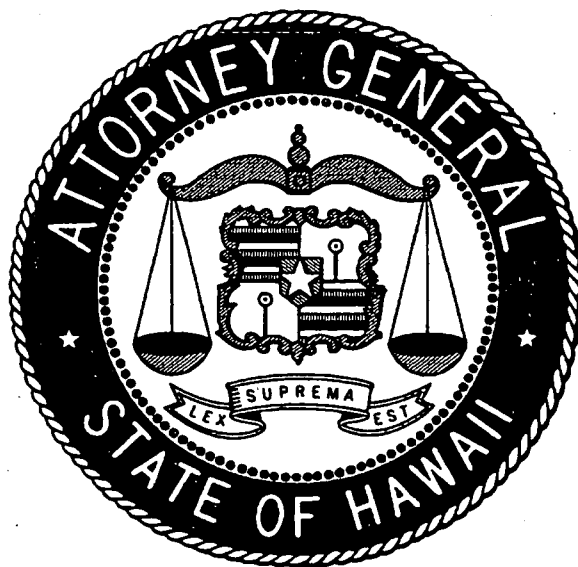


JUVENILE ROBBERY ARRESTS IN HONOLULU

An Overview



prepared by

Youth Gang Project
Social Science Research Institute
University of Hawaii at Manoa

in collaboration with

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

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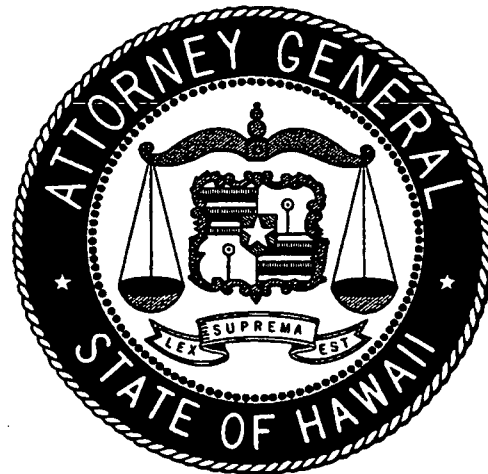
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JUVENILE ROBBERY ARRESTS IN HONOLULU

An Overview



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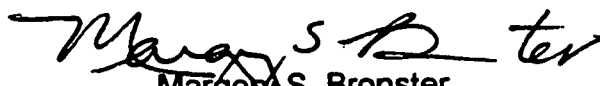
FOREWORD

In 1997, the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) changed the specifications of an annual grant that the State Department of the Attorney General uses to conduct research on the nature and extent of crime in Hawaii. As a result of these changes, the Department's Research & Statistics Branch is afforded the opportunity to support and work collaboratively with other local researchers who have expertise in the specific topics under investigation. The Research & Statistics Branch can in turn gain access to critical and sometimes sensitive crime data, guarantee the quality and policy-relevance of reports, and widely disseminate research findings at the local, state, and national levels.

This report is the result of the first research conducted under the new BJS guidelines. After noting that an increase in juvenile arrests for violent offenses is largely attributable to a sharp rise in robbery arrests, and that this increase came during a time of otherwise stable or declining juvenile crime in Hawaii, it was decided that a thorough examination of the robbery data was needed. With the Research & Statistics Branch specifying the topic, securing access to the relevant data, and publishing the final report, it was necessary to locate the best available researchers for the project.

The University of Hawaii's Youth Gang Project was first developed in order to evaluate the state's Youth Gang Response System. The extent of this broad assignment includes assessing the dimensions of gang activity in Hawaii, reviewing trends in juvenile arrests, providing information on what might be considered troubled neighborhoods, and evaluating youth gang prevention efforts. Each year Hawaii's State Legislature and juvenile justice professionals are provided with a comprehensive report of these findings. With such extensive juvenile crime research experience, the Youth Gang Project was well qualified to conduct the robbery study.

Other similar BJS-funded research projects are underway, and cover such timely crime issues as recidivism following release from prison, the issuance of temporary restraining orders, and factors related to reporting sexual assaults to the police. It is hoped that this new research direction will help to improve the criminal justice system and benefit the people of Hawaii.


Margery S. Bronster
Attorney General

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UH Youth Gang Project

Funding to support this research came primarily from the Research and Statistics Branch of the Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division, State of Hawaii Department of the Attorney General. Our special thanks to Paul Perrone, Chief of Research and Statistics, who has provided excellent support throughout. Thanks are also due the members of Juvenile Justice Information Committee, and particularly to Eileen Madigan and Greg Malick of the Juvenile Justice Information System staff. Other resources to support this research came from the Hawaii Youth Gang Response System, Office of Youth Services, State of Hawaii. Our special thanks to Bert Matsuoka, Executive Director of the Office of Youth Services, and Olani Decker and Joyce Tanji from the Youth Gang Response System for their support of this project.

Many other individuals and their organizations assisted in this research. Special thanks to the staff of the Honolulu Police Department's Records Division who not only approved access to the juvenile robbery arrest files, but provided valuable advice and graciously shared their work space for many weeks. Those officers most helpful in identifying and pulling the necessary records were Lt. Tim Slovak and Sgt. Eugene Apana. Other HPD staff members who provided assistance, patience, and a friendly work atmosphere were Kathy Honda, Iris Takahashi, Lori Chong, Jenny Carrell, and Patty Zane. Our mahalo to the Honolulu Police Department.

When it came time to learn more about the school reporting and the arrest process and patterns, the personnel from HPD's Robbery Detail and the Department of Education's Student Support Section were most helpful during interviews. Additionally, school officials from Central Intermediate and McKinley High Schools were interviewed. Their opinions and the time they took to speak with us were greatly appreciated.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge the Social Science Research Institute's Fiscal Officer, Calvin Fujioka, who always works hard to insure that contracting and personnel processes run smoothly.

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Executive Summary

In the wake of high profile murders committed by juveniles, public concern about youth crime, and particularly youth violence is at an all-time high. Some of this is no doubt due to the increased media attention devoted to youth violence; witness the heavy media coverage locally of the recent beating and robbery of an undercover police officer and another man by a group of juveniles in Wahiawa (Pang, 1998). Ironically, this public concern comes among mixed but encouraging signals that crime in general, and youth crime in particular, is on the decline (see Males, 1996; Perrone and Chesney-Lind, 1998; Ziedenberg and Schiraldi, 1998).

Youth crime, particularly violent crimes committed by young people, clearly have the attention of the nation. While public concern is high, though, recent statistics suggest that there is finally some good news regarding crime trends among juveniles.

