%)	127 (90%)	142 (<1%)
All other ethnicities	146 (9%)	1,477 (91%)	1,623 (9%)

*p< .05

Logistic regression was then performed in order to better explain these findings. Logistic regression is a predictive model that is used when the dependent or outcome variable (in this case, adjudication) is categorical with exactly two categories, e.g., adjudicated/not adjudicated. The independent variables essentially serve as predictor variables, and the logistic model estimates the relationship between them and the dependent variable. It computes the probability (odds ratio) of change in the dependent variable. In other words, once all of the independent variables are included in the statistical model, which of them have the greatest influence on the outcome variable? In this study, logistic regression was used to predict adjudication. What independent variables (circuit court location, gender, race/ethnicity, offense type) predict whether or not a juvenile will be adjudicated (dependent variable)? Once offense type and court location are controlled, does being male, Hawaiian/part-Hawaiian, or Samoan still predict whether or not a juvenile will be adjudicated?

As shown in Table 3, once offense type is controlled, race/ethnicity variables were no longer strong predictors of adjudication. The “B” coefficient indicates the strength a particular variable has in relation to the other variables in the model. With the exception of “Chinese” and “Tongan,” Table 3 shows that race/ethnicity variables have among the smallest B coefficients, therefore contributing less to the predictive model. Additionally, no race/ethnicity differences were statistically significant.

Several offense-type variables served as the strongest predictors of adjudication. True to the presumed intentions of juvenile justice, the more serious the offense, the greater the likelihood of adjudication. First or second degree sexual assault arrests and robbery arrests were the strongest predictors of adjudication in the model (B=2.70 and 2.61, respectively). Juveniles arrested for these offenses were 14.84 times more likely than runaway arrestees to be adjudicated in Family Court. Robbery arrestees were 13.57 times; UCPV felony theft arrestees were 12.51 times; and family abuse and dangerous drug arrestees were each over eleven times more likely to be adjudicated than were runaway arrestees. Additionally, other types of status offense arrestees were the only other arrestees to have less chance of

being adjudicated than were runaway arrestees: truancy (.26 to 1), compulsory attendance (.40 to 1), beyond parental control (.54 to 1) and injurious behavior (.81 to 1).

Gender and court location were also significant predictors of adjudication, although their overall predictive values were quite low. Regardless of offense severity, boys were 1.20 times more likely to be adjudicated than were girls, and Maui youth only had a .60 to 1 chance of being adjudicated as compared to juveniles in the City & County of Honolulu.

One limitation of these findings is that offense history (i.e., a juvenile's "rap sheet"), while potentially an extremely important predictor of adjudication, could not be readily measured in the dataset and thus was not examined in this study.

Table 3: Logistic Regression, Offense and Offender-Specific Predictors of Adjudication, CY 2004

Variables	B	Standard Error	Statistical Significance	Odds Ratio
<i>Circuit Courts</i> (Comparison = City & County of Honolulu)				
Maui County	-.52	.084	.000	.60 to 1
Hawaii County	.08	.08	.31	1.09 to 1
Kauai County	.08	.09	.38	1.08 to 1
<i>Ethnicity</i> (Comparison = Caucasian)				
Hawaiian	.04	.08	.590	1.04 to 1
Chinese	-.36	.28	.204	.70 to 1
Japanese	-.04	.13	.784	.96 to 1
Filipino	.02	.08	.78	1.02 to 1
Samoan	-.04	.14	.768	.960 to 1
Korean	.11	.29	.716	1.11 to 1
Black	-.14	.19	.453	.87 to 1
Hispanic	-.10	.55	.86	.91 to 1
Tongan	-.24	.28	.377	.78 to 1
Other ethnicity	-.23	.11	.033	.79 to 1
<i>Arrests</i> (Comparison = Runaway)				
Truancy	-1.33	.27	.000	.26 to 1
Compulsory attendance	-.94	.51	.07	.40 to 1
Beyond parental control	-.62	.32	.05	.54 to 1
Curfew	-.99	.37	.007	.37 to 1
Dangerous drug	2.43	.33	.000	11.33 to 1
Detrimental drug	1.07	.148	.000	2.92 to 1
Prohibitions	.72	.220	.001	2.06 to 1
Burglary	2.27	.17	.000	9.62 to 1
Theft felony	2.56	.187	.000	12.96 to 1
Theft misdemeanor	1.12	.21	.000	3.06 to 1
Theft petty misdemeanor	1.04	.12	.000	2.84 to 1
Shoplifting	.74	.28	.009	2.09 to 1
Harassment	.41	.19	.037	1.50 to 1
Disorderly conduct	.31	.25	.222	1.36 to 1
Trespassing	.86	.24	.000	2.36 to 1
Unauthorized control of a propelled vehicle	2.53	.18	.000	12.51 to 1
Unauthorized entrance of a motor vehicle	2.06	.23	.000	7.86 to 1