Nationally, 1996 marked the second year in a row that a decrease was observed in the number of youth arrested for violent crimes. Hawaii, too, saw an encouraging drop in the number of youth arrested for crimes of violence between 1996 and 1997 (9%). However, in the previous decade (1987-1996), juvenile arrests for serious crimes of violence in Hawaii (murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault) climbed 60%. Most of the increase can be attributed to increases in the number of youth arrested for two offenses: aggravated assault and robbery¹. Between 1994 and 1996, for example, the number of youth arrested statewide for robbery doubled.

This report examines details of robberies reported in the City and County of Honolulu during the 1990s. Drawn from robbery incident files maintained by the Honolulu Police Department, this research examined all of the robbery incidents involving juvenile perpetrators for

¹ *Robbery* refers to the taking of another person's property, through either the use or threatened use of physical force. See Appendix B for a citation of the relevant portion of the Hawaii Revised Statutes.

1991 (65 incidents involving 122 juvenile arrests) and a sample of those committed in 1997 (115 incidents involving 198 juvenile arrests).

Existing research on the problem of juvenile robbery suggests that it fits the low-yield, criminal mischief category of offenses that particularly appeals to young people. Some argue that youth are drawn to robbery, despite its risks, because of a popular culture stressing the importance of name brand clothing, gold jewelry and expensive electronic devices. These goods can serve to visibly separate the “haves” from the “have-nots,” and, as a result, may encourage some to take from others—usually other youth.

Hawaii data also show that robbery incidents frequently involve more than one youth, and that those engaged in robbery often commit robberies more than once in a calendar year. For example, in 1991, 27% of those arrested were repeat offenders, and in 1997, repeat offenders made up 17% of the total.

According to these data, robbery on Oahu is predominantly a male-oriented offense. In 1991, the vast majority of those arrested for robbery (95%) were males. A shift occurred in 1997, however, and males accounted for 83% of those arrested in this period. Thus, the proportion of robbery arrests involving girls more than tripled, going from 5% female in 1991 to 17% in 1997.

In 1997, juvenile robbery arrestees had a median age of 15, compared to a median age of 16 in 1991. The vast majority of those arrested for juvenile robbery come from economically marginalized ethnic groups (notably Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian and Samoan); these groups accounted for three-quarters of those arrested for the offense in 1991 and about two-thirds (65%) of those arrested in 1997.

As for the victims of juvenile robbers, police data show that the number of individuals victimized by juvenile robbers on Oahu nearly doubled between 1991 and 1997 (going from 67 to

128). Further analysis indicated that while the absolute numbers of adult victims was roughly the same for both periods, the number of juvenile victims more than doubled. Within both time periods, the majority of juvenile victims were young and male, although young girls made up a more sizeable proportion of the victims in 1997 than they did in 1991.

Ethnically, robbery victims differed over time and from the arrestees. In 1991, Caucasian youth made up the largest group (31%) of victims, followed by Hawaiians (25%), Filipinos (14%), and Asians (12%). In 1997, however, the proportion of Asian youth doubled (to reach 24%), with Caucasians (24%) continuing to comprise a large proportion of youth victims. Ethnic differences were also observed between juveniles arrested for robbery and their adult victims, with Asians comprising a large proportion of adult victims in both years.

Robbery offenses were typically *intra-gender*, meaning that boys victimized boys and girls victimized girls; and *inter-ethnic*, meaning that victims and offenders often came from different ethnic groups.

Most juvenile victims were at least casually acquainted with their assailant(s). In fact, of the juvenile victims of robbery in 1991, fully 80% reported that they were robbed by someone they knew, at least casually; in 1997, about 60% knew their assailants. This relationship did not hold true for adult victims. In 1991, the vast majority (84%) of adult victims reported being victimized by a stranger, while all of the adult victims in 1997 were robbed by strangers.

Given the age of the youth involved as both robbery suspects and victims, it is not surprising that schools and streets around schools are likely settings for juvenile-perpetrated robberies.

The median value of items stolen from all victims in 1991 was \$19.00. However, in 1997 the value stolen decreased substantially, to a median value of \$10.00. Money was the most

common item taken, followed by jewelry and purses. In 1991, well over a quarter (28%) of those robbery victims who reported money stolen, reported the amount to be two dollars or less; in 1997, the figure was 34%. The data also indicate that school-based robberies often involve small amounts of money, and that street-based robberies were more likely to involve the loss of jewelry and purses.

In 1991, less than one in ten (8%) juvenile robbery arrests involved tourists or visitors as victims; in 1997, the statistic dropped to about one in twenty (5%). Other results indicate that Kalihi and Waipahu are frequently the locales for robbery offenses, and that it is rare for juveniles to leave their own communities to commit robberies. For example, in 1997, 95% of all robberies in Kalihi and 83% of all robberies in Waipahu were committed by youth who resided within those communities.

In 1991, about one in five (22%) youths arrested for robbery reported gang-involvement. However, in 1997, gang-involved youth accounted for only one in twenty (5%) juvenile arrestees.

Weapons were not involved in a majority of juvenile robbery offenses, although this pattern did shift between the two years under study. A weapon was used in about one-tenth of all robbery incidents reported in 1991 (11%) and in about one-quarter (23%) of the robberies in 1997. Specific weapon types changed between the study periods as well. In 1991, in those few robbery incidents in which a weapon was used, over half (54%) involved a firearm. In 1997, knives were the most common weapons—they were used in nearly three-quarters (70%) of the robberies involving weapons. In 1997, firearms accounted for only a small proportion (9%) of the weapons used in juvenile robberies.

Interviews with Department of Education and Honolulu Police Department personnel suggested that an informal redefinition has occurred. Historically regarded as schoolyard “hi-

jackings,” school officials and police officers (and possibly parents) now frequently define these incidents, in which older youth “bully” younger youth for small amounts of cash, as serious offenses warranting police involvement. While not wanting to minimize the seriousness of some juvenile-perpetrated robberies, the data summarized in this report suggest that schoolyard hi-jackings account for the bulk of the increase in juvenile robbery arrests made in the City and County of Honolulu.

Essentially, then, it appears that less serious offenses are now more likely to be brought into the juvenile justice system. Consistent with this explanation are the following observable patterns: between the two time periods under review, the age of offenders decreased, as did the value of items taken. Most significantly, the proportion of adult victims declined sharply while the number of juvenile victims increased. Finally, while more of the robberies involved weapons in 1997, those weapons were less likely to be firearms and the incidents were less likely to result in injury to the victim.

Finally, the report suggests that a balanced approach to the problem of youth bullying and robbery should be supported. Such an approach would involve better adult supervision of streets around schools and other areas where youth gather, violence prevention initiatives throughout the school system (with specific focus on anti-bullying efforts), the development of programs to promote ethnic tolerance, and, finally, consistent and fair sanctioning of serious acts of youthful violence.

Trends in Youth Violence—United States and Hawaii

In the wake of high profile murders committed by juveniles, public concern about youth crime, and particularly youth violence is at an all time high. Ironically, this public concern comes among mixed but encouraging signals that crime in general, and youth crime in particular, is on the decline (see Males, 1996; Ziedenberg and Schiraldi, 1998).

As an example, the nation saw a 9.2% decrease in the number of arrests of youths for violent crimes in 1996 (the latest year for which national statistics are available)—the second such drop since a 2.9% decline was recorded in 1995 (Department of Justice, 1997: 1). Robbery arrests, specifically, declined by 8.4% between 1995 and 1996 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1997: 222). However, these decreases came after years of steady increase, prompting some observers to note that the number of juvenile arrests for serious crimes of violence (murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) in 1996 remains over 60% above levels recorded a decade earlier (DOJ, 1997: 1).

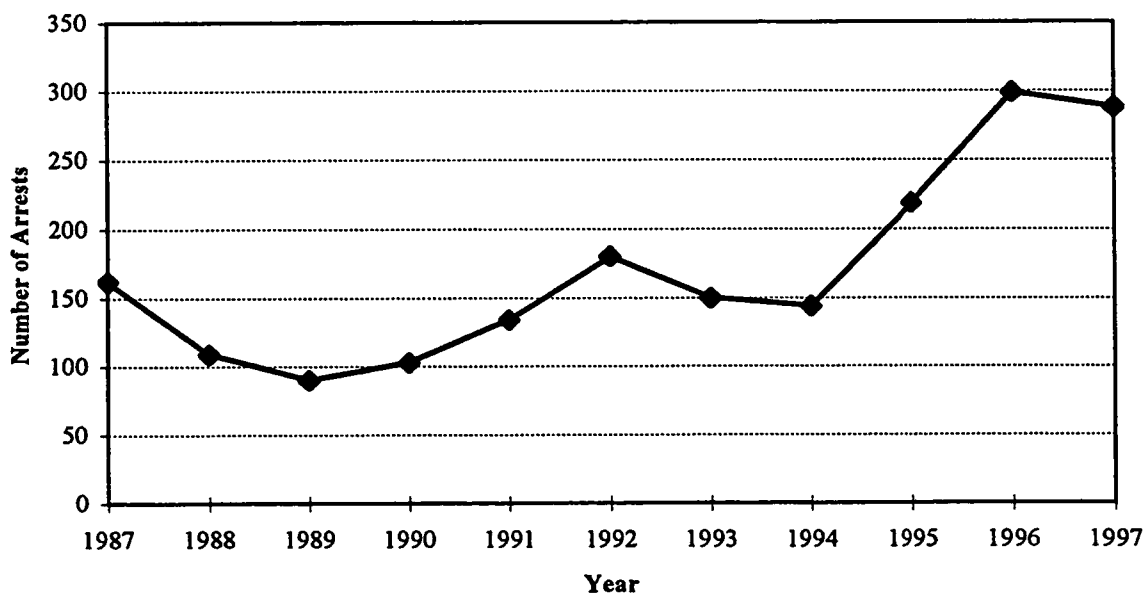
According to the U.S. Department of Justice, law enforcement agencies in the United States made an estimated 2.9 million arrests in 1996 of persons under the age of 18 (DOJ, 1997: 2). In the nation, juveniles accounted for 19% of all arrests in 1996 but 32% of all robbery arrests, suggesting that a focus on juvenile robbery is important, both nationally and locally.

Hawaii, too, saw an encouraging drop in the number of youth arrested for crimes of violence between 1996 and 1997 (8.6%).² In the previous decade, however, the number of juveniles arrested for serious crimes of violence in Hawaii has increased dramatically. In fact,

² James Richmond and Paul Perrone, *Crime in Hawaii 1997: A Review of Uniform Crime Reports* (Honolulu: Department of the Attorney General, 1998).

juvenile arrests for serious crimes of violence³ in Hawaii (murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault) increased 60% from 1987-1996 (an increase roughly equivalent to that seen nationally). Most of the increase can be attributed to increases in the number of youth arrested for two offenses: aggravated assault and robbery. Arrests for these offenses accounted for 91% of all arrests of youth for violent offenses since 1987. Over the last decade, arrests of youth for aggravated assault increased by 36% and robbery arrests rose 85%, with the last few years accounting for virtually all of the increase (see Figure 1). Between 1994 and 1996, for example, the number of youth arrested for robbery, statewide, doubled. Robbery arrests, alone, accounted for about two-thirds of the arrests of youth for serious crimes of violence made in Hawaii in 1996 (299 of 462 arrests) and 1997 (288 of 424 arrests).

Figure 1: Juvenile Robbery Arrests, 1987-1997



³ In this report, “serious crimes of violence” refers to the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s *Index Offenses* which are used to measure violent crime: murder, forcible rape, aggravated assault and robbery. “Robbery” refers to the taking of another person’s property, through either the use or threatened use of physical force. See Appendix B for a citation of the relevant portion of the Hawaii Revised Statutes.

In response to the increases observed in arrests of youth for robbery, the Department of the Attorney General commissioned a further exploration of the characteristics of this particular offense over time. This study reports on detailed dimensions of juvenile-perpetrated robbery (henceforth referred to as juvenile robbery) over time in the City and County of Honolulu.

Only with complete and accurate information about youth violence can the community craft effective and informed prevention and intervention strategies to deal with this serious juvenile offense.

Research Methodology

As noted in the previous section, the number of juvenile arrests for robbery in Hawaii remained more or less stable in the early nineties, but this pattern abruptly shifted after 1994. A closer examination of the arrest patterns both statewide and in the City and County of Honolulu indicates that 1991 could be viewed as a typical “low arrest year,” while 1997 continued to show a large number of juvenile arrests for robbery (though this pattern may have peaked in 1996). Thus, robbery data taken from 1991 might fairly represent the pre-increase juvenile robbery era while 1997 could represent the post-increase period.

City and County of Honolulu Police Department (HPD) files detailing the robberies for which juveniles were arrested in 1991 and 1997 were collected and analyzed for this study. The Juvenile Justice Information System (JJIS) maintained by the State Department of the Attorney General provided a listing of HPD arrests of juveniles for robbery offenses. This was employed as the master list from which police reports were then collected, coded, and analyzed.

When the master list was generated in January, 1998, JJIS records for 1997 revealed 288 juvenile robbery arrests (later in 1998, Uniform *Crime Reporting Program* statistics showed 258 such arrests; see following explanation). Due to the large number of arrests, a random sample

was drawn by selecting every second arrest for a total of 144. This number was reduced by purging those arrests for which the most current police charge at the time of data collection (March-August, 1998) had changed to something other than the original robbery charge, e.g., assault or burglary. (As a result of subsequent investigation, a final police charge may differ from an initial police charge.) The sample size was further reduced by switching from the original offender-based examination of files to an incident-based analysis, whereby single robbery incidents sometimes involve multiple arrests. As such, *all* arrests involved in these 115 cases—whether or not they were included in the original 50% sample—were collected. This resulted in a final sample size of 115 robbery incidents involving 198 juvenile arrests.