Criminal property damage	1.73	.13	.000	5.63 to 1
Driving without a license	2.13	.24	.000	8.40 to 1
Terroristic threatening	1.78	.16	.000	5.90 to 1
Injurious behavior	-.21	.46	.655	.81 to 1
Assault felony	1.99	.22	.000	7.29 to 1
Assault misdemeanor/petty misdemeanor	1.33	.12	.000	3.78 to 1
Sexual assault (first and second degree)	2.70	.27	.000	14.84 to 1
Sexual assault (third and fourth degree)	1.85	.22	.000	6.40 to 1
Robbery	2.61	.20	.000	13.57 to 1
Family abuse	2.46	.17	.000	11.75 to 1
Contempt	.89	.24	.000	2.43 to 1
Other offense	1.32	.11	.000	3.73 to 1
<i>Gender</i> (Comparison = Female)	.19	.06	.003	1.20 to 1
Constant	-3.21	.096	.000	.04

Dependent variable: yes/no adjudicated. N=17,340 arrests

Overall, when controlling for other variables, the strongest significant predictors of adjudication include (in order):

- Arrest for sexual assault (first or second degree)
- Arrest for robbery
- Arrest for felony theft
- Arrest for UCPV
- Arrest for family abuse
- Arrest for a dangerous drug

Predictors that significantly decrease a juvenile's chance of being adjudicated include:

- Maui residence
- Being female
- Arrests for truancy
- Arrests for curfew
- Arrests for compulsory attendance
- Arrests for injurious behavior

Case File Analysis

This section of the report summarizes findings from the HYCF and probationer case file analyses. Included are examinations of gender differences in offense and demographic information, abuse and sexuality variables, mental health domains, peer group and school characteristics, drug use, and family dynamics.

Age and Offense Characteristics

The age range in the sample was from 13 to 19 years old, with an average of roughly 16 years old. Girls, on average, were slightly older than boys in their age at first arrest (12.7 v. 12.0 years old), had slightly fewer overall offenses (12.4 v. 14.5), more runaway offenses (6.9 v. 4.5) more status offenses (8.2 v. 6.2), and fewer law violation offenses (1.3 v. 2.2). See Table 4.

Throughout the remainder of this report, the term “offense” is used and defined as an arrest, a referral to Family Court, or any charge/adjudication that does not have an associated preceding arrest or referral. Juveniles are referred to Family Court from different agencies (police, school, parents); sometimes they are formally arrested and other times they are not. Additionally, juveniles might have other charges added to their records during the prosecution phase of their cases. Due to the fact that they were never formally arrested for the additional charges (or, in some cases, due to data entry errors in the JJIS), these infractions do not have prior arrests or referrals “attached” to them. This report uses the term “offense” as a more expansive term that resolves these issues.

Table 4: Offense-Specific Frequencies, by Gender

Independent Variables		Boys (n=159)	Girls (n=112)
Age	Range	13-19 years old	13-19 years old
	Mean	16.2	15.8
	Median	16.0	16.0
Age at first arrest	Range	Age 6-17	Age 9-16
	Mean	12.0	12.7
	Median	12.0	13.0
Number of offenses per juvenile	Range	1-85 offenses	1-50 offenses
	Mean	14.5	12.4
	Median	10.0	9.0
Number of runaway offenses	Range	0-50 offenses	0-31 offenses
	Mean	4.5	6.9
	Median	2.0	4.5
Number of status offenses	Range	0-57 offenses	0-34 offenses
	Mean	6.2	8.2
	Median	3.0	5.0
Number of property offenses	Range	0-14 offenses	0-12 offenses
	Mean	2.5	1.6
	Median	2.0	1.0
Number of person offenses	Range	0-14 offenses	0-12 offenses
	Mean	3.4	1.4
	Median	3.0	1.0
Number of drug offenses	Range	0-9 offenses	0-7 offenses
	Mean	0.72	0.4
	Median	0.0	0.0
Number of felony offenses	Range	0-14 offenses	0-10 offenses
	Mean	2.3	0.8
	Median	2.0	0.0
	# of FA	27 (mean=.17)	2 (mean=.02)
	# of FB	97 (.61)	15 (.14)
# of FC	247 (1.6)	73 (.67)	
Number of misdemeanor offenses	Range	0-22 offenses	0-10 offenses
	Mean	3.1	1.8
	Median	2.0	1.0
Number of petty misdemeanor offenses	Range	0-12 offenses	0-10 offenses
	Mean	3.1	1.4
	Median	2.0	1.0