In comparison to the 1997 sample size, it was decided to analyze all 134 juvenile robbery arrests from 1991. Following the procedures outlined above, arrests were eliminated if the most current police charge was no longer robbery, and the files were then converted to allow for incident-based analysis. Thus, the 1991 enumeration contains a total of 65 robbery incidents involving 122 juvenile arrests.

A coding sheet was developed in order to aptly characterize juvenile robbery incidents in both periods under study. Data were collected on the geographic location of the incident, the demographic characteristics of the victim(s) and offender(s), weapon use, extensiveness of injury (if any), type of object taken, etc. Data collection was conducted over a ten-week period, completed in April 1997.

In addition to quantitative data collection, a series of in-depth interviews were conducted with local school officials, law enforcement personnel, and Department of Education administrators. The intent of the interviews was to obtain qualitative information on patterns of juvenile offending as well as key insights to the impact of any policy changes regarding crime

reporting. Existing research suggests that key school officials as well as members of law enforcement are familiar with juveniles within their communities and knowledgeable about the patterns of juvenile delinquency in their jurisdictions (Sherman et. al, 1998).

Juvenile Robbery: Patterns and Definitions

Patterns of Juvenile Robbery

There is a scarcity of research addressing the dimensions of juvenile-perpetrated robbery. As a result, the current study may make an important contribution to the national and local knowledge on this topic. The literature that does exist, however, confirms the salience of age and gender in the understanding of juvenile robbery.

Steffensmeier and Allan (1995) found that offenses such as robbery fit the low-yield, criminal mischief category of offenses—a category that also shows the youngest peaks and sharpest declines. They contend that because of the increased risk and relatively low yield involved in robbery, its appeal decreases to maturing youth. Such a decrease is particularly sharp as peer support for such behavior declines and bonds to society are strengthened.

Although females commit fewer robbery offenses than do males, both males and females express similar reasons for engaging in robbery. Based on interviews with youthful robbers in St. Louis, Miller (1998) concluded that the acquisition of money and “status conferring goods,” such as jewelry, are the primary motivations for committing the offense. Popular youth culture, which stresses the importance of brand name clothing, gold jewelry and expensive electronic devices, often visibly separates the “haves” from the “have-nots.” Youth status, then, coupled with economic marginality of some urban youth, creates a fertile environment for robbery; in short, at

least some youth resort to victimizing their peers in order to obtain material goods they could not otherwise afford.

Other research has amplified these findings, noting that youth also commit robbery offenses for reasons less related to economics. The thrill and excitement associated with street robbery, coupled with a desire to target individuals who are perceived as “show-offs” motivate some youth to participate in robberies (Sommers and Baskin, 1993; Miller, 1998). Existing research also indicates that juvenile robberies are not sophisticated and planned offenses, but rather are impulsive and spontaneous events. Juvenile robbers were less likely to victimize the elderly and most likely to victimize their peers. These researchers also found that most robberies are *intra-gender*; boys victimize boys and girls victimize girls. And although gang involvement is not consistently mentioned in the literature, it is clear that juvenile robberies are generally committed by two or more people.

The literature also establishes that robbery is a “gendered” offense. Boys tend to commit the vast majority of offenses, perhaps because the robbery setting provides the ideal opportunity to construct an “essential” toughness and “maleness” (Katz, 1988; Messerschmidt, 1993; Miller, 1998). Typically, male-on-male robberies occur on the streets and entail much more physical violence. Female robberies are less frequent, and, while occurring on the streets, do not usually involve serious physical violence; they can, however, involve physical contact such as hitting, shoving, and fighting with the victim.

Males are more likely than females to use weapons when committing a robbery. In Miller’s study, for example, all of the males in the sample reported using a gun. Female robberies tend not to involve weapons because females typically prey on other females, and female victims tend to be more submissive and less likely to fight back (Miller, 1998).

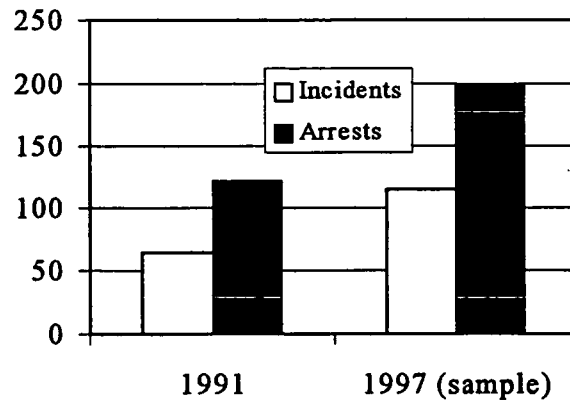
Types of Robbery Offenses

Robbery offenses are categorized based on the seriousness of the crime and the amount of injury inflicted. *Robbery One* involves the attempt to kill or intentionally inflict serious bodily harm upon another, or is an offense committed while armed with a weapon with the intent to exhort property from another person (§708-840, Hawaii Revised Statutes). *Robbery Two* involves the use of force, intimidation and/or threat of force to gain possession of the victim's personal effects (§708-841, H.R.S.).

Interpretation of Arrest Statistics

Arrest statistics may not always precisely demarcate the actual nature of juvenile violence. As seen in the earlier figures, crime statistics are a function of the number of juveniles arrested, not the number of crimes reported. For instance, the 1991 data indicate that HPD dealt with 65 juvenile robbery cases, yet twice that number of juveniles (122) were involved in arrests related to these incidents. Likewise, in 1997, 115 robberies involving juveniles were sampled, but arrest data indicate that 198 juveniles were arrested for these offenses (see Figure 2). Finally, individual youths can be arrested more than once per year. For example, in 1991, 26.7% of the arrestees were repeat offenders, and in 1997, repeat offenders made up 16.7% of the arrestee sample, further inflating the arrest numbers.

Figure 2: Incidents versus Arrests



The fact that juveniles are more likely than adults to commit crimes in groups helps to explain the large number of juvenile arrests for certain offenses. It is common practice for a single crime to culminate in the arrest of many juveniles (DOJ, 1997:11). For example, if police arrest three juveniles in connection with a single robbery, law enforcement will count this as three robbery arrests, as opposed to one robbery offense. In fact, groups composed of at least two or more juveniles were responsible for half of all robbery arrests on Oahu in 1997.

Demographic Overview of Robbery Over Time: “Who’s Robbing Whom?”

Arrestee Characteristics: Gender

In 1991, the vast majority (95%) of those arrested were males. A shift occurred in 1997: of 198 juveniles arrested for the sampled robbery offenses, 83.3% were males. Thus, the proportion of robbery arrests involving girls more than tripled, going from 5% female in 1991 to 16.7% in 1997. A similar, though less dramatic, shift occurred nationally. In 1987, girls

accounted for 7% of juvenile robbery arrests, but by 1996 accounted for 9.8% of those arrested (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1997: 219).

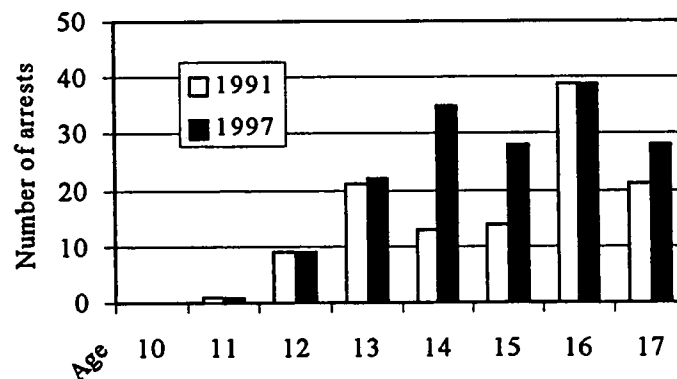
Table 1: Arrestee Age and Gender

1991	1997 (sample)
122 juveniles arrested	198 juveniles arrested
95% male	83.3% male
5% female	16.7% female

Arrestee Characteristics: Age

Overall, arrestee ages generally ranged from 13 to 17, although a change in the arrestee age characteristics was observed between the two time periods: in 1997, juvenile robbery arrestees had a median age of 15, compared to a median age of 16 in 1991. As can be seen in Figure 3, both study years saw peaks at the age of 16. However, in 1991, fewer 14 and 15 year-old youth were arrested.

Figure 3: Offenses Committed by Age



In both years, the median age of the female arrestees is significantly younger than the median age for males. In 1991, the median age of girls arrested was 13 compared to 16 for males; in 1997, the median age of girls arrested was 14 and the median age of boys was 15. This pattern reflects those found in other studies, which indicate that female criminal careers, particularly

violent careers, tend to taper-off at a much younger age than males (Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 1998). Moreover, as prior research has suggested, gender and age are related significantly to the magnitude of criminal activity. As these data indicate, girls and younger juveniles are less likely to be arrested for robbery than are older, male youth. However, even males appear to “age out” of the behavior so that by the age of seventeen considerably fewer youth are arrested.

Table 2: Arrestee Median Age and Median Age by Gender

1991	1997
Median Age = 16 years	Median Age = 15 years
<u>Median age by Gender:</u>	<u>Median Age by Gender:</u>
Male = 16 years	Male = 15 years
Female = 13 years	Female = 14 years

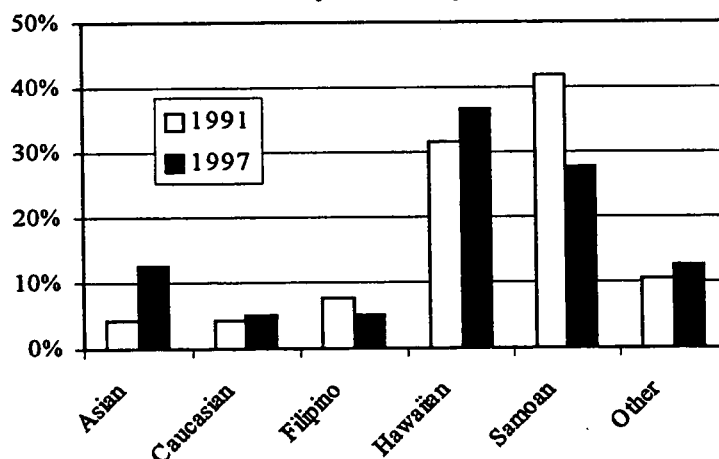
Arrestee Characteristics: Ethnicity

Hawaiian/part-Hawaiian (37%) and Samoan (27.7%) youth comprised almost two-thirds of the total arrestee sample in 1997. In 1991, a similar pattern was observed, with these groups accounting for nearly three-quarters of the arrests (31.6% Hawaiian/part-Hawaiian and 41.9% Samoan). Notably, the absolute number of Hawaiian youth arrested for robbery more than doubled between the two evaluation years, while the proportion of Samoan arrestees decreased. It is important to consider that Samoan youth constitute 1.45% of the youth population and Hawaiian/part-Hawaiians comprise 30.9% (Kassebaum, et al., 1995: 1-5). This indicates that, while both groups are over-represented among juvenile robbery arrestees, the pattern is particularly pronounced among Samoan youth.

Although low in number for both years, the proportion of Asian arrestees increased from 4.3% in 1991 to 12.5% in 1997.

When accounting for gender by ethnicity, a similar finding emerges. Although their numbers were small, females within these two ethnic groups accounted for a combined total of 70% of girls arrested for robbery in 1997 (33.3% Hawaiian/part-Hawaiian and 36.7% Samoan). In 1991, 80% of the females were Hawaiian, however, and none were Samoan. Thus, in 1991, the data indicate that of the Samoan youth arrested for robbery, boys accounted for every Samoan offender; Samoan boys made up 41.9% of all youth arrested for robbery in 1991.

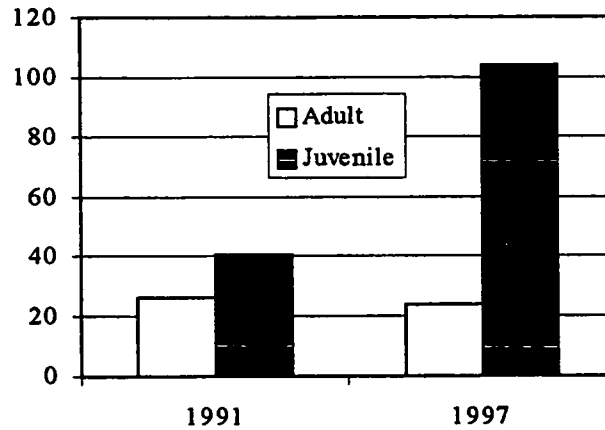
Figure 4: Proportion of Arrestees by Ethnicity



Victim Characteristics: Gender and Age

Based on police data, the number of individuals victimized by juvenile robbers on Oahu nearly doubled between 1991 and 1997 (increasing from 67 to 128; a 91% rise). The two time periods, however, show dramatically different proportions of juvenile and adult victims. Of the 67 victims reported for 1991, 39% were adults and 61% were juveniles. In 1997, 19% of the 128 reported robbery victims were adults and 81% were juveniles. In sum, while the absolute numbers of adult victims was about the same for both periods (see Figure 5), the number of juvenile victims increased 153.7%.