Ethnicity and Circuit Court, by Gender

Hawaiians/part-Hawaiians (43%), Caucasians (16%), Filipinos/as (14%), and Samoans (7%) comprise the majority of the case file sample. Additionally, most of the sample resides in the City & County of Honolulu.

Table 5: Ethnicity and Circuit Court, by Gender

Ethnicity		Boys (n=159)	Girls (n=112)	Total (n=271)
Hawaiian/part-Hawaiian		66 (41%)	53 (47%)	119 (43%)
Caucasian		25 (16%)	17 (15%)	42 (16%)
Filipino/a		19 (12%)	19 (17%)	38 (14%)
Samoan		13 (8%)	7 (6%)	20 (7%)
Japanese		10 (6%)	4 (3%)	14 (5%)
Other Polynesian		7 (4%)	3 (3%)	10 (4%)
Hispanic		5 (3%)	3 (3%)	8 (3%)
Other Asian		4 (3%)	3 (3%)	7 (3%)
African-American		4 (3%)	3 (3%)	7 (3%)
Micronesian		6 (4%)	0 (0%)	6 (2%)
Family Court	Honolulu	99 (36%)	77 (28%)	176 (64%)
	Maui	17 (6%)	7 (3%)	24 (9%)
	Hawaii	28 (11%)	21 (8%)	49 (19%)
	Kauai	15 (5%)	7 (3%)	22 (8%)

*Significant at $p < .01$. **Bold, italicized numbers** represent within gender percentages.

Social, Psychological, Family, and Academic Characteristics

Table 6 shows that girls' case files more frequently report witnessing domestic violence and experiencing physical abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect. When gender differences emerged, Chi Square (χ^2) was used to determine statistical significance. Significant differences were found in experiences of domestic violence and sexual abuse: 58% of girls compared to 42% of boys were witness to domestic violence, and 38% of girls versus 8% of boys had records of sexual abuse. While not statistically significant, gender differences also emerged in neglect and physical abuse histories: 35% of girls, as opposed to 25% of boys had records of neglect, and 50% of girls compared to 41% of boys had accounts of physical abuse.

These findings generally parallel other research literature in that they suggest girls are more likely than boys to be victims of abuse and exposed to violence within the home. However, the current figures are also slightly higher than what previous studies on sexual abuse and domestic violence in female juvenile offender population have reported. Nationally, 35% of girls in the system have histories of sexual abuse and 40% report exposure to domestic violence (OJJDP 1996). Other studies focusing on female juvenile arrestee populations alone have shown that 22% have experienced sexual abuse (Community Action Network 2000), with girls being three times more likely to have experienced sexual abuse than have boys (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 1996). In the current study, girls were

closer to four times more likely to have reports of sexual abuse than were boys. Comparing this to the overall juvenile population in Hawaii, about 11% of all households with children have reports of domestic violence (Kids Count 2005). In this study, an average 49% of the total sample was witness to domestic violence.

Turning to sexuality variables, the majority of study boys (94%) and girls (82%) self-reported heterosexual identity. Boys' files had more reports of sexually aggressive behavior, while girls' files reported more incidences of sexually risky behaviors (see Appendix B for coding definitions). All three variables showed statistically significant differences between boys and girls in the case file sample.

Table 6: Abuse and Sexuality Variables, by Gender

Independent Variables		Boys (n=159)	Girls (n=112)	Total (n=271)
Domestic violence*	No	79 (58%)	41 (42%)	120 (51%)
	Yes	58 (42%)	57 (58%)	115 (49%)
Neglect	No	95 (75%)	56 (65%)	151 (71%)
	Yes	32 (25%)	30 (35%)	62 (29%)
Sexual abuse*	No	147 (92%)	70 (62%)	217 (80%)
	Yes	12 (8%)	42 (38%)	54 (20%)
Physical abuse	No	94 (59%)	56 (50%)	150 (55%)
	Yes	65 (41%)	56 (50%)	121 (45%)
Heterosexual*	No	8 (6%)	18 (18%)	26 (12%)
	Yes	120 (94%)	80 (82%)	160 (88%)
Aggressive sexual behavior*	No	125 (79%)	111 (99%)	236 (87%)
	Yes	34 (21%)	1 (1%)	35 (13%)
Risky sexual behavior*	No	154 (97%)	70 (62%)	224 (83%)
	Yes	5 (3%)	42 (38%)	47 (17%)

*Significant at $p < .01$. **Bold, italicized numbers** represent within gender percentages. When the figures do not total 271, it is due to missing values (incomplete case file information) for that variable.

Table 7 shows gender differences in psychological diagnoses, suicidal tendencies, and aggressive behaviors. In the case files, Conduct Disorder, Attention Deficit/Hyperactive Disorder (ADHD), and Depression/Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) were the most common diagnoses. No statistical differences exist between gender and Conduct Disorder, but boys were significantly more likely than girls to have an ADHD diagnosis (23% v. 7%), and girls were significantly more likely to have a diagnosis of depression/PTSD (28% v. 14%). This corresponds to extant literature indicating that one-half to three-fourths of juvenile offenders nationwide are estimated to suffer from a mental health disorder (Kids Count 2005).

Over 35% of the girls, compared to 12% of the boys, have at least one prior suicide attempt recorded in their case file. Additionally, over half of the girls reported current or past suicidal ideation, while only one-quarter of the boys contained such reports. These are much higher figures than exist for the general juvenile population in Hawaii. According to the Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBSS 2003), 16-20% of juveniles in Hawaii report having previous suicidal ideation, while 10% report a prior suicide attempt.

Girls were almost six times more likely than boys to report self-injurious behavior (such as cutting), while boys were 33% more likely to have reports of physical aggression.

Table 7: Mental Health Variables, by Gender

Independent Variables		Boys (n=159)	Girls (n=112)	Total (n=271)
Conduct Disorder	No	128 (81%)	98 (87%)	226 (83%)
	Yes	31 (19%)	14 (13%)	45(17%)
ADHD*	No	122 (77%)	104 (93%)	226 (83%)
	Yes	37 (23%)	8 (7%)	45 (17%)
Depression/PTSD*	No	137 (86%)	81 (72%)	218 (80%)
	Yes	22 (14%)	31 (28%)	53 (20%)
Suicidal Ideation (past or present)*	No	112 (75%)	49 (47%)	161 (64%)
	Yes	37 (25%)	55 (53%)	92 (36%)
Previous suicide attempts*	No	123 (88%)	61 (65%)	184 (79%)
	Yes	16 (12%)	33 (35%)	49 (21%)
Self-injurious behaviors*	No	150 (95%)	81 (72%)	231 (85%)
	Yes	9 (5%)	31 (28%)	40 (15%)
History of physically assaultive behavior*	No	23 (14%)	41 (36%)	64 (24%)
	Yes	136 (86%)	71 (64%)	207 (76%)

*Significant at $p < .01$. **Bold, italicized numbers** represent within gender percentages. When the figures do not total 271, it is due to missing values (incomplete case file information) for that variable.

Very few variables relating to peer group and school dynamics showed significant gender differences. Boys and girls were equally likely to have failed academically and to be chronic truants. Over three-fourths of the total sample had failed at least one entire school semester, and over four-fifths had current or prior records of chronic truancy. Both boys and girls were likely to be part of negative peer groups (slightly higher for girls), and the extent of gang involvement, overall, was low.

In terms of special education needs, 63% of the total sample were certified as special education, with boys significantly more likely than girls to be so certified (67% v. 59%). Relationships with older men rarely showed up in boys' files, while it was commonly reported in the girls' files; girls were over six times more likely to have reports of a peer group that contained older men (5+ years older).

Table 8: Peer Group and School Variables, by Gender

Independent Variables		Boys (n=159)	Girls (n=112)	Total (n=271)
Negative peer group	No	24 (39%)	14 (14%)	38(17%)
	Yes	97 (80%)	84 (86%)	181(83%)
Gang involvement	No	114 (85%)	93 (92%)	207 (86%)
	Yes	24 (17%)	9 (8%)	33 (13%)
Academic failure	No	35 (23%)	26 (24%)	61 (23%)
	Yes	120 (77%)	84 (76%)	204 (77%)
Chronic truancy	No	29 (28%)	19 (22%)	48 (19%)
	Yes	114 (80%)	87 (82%)	201 (81%)
Special education*	No	53 (33%)	46 (41%)	99 (37%)
	Yes	106 (67%)	66 (59%)	172 (63%)
Older male relationships*	No	149 (94%)	68 (61%)	217 (80%)
	Yes	10 (6%)	44 (39%)	54 (20%)

*Significant at $p < .01$. **Bold, italicized numbers** represent within gender percentages. When the figures do not total 271, it is due to missing values (incomplete case file information) for that variable.