Figure 5: Victim Age Status



Within both time periods, the majority of juvenile victims were young and male, although young girls made up a larger proportion of the victims in 1997 than they did in 1991. In 1991, 95% of the juvenile victims were males, with a median age of 13 years, while there were only two female victims in 1991, ages 8 and 13. However, in 1997, females constituted a larger proportion of the victims. Compared with the previous evaluation year, female victims accounted for 20% of the juvenile victims in 1997.

Only 21 of the juvenile victims were female in 1997, with a median age of 14 years. Male juvenile victims, with a median age of 13, were slightly younger than their female counterparts. Male victims ranged from age 9 to 17, with the highest percentage (26.5%) age 12, followed by age 13 (16.9%), and age 14 (15.7%).

Table 3: Juvenile Victim Median Age and Age by Gender

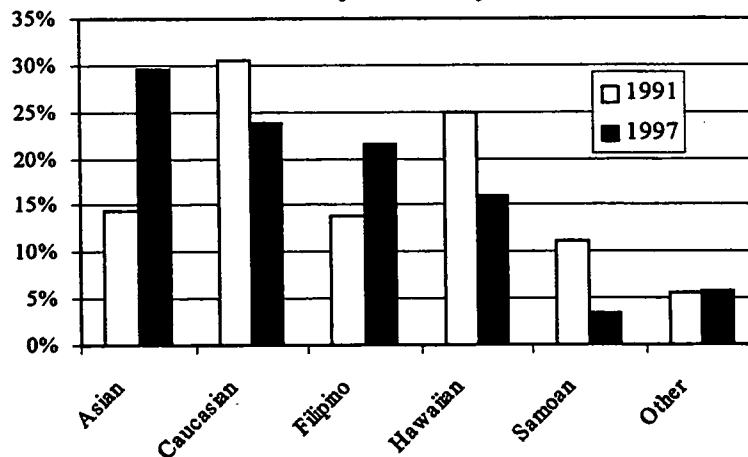
1991	1997
Median Age = 13 years	Median Age = 13 years
<u>Median Age by Gender:</u> Male = 13 years Female = 10.5 years	<u>Median Age by Gender:</u> Male = 13 years Female = 14 years

Adult robbery victims were also relatively young. In 1997, victimized adults were most commonly 19 year-olds (12.5%), while their median age was 30.5. In 1991, however, the age of adults most commonly victimized was 23 (15.4%), with a median age of 31.

Victim Characteristics: Ethnicity

Juvenile robbers and their youthful victims differed ethnically. In 1991, Caucasian youth made-up the largest group (31%) of juvenile victims, followed by Hawaiians (25%). During the same year, Filipino youth accounted for 13.9% of victims, while Asian youth made-up 14.3%, Samoans 11.1% and African Americans 5.6%. In 1997, however, the proportion of Asian youth more than doubled (29.3%), with Caucasian youth (24%) continuing to comprise a large proportion of youth victims, followed by Filipinos (21.9%), Japanese (19.3%), Chinese (3.4), and Koreans and Vietnamese (4.5% each). Interestingly, Hawaiian youth experienced a sizable decline, and the number of Samoan youth who were victimized also fell off substantially.

Figure 6: Proportion of Juvenile Victims by Ethnicity

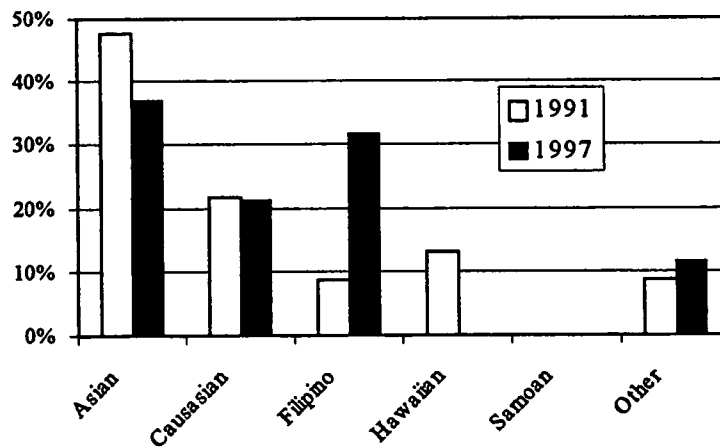


Ethnic differences were also observed between juveniles arrested for robbery and their adult victims, with Asians comprising a large proportion of adult victims in both years: they accounted for almost half (47.7%) of the adult robbery victims in 1991 and 37% in 1997. Like

their juvenile counterparts, Japanese adults were the most common Asian victims (accounting for 30.4% of all victims in 1991, and 15.8% in 1997), compared to 4.3% Chinese, 8.7% Korean, and 4.3% Vietnamese in 1991, and 10.5% Chinese, 5.3% Korean, and 5.3% Vietnamese in 1997.

The proportion of adult Filipino victims more than tripled between 1991 and 1997. In 1991, Filipinos made up less than 10% of the adult victims, but in 1997 they accounted for 31.6% of the adult victims. Also, in 1991 Caucasians accounted for more than one in five adult victims and Hawaiian adults made up 13%; in 1997, the proportion of Caucasian adults remained steady, while there were no adult Hawaiian victims.

Figure 7: Proportion of Adult Victims by Ethnicity



Characteristics of Arrestee-Victim Relationship

Robbery offenses were typically *intra-gender*, meaning that boys victimized boys and girls victimized girls. However, arrestee-victim relationships followed a more *inter-ethnic* pattern; The most common of these were Hawaiian-Caucasian, Hawaiian-Filipino, Hawaiian-Japanese, and Samoan-Filipino, respectively.

Based on information appearing in written police reports, it is clear that the majority of juvenile suspects were at least casually acquainted with the victim. In fact, of the juvenile victims of robbery in 1991, fully 80% reported that they were robbed by someone they knew, at least casually. When accounting for gender, only 21.1% of males, and none of the females, reported being robbed by a stranger in 1991.

In 1997, 60.4% of the juvenile victims were acquainted with the suspects. However, with regard to gender, almost half (48.7%) of the male victims reported being robbed by strangers, while only 1 female victim was robbed by a stranger.

A 16-year old Filipino male was victimized in the school's bathroom. While utilizing the boy's bathroom at Farrington High School, the victim was approached by a schoolmate who demanded money. The suspect, a 16-year old Samoan male shouted, "I like one dollar." The male victim complied with the suspect's demand because, "I was afraid."

This relationship did not hold true for adult victims. In 1991, the vast majority (84%) of adult victims reported being victimized by youths that they did not know, while *all* the adult victims in 1997 were robbed by unknown youths.