Three-fourths of the total sample reported some form of drug use and 77% reported some form of alcohol use in their lifetimes. Two-fifths of the sample had reports of frequent drug use, with slightly more boys (43%) than girls (36%) reporting frequent use. Boys had significantly more reports of frequent marijuana use (37% of the sample), while girls had significantly more reports of frequent ice use (23%). Girls were two-thirds more likely than boys to have used ice at least once in their lifetimes. In comparison, 47% of statewide youth report trying marijuana at least once in their lifetimes, while only 8% report using ice at least once (YRBS, 2003). Additionally, recent studies of youth who frequently use methamphetamine have found these juveniles to be more likely to have driven drunk, been in a fight within the last month, and attempted suicide (Dodge Data Systems 2005).

Table 9: Drug Use, by Gender

Independent Variables		Boys (n=159)	Girls (n=112)	Total (n=271)
Alcohol use ever	No	36 (26%)	25 (22%)	61 (22%)
	Yes	118 (77%)	87 (78%)	205 (77%)
Frequent alcohol use	No	148 (93%)	106 (95%)	254 (94%)
	Yes	11 (7%)	6 (5%)	17 (16%)
Marijuana use ever	No	37 (24%)	29 (27%)	66 (25%)
	Yes	121 (76%)	82 (73%)	203 (75%)
Frequent marijuana use*	No	100 (63%)	88 (79%)	188 (69%)
	Yes	59 (37%)	24 (21%)	83 (31%)
Ice use ever*	No	114 (72%)	62 (55%)	176 (64%)
	Yes	45 (28%)	50 (45%)	95 (36%)
Frequent ice user	No	132 (83%)	86 (77%)	218 (81%)
	Yes	27 (17%)	26 (23%)	53 (19%)
Other drugs used	No	120 (85%)	79 (80%)	199 (83%)
	Yes	21 (15%)	20 (20%)	41 (17%)

*Significant at $p < .01$. **Bold, italicized numbers** represent within gender percentages. When the figures do not total 271, it is due to missing values (incomplete case file information) for that variable.

No statistically significant gender differences were found in the family variables in this study. Boys and girls were about as likely to have an absent father, an absent mother, and some form of parental involvement in their lives. About 75% of the sample lives in single-parent households, which is three times higher than the rate found in Hawaii's overall juvenile population (Kids Count 2005). Boys and girls in the study were about as likely to experience the death of a parent or a significant other (such as grandparents, siblings, boy/girlfriends, best friends, etc.). Over half of the sample has at least one parent involved as an offender in the criminal justice system, and 65% have parents who have abused drugs or alcohol. Nearly one-third (31%) has a history of mental illness within their families.

For both boys and girls:

- 1 in 10 has experienced the death of at least one parent.
- 1 in 2 has had a parent involved in the criminal justice system.
- 1 in 4 has been placed in a foster care home (not *hanai*, or extended, family).
- 41% has no contact with their father; 19% has no contact with their mother.
- Almost 1 in 3 has a family history of suicide/mental illness.

Table 10: Family Variables, by Gender

Independent Variables		Boys (n=159)	Girls (n=112)	Total (n=271)
Absent father	No	92 (58%)	69 (62%)	161 (59%)
	Yes	67 (42%)	43 (38%)	110 (41%)
Absent mother	No	129 (81%)	91 (81%)	220 (81%)
	Yes	30 (19%)	21 (19%)	51 (19%)
Parental involvement	No	29 (18%)	18 (16%)	47 (18%)
	Yes	130 (82%)	94 (84%)	224 (82%)
History of foster care placements (not <i>hanai</i> , or extended, family)	No	121 (76%)	75 (67%)	196 (72%)
	Yes	38 (24%)	37 (33%)	75 (28%)
Death of a parent	No	141 (88%)	99 (88%)	240 (88%)
	Yes	18 (12%)	13 (12%)	31 (12%)
Death of a significant other (besides parent)	No	138 (88%)	92 (84%)	230 (86%)
	Yes	19 (12%)	17 (16%)	36 (14%)
Parents abuse drugs or alcohol	No	51 (35%)	37 (35%)	88 (35%)
	Yes	96 (65%)	68 (65%)	164 (65%)
Parents in criminal justice system	No	77 (51%)	47 (43%)	124 (48%)
	Yes	74 (49%)	62 (57%)	136 (52%)
History of mental disease in family	No	66 (73%)	35 (62%)	101 (69%)
	Yes	24 (27%)	22 (38%)	46 (31%)

*Significant at $p < .01$. **Bold, italicized numbers** represent within gender percentages. When the figures do not total 271, it is due to missing values (incomplete case file information) for that variable.