Two female juveniles, who were later identified as repeat offenders, were responsible for the kidnapping and robbery of an elderly Japanese woman. While entering her car which was parked outside of Daiei located in Pearl City, the elderly victim was approached by two strangers. After demanding [the victim's] cooperation, the juveniles shoved the victim into her car. After taking possession of the vehicle, the suspects began punching the victim in the head. In addition to injuring the victim, the suspects drove into the Kunia sugar cane fields, where they took the victim's purse, pushed the victim out of her car, and drove away, leaving the elderly woman stranded. The victim, some time later managed to flee the fields and contact the authorities for help.

Similar to the trends found among juvenile victims, adult males were more often victimized than adult females, although the latter group accounted for a larger proportion of adult victims than they did among juvenile victims. In 1991, males comprised 69% of the adult victims,

while in 1997 almost half the adult victims were female. Finally, juveniles were more likely than adults to identify a suspect as a schoolmate, neighbor, friend, or acquaintance (e.g., “kid I meet once at the park”). As the next section demonstrates, schools and other locations where youth often congregate feature prominently in juvenile robbery patterns.

Assessing Robbery Type and Offense Location

Schools and Robbery

Note: Data on robberies reported near specific schools or on school grounds, and the schools that robbery arrestees attend, should not be interpreted as a reflection upon the individual schools. Rather, schools can be useful proxies for geographical areas, and it is for this purpose alone that these data are herein reported. It is hoped that inclusion of this information can help guide important crime prevention and intervention efforts.

In 1991, a total of 30 juvenile robbery arrestees (24.4% of the total) reported attending McKinley High School, while no more than six student offenders (4.9%) from any other school in the City & County of Honolulu were arrested for robbery that year.

Six juvenile offenders could be traced to each of the following schools: Aiea Intermediate, Stevenson Intermediate, and Kahuku High. These three schools, though, were little different from other Oahu schools, a number of which accounted for between 3 and 5 robbery arrests each (see Appendix A for further details).

The victims, two 14-year old Japanese females attending McKinley High School, have been the subjects of repeated "school jackings" perpetrated by the same two suspects. The suspects, a 17-year old Hawaiian female and a 15-year old Hawaiian/part Hawaiian female, who were later identified (based on police records) as repeat offenders, have been harassing the victims and other female students for months. In particular, the victims report the suspects have been "jacking" them since January. On a Friday morning in April, the suspects approached the victims and demanded money. Without permission, the suspects began searching the victims and taking some of their personal items, such as jackets [and] backpacks.

In 1997, juvenile robbery arrests were dispersed over a wider array of schools. While students attending McKinley High still accounted for the most robbery arrests (20 arrested youth; 10.2% of the total), 14 students attending Waipahu Intermediate, 12 Farrington High students, 9 Central Intermediate students, and 8 students each from Campbell, Roosevelt and Waipahu High Schools were arrested for robbery offenses (see Appendix A for further details).

During 1991, most schools had only a small number (between 1 and 4) of students who were arrested for robbery (whether or not the robberies occurred on school property). Yet in 1997, it was not unusual for six or seven offenders to be traced to any school on Oahu.

Although most juvenile robberies occurred "on the street," schools were the second most common location for these offenses (accounting for well over a quarter of the robbery locations for both years). Table 4 shows a complete breakdown of robbery locations.

Table 4: Robbery Locations

Location	1991	1997
Residence	4.6%	4.4%
Hotel	3.1%	0.0%
School	28.0%	26.0%
Street	29.2%	40.0%
Store	10.8%	15.0%
Restaurant	1.5%	0.9%
Park	13.8%	7.1%
Other	9.2%	6.2%

Further review of the incident files suggested that many of the “street” robberies occurred on streets near and sometimes immediately adjacent to schools. Consider, for example, the following cases:

13-year old male victim was walking along Palolo street near Jarrett Intermediate when he was approached by the suspect. Victim is acquainted with suspect, a 14 year old, male student attending Kaimuki High School. Suspect walks up to victim and demands, “Give me money or else.” After shouting his demands, suspect began to frisk the victim’s pockets for money, conducting what has been coined a “search-take.” During the “search-take,” the suspect, without permission, removed \$20.00 from the victim’s pocket, walked away, and warned victim, “Don’t get the cops involved.”

While walking along Kahuku High School’s football field, enroute to school, two Caucasian males were robbed. The suspect, a 13-year Hawaiian male approached the victims and demanded money or “I will lick you.” Both the 14-year old and the 12-year old victims refused the suspect’s demands. However, ignoring victims’ refusal, the suspect informed them that he would perform a “search-take.” The suspect told victims, “what ever I find I take.” While other students witnessed the robbery, the suspect, without permission took \$5.00 from one of the victim’s trumpet case. The suspect fled the scene, but was later identified and arrested for second degree robbery.

Time of Day

The data do not indicate that juvenile robberies are likely occur during any particular time of day. A fairly even number of robberies could be traced to times before, during, and after school. In 1997, though, a somewhat larger (although not statistically significant) number of robberies occurred just after school ended, between 2:00 and 4:00PM.

Items Stolen

The median value of items stolen from all victims in 1991 was \$19. However, in 1997 the dollar amount decreased substantially, with a median value of \$10. The sums of money taken range from one to twenty dollars, with some young victims reporting having as little as twenty-

five cents stolen. In 1991, for example, more than a quarter (28.1%) of the robbery victims who had money stolen reported the amount to be two dollars or less; in 1997, this figure was 34%.

In 1991, money was taken in 60% of all robberies; in 1997, 65% of all robbery incidents involved money. However, jewelry and electronic devices were also taken from victims in a significant number of robberies. Robberies involving jewelry accounted for about one in ten robberies in both periods (11.3% and 12.6%, respectively). Electronic devices accounted for almost one in ten items (9.9%) stolen in 1991, but dropped to a small fraction (2.5%) of the items taken in 1997.

Table 5: Items Taken by Year

Item	1991	1997
Money	57.7%	64.7%
Jewelry	11.3%	12.6%
Purses	8.5%	6.7%
Clothing	2.8%	1.7%
Electronics	9.9%	2.5%
Bikes	4.2%	2.5%
Cigarettes	0.0%	0.0%
Alcohol	2.8%	2.5%
Other	3.8%	6.6%

Items Stolen by Location of Offense

Money was stolen in 83% of the robberies committed on school campuses. Other property included jewelry and electronic devices, which, combined, accounted for the remaining 17% of the school-based robberies. Money was also the most frequent item stolen on streets surrounding schools.

It was, though, more common for jewelry and purses to be stolen on streets. Half the street robberies in 1991 and about a third of those in 1997 involved jewelry. By contrast, jewelry accounted for only 5.6% of items stolen from young people in school in 1991 and 7.1% in 1997.