Predicting Runaway Arrests

Since runaway arrests are a dominant feature of female juvenile offending, this study performed an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression, or multiple regression, as a method of predicting this offense. Controlling for other offense categories (since runaway arrests often correlate with property and drug offending) and several risk factors, the model examines the net effect that gender has on runaway arrests.

The “B” coefficients in the model indicate the effect of each independent variable, that is, how much the value of the dependent variable (the number of runaway arrests) increases or decreases, once that independent variable is included in the model. The standardized coefficients (beta) give the overall explanatory power of each independent variable; the closer to 1.00 the beta value is, the more predictive that particular independent variable becomes. For example, juveniles residing in the City & County of Honolulu average 3.02 more runaway arrests than do those who reside in other counties. That variable, Honolulu residence, is the fourth most explanatory predictor in the model (beta=.18) and is also statistically significant at $p < .01$ (i.e., the difference is no more than 1% likely due to chance). Similarly, for every property arrest a juvenile has, his/her runaway arrest tally increases by an average of 1.09, with that variable having the most explanatory power (.35).

Gender was the second most explanatory predictor, with a beta of .20. Girls had 3.03 more runaway arrests than did boys, regardless of other offending or risk factors.

Frequent drug use and suicidal ideation also were significant predictors of runaway arrests. Frequent drug users (beta=.23) had 3.62 more arrests for runaways than did non-frequent users, and juveniles reporting suicidal ideation (beta=.14) had 2.18 more arrests.

Overall, the following variables are the strongest predictors of runaway arrests:

- Being female
- City & County of Honolulu residence
- Multiple property arrests
- Frequent drug use
- Suicidal ideation

Table 11: OLS Regression, Predictors of Runaway Arrests

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients
	B	Standard Error	Beta
Female**	3.03	1.02	.20
City & County of Honolulu residence**	3.02	.99	.18
Number of property arrests**	1.09	.19	.35
Number of violent arrests	-.01	.17	-.00
Number of drug arrests	.49	.36	.08
Frequent drug user**	3.62	.90	.23
Domestic violence	-.95	.99	-.06
Abuse and neglect	1.43	.95	.09
Special education	.89	.98	.06
Suicidal ideation*	2.18	1.02	.14
Parent previous criminal history	1.11	.96	.07

Dependent Variable: number of runaway arrests, Adj R² .318, *p< .05, **p< .01

HYCF Girls and Non-HYCF Girls

This report next examines differences between chronic (HYCF commitment, n=27) and “not as chronic” (no HYCF commitment, n=85) female juvenile offenders. Cross-tabulations were completed on all aforementioned variables in this study. When differences emerged, Chi Square (χ^2) was used to determine statistical significance.

HYCF girls had an average of 25.0 arrests, and two-thirds of them were committed to HYCF for probation violations. Over three-fourths of the HYCF girls had at least one parent involved as an offender in the criminal justice system. Conversely, non-HYCF girls had an average of 7.78 arrests, and less than one-half of them had one or more parents in the criminal justice system. Examining other differences between these two groups, HYCF girls were significantly more likely to have the following characteristics:

- Histories of neglect and sexual abuse
- Histories of foster care placement (not *hanai*, or extended, family)
- Relationships with older men
- Self-injurious behavior
- Frequent ice use
- Risky sexual behavior, including prostitution
- Negative peer group
- Academic failure (all of the HYCF girls in the sample failed academically)

This study also used logistic regressions to examine intra-gender predictors of HYCF commitment. Controlling for offense type (status, person, property, drug), separate regressions individually underscoring the above variables were performed. Table 12 presents the sum-

many of the variables' odds ratios. Two variables—neglect and frequent ice use—were significant predictors of HYCF commitment. Girls with histories of neglect were, on average, 5.33 times more likely to be committed to HYCF than were girls without neglect histories. Girls with frequent ice use were 5.91 times more likely to be committed to HYCF than were girls without frequent ice use.

Table 12: Predictors of HYCF Commitment for Female Juvenile Offenders

Variables	Odds Ratio
Neglect*	5.33 to 1
Sexual abuse	2.80 to 1
Foster care placement	2.41 to 1
Relationships with older men	1.58 to 1
Self injury	1.91 to 1
Frequent ice use*	5.91 to 1
Risky sexual behavior	3.08 to 1
Negative peer group	1.80 to 1
Academic failure	1.80 to 1

* p<.05

Summary: A Profile of the Female Juvenile Offender

The findings reported in this study support the popular contention in existing research literature that girls (1) have become a more sizable part of the juvenile offender population; and (2) in terms of delinquency, female juvenile offenders differ from their male counterparts in certain characteristics and experiences. In this study, those experiences predominantly included prior victimization and crystal methamphetamine abuse. Lastly, this study demonstrated that some gender similarities between male and female juvenile offenders are also apparent, chiefly in the school and family domains.

In comparison to their male counterparts, the female juvenile offender in Hawaii is more likely to:

- Have tried ice
- Have a history of victimization
- Have suicidal ideation and previous suicide attempts
- Experience depression/PTSD
- Engage in self-injurious behaviors
- Be arrested for status offenses, especially runaway

Boys, on the other hand, are more likely than girls to be arrested for law violations, particularly person crimes, and to be adjudicated for their offenses. They are also more likely to engage in physically assaultive behaviors, to be certified as in need of special education, and to be frequent marijuana users.

Male and female juvenile offenders are equally likely to have failed academically and/or be chronic truants, to have experienced the death of at least one parent, to have parents who use drugs or alcohol, and to have parents who have been through the criminal justice system. They are also equally likely to have used marijuana or alcohol at least once in their lifetime.

Key differences exist between HYCF girls and non-HYCF girls. HYCF girls have significantly more histories of neglect, sexual abuse, and foster care placement than do non-HYCF girls. The pathway to chronic offending (HYCF commitment) for girls includes parents involved in the criminal justice system, relationships with older men that are almost invariably tied to other problems, more offending (running away), negative peer groups, more drug use, and more self-injurious behaviors.

Policy Recommendations

The findings of this report suggest that there is a need to understand and address the differences between male and female juvenile offenders, as well as the differences within the female juvenile offender population. The following programming recommendations are offered for girls²:

- (1) Recognize the variation in female juvenile offenders' lives and create individualized plans that build resiliency for them;
- (2) Provide a safe forum for girls to openly discuss their experiences with abuse and victimization and personal safety issues;
- (3) Develop opportunities for girls to develop trusting and healthy relationships within their peer group and with age-appropriate boyfriends;
- (4) Provide a safe forum to address family dynamics and problems that might contribute to delinquency pathways;
- (5) Include education on female health, along with opportunities for girls to understand and define healthy sexuality and to develop positive body images;
- (6) Offer appropriate treatment for depression/PTSD, suicidal ideation and attempts, and self-injurious behaviors;
- (7) Provide education on and treatment for substance abuse, especially ice dependence;
- (8) Engage mentors who enjoy working with girls, who share common experiences with female juvenile offenders, and who have led successful lives (perhaps despite a delinquent past);
- (9) Create programs that assist girls in living independently and in building career options;
- (10) Provide opportunities for girls to make changes that positively affect themselves and their communities.

In addition to these recommendations, it is also suggested that further research on understanding boys' pathways to crime and delinquency be similarly explored. Specific research recommendations include exploring the correlation between delinquency and mental health issues (Conduct Disorder, ADHD), substance abuse (specifically, frequent marijuana use), aggression, peer group dynamics, and family stressors.

² See *Female Delinquents Committed to the Illinois Department of Corrections: A Profile* at <www.icjia.state.il.us/public/pdf/ResearchReports/FemaleDel_IDOC.pdf> for similar findings and recommendations.

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Appendix A: Documents Analyzed

Referral History/ Index Report—the legal record of every youth

Family Court Officer Report—the explanation of circumstances surrounding the delinquent act as offered by the Court

Honolulu Police Department Criminal Investigation Unit's summary reports (if applicable)

Detention/ HYCF intake forms and progress reports

Probation officers' social information/histories and progress reports

All Psychologist and/or Psychiatrist reports/diagnostic assessments

All substance abuse counselors' assessments

(When more than one psychological assessment was available, the most current one was utilized)

Urinalysis drug tests (UAs)

DOE individual education plans (IEPs) and progress reports

Teacher comments/ guidance counselor comments/school attendance cards

Child and Protective Services assessments and reports (if applicable)

Guardian Ad litem reports (if applicable)

Juvenile's personal journals, other writings, letters, testimonies, apologies

Appendix B: Coding Definitions

Absent father	No contact with father.
Absent mother	No contact with mother.
ADHD	Most current psychological assessment with Axis I first diagnosis of ADHD.
Aggressive sexual behavior	Arrests for sexual assault; psychological assessment confirming sexually offensive behaviors; reports by parent, victim, staff, or PO of sexual assault/attempted assault by juvenile.
Alcohol use ever	Self-reports, treatment providers' account, parents' reports of any alcohol use.
Chronic truancy	As evidenced by attendance cards/ arrests/ DOE referrals to Family Court.
Conduct Disorder	Most current psychological assessment with Axis I first diagnosis of Conduct Disorder.
Death of a parent	(Self-explanatory.)
Death of a significant other	Besides parent, death of a close family member (such as grandparent), role model, friend, or boy/girlfriend.
Depression/PTSD	Most current psychological assessment with Axis I first diagnosis of Depression NOS, dysthymia, PTSD, or bereavement.
Domestic violence	Reports of domestic violence/abuse of family in PO's social information/ history, psych reports, parents' CJIS records, and/or CPS files.
Frequent alcohol use	Self-reports, treatment providers' account, parents' reports of alcohol intoxication, exceeding three times a week. Or official diagnosis of alcohol dependence.
Frequent ice use	Self-reports, treatment providers' account, parents' reports of ice use, exceeding three times a week; official diagnosis of methamphetamine dependence; positive UAs.
Frequent marijuana user	Self-reports, treatment providers' account, parents' reports of marijuana intoxication, exceeding three times a week; official diagnosis of cannabis dependence; numerous positive UAs.
Gang involvement	Police reports, self-reports, PO or other staff reports of gang membership, such as gang tattoos.

Heterosexual	Self-report in file.
History of foster care placements	CPS reports, PO reports of foster care placements, outside extended or hanai family, therapeutic group homes included.
History of mental illness in the family	Immediate family member committed suicide/ known mental health treatment of mental disorders.
History of physical aggression	Self-reports; victims' reports; arrest reports of juvenile causing physical injury to another party.
Ice use ever	Self-reports, treatment providers' account, parents' reports of any ice use.
Marijuana use ever	Self-reports, treatment providers' account, parents' reports of any use of marijuana.
Negative peer group	PO or self-reports of friends/siblings who are known to Family or Adult Court; self reports by juveniles that friends/siblings engage in delinquent behaviors; parental disapproval of friends b/c of delinquent behaviors.
Neglect	Reports of juvenile being malnourished or undernourished, abandoned, unsupervised for lengthy periods of time, unkempt, or claims of "neglect" in psych, PO, or CPS reports.
Older male relationships	Parental, PO, or self reports of male friends more than 5 years the juvenile senior. PO, parental, or self reports of boyfriends or pimps more than 5 years juvenile's senior.
Parental involvement	Juvenile has contact with at least one parent (biological, hanai, or adoptive) who is involved in his/her well-being, as evidenced in PO reports, psychological assessments, and/or school records.
Parents abuse drugs or alcohol	Parents' self-reports; CJIS reports of parents' intoxication; CPS or PO reports of parental drug/alcohol use; juvenile's self reports.
Parents in criminal justice system	Parents have CJIS record for felony arrests, as evidenced by printouts in case files; parents are/were on probation or parole; parents are/were in prison.

Physical abuse	Juvenile self-reports of physical abuse; parents' report of physical abuse; criminal and/or CPS confirmation of physical abuse.
Previous suicide attempts	Self-reports; hospitalization/treatment for suicide attempt; Staff, parents' or peers' reports of attempts.
Risky sexual behavior	Self-reports of unprotected sex with multiple partners; juvenile has been pregnant/made someone pregnant; has an STD; self reports of, parents' reports of, or arrests for prostitution.
Self injurious behaviors	Self-reports, physical scars, or previous treatment/hospitalization for cutting, burning, or other physically self-injurious behaviors.
Sexual abuse	Self-reports of sexual abuse or assault; parents' report of sexual abuse; criminal and/or CPS confirmation of sexual abuse or sexual assault.
Special education	In special education curriculum for any qualifying reason (certified).
Suicidal ideation, past or present	Self-reports; hospitalization/treatment for suicidal ideation; PO, parents' or peers' reports.

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