Region of Robbery

Media coverage of robberies in Waikiki, coupled with the high number of potential victims (with portable wealth) within the region suggest that it would be a logical setting for juvenile robbery activity. However, the data indicate that juvenile-perpetrated robberies involving tourist victims are relatively unusual. In 1991, less than one in ten (7.5%) of all juvenile arrests involved a robbery of a tourist or visitor; in 1997, the figure dropped to about one in twenty (5.3%). Notably, only three of the juvenile robbery offenses sampled for 1997 occurred in Waikiki.

With regard to the neighborhoods most troubled by juvenile robbery, the 1997 data demonstrate comparatively high levels of robbery activity in two districts: District 3, incorporating Aiea, Pearl City, Waipahu, and Waikele accounted for 23.4% of the robberies, while District 5, comprised of Kalihi, Salt Lake, Nuuanu, and the airport area accounted for 23.5%. Thus, about half of all juvenile robberies occurred in these districts in 1997. Specific communities with most robbery activity were Kalihi (19.1%) and Waipahu (10.4%). These neighborhoods are well known for their economic marginalization and youth problems, including significant levels of youth gang activity (see Chesney-Lind, et al, 1998).

The findings also illustrate that juveniles rarely venture into neighboring communities to commit robberies. For example, in 1997, 95% of all robberies in Kalihi and 83% of all robberies in Waipahu were committed by youth who resided within those communities. In fact, approximately two out of every five youths arrested in 1997 were from either Kalihi (25.2% of all arrested youth) or Waipahu (13.9% of all arrested youth). A similar pattern was also observed in

the earlier data. These findings suggest a specific need to target robbery prevention and intervention efforts around schools in the Kalihi and Waipahu neighborhoods as well as around McKinley High School.

Gang Involvement

While the police files did not consistently include information on gang involvement (or lack thereof), it is clear that juvenile robbery is often a group activity. In 1991, two or more arrestees were involved in 46.1% of the robbery incidents, with an average of 1.88 juveniles arrested per robbery incident. A similar pattern was observed in 1997, with about half (49.5%) of the sampled robbery incidents involving two or more youth (1.72 juveniles arrested on average per robbery incident).

The data yielded some evidence of gang membership, particularly in the first time period. In 1991, more than one-fifth (21.7%) of the juveniles arrested for robbery reported gang involvement. However, in 1997, only 5.6% of the arrestees were reported as gang members.

Weapon Use

According to the interviews with law enforcement officials, juveniles on Oahu tend not to commit sophisticated and/or well-planned robberies, such as the widely publicized “purse-snatching” incidents in Waikiki. According to members of the Honolulu Police Department’s Robbery Detail, juvenile robberies tend to follow a pattern that is both spontaneous and opportunistic (i.e., juveniles intimidating or “hi-jacking” youth with whom they have frequent contact).

As a result of these patterns, a weapon was not involved in a majority of juvenile robbery offenses. For this reason, the vast majority of the robberies reported to police for both periods were “robbery two” offenses: 90.2% in 1991 and 77.3% in 1997.

Figure 8: Weapon Use

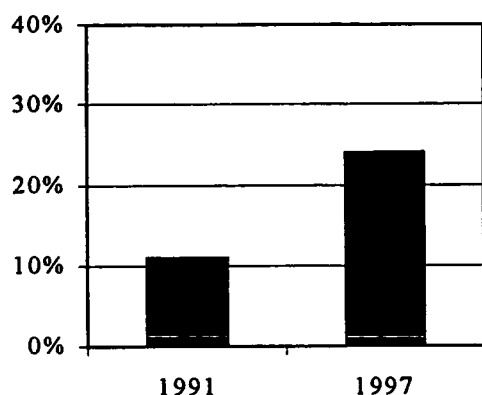
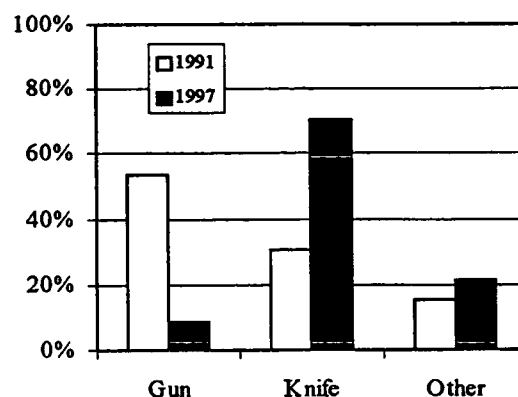


Figure 9: Weapon Type



A weapon was used in about a tenth of all robbery incidents in 1991 (10.6%) and in about a quarter (23.2%) of the robberies in 1997. Specific weapon types changed over the study period as well. In 1991, in those few robbery incidents in which a weapon was used, over half (54%) involved firearms. In 1997, the pattern shifted and knives became the most likely weapons—they were used in nearly three-quarters (70.2%) of the robberies involving weapons. In 1997, firearms accounted for a very small proportion of the weapons used (8.5%).

Two juvenile offenders were involved in the robbery of a local liquor store. The primary suspect was a 15 year-old Hawaiian female. It was later discovered that the female was a runaway from Home Maluhia. The second suspect, a military dependent (later charged as an accomplice) was a 16 year-old White male, who also had a history of running away from home. At 1315 hours on a Saturday afternoon, the two “under-aged” suspects walked into the liquor store and began to browse around. Armed with a knife which she later placed to the neck of a 29-year old Korean cashier, the female suspect demanded money from the register be placed into a bag. With the weapon pressed to her throat, the victim yelled for help using a Korean dialect. The male suspect, who stood by the door and acted as a look-out, immediately fled the scene. Without retrieving any money or inflicting serious injury, i.e., stabs, cuts, slashes, the female suspect also fled the scene. With the help of local citizens who were perusing the streets, the female suspect was tackled and later apprehended by police. After being arrested and charged with first degree robbery (weapon involved in offense), the female suspect informed police about her accomplice. The male suspect, however, fled the island before an arrest could be made, using an airline ticket which he had stolen from his father’s safe. After arriving on the Mainland, the juvenile surrendered to authorities in Columbus, Georgia.

Victim Injuries

Most of the juvenile robberies did not result in serious injuries to the victims. In 1991, 43.9% of victims reporting a robbery did not report any injury as a result of the incident, and, when an injury was reported, the most common injuries were bruises (59.4%). The majority of the bruises resulted from scrapes and scratches received during physical altercations.

In 1997, over two-thirds (69.6%) of robbery victims reported no injuries. Of the remaining 30.4% of victims who reported injuries, 50% reported bruises, 32.3% received a minor “blow” to the head, and 17.6% reported cuts and abrasions. Qualitative review of police files indicated that many of the head contusions did not induce skin breakage, but did commonly result in swelling and/or inflammation. The cuts and abrasions, however, were minor and did not typically consist of punctures and/or deep gouges. Additionally, no injuries in either time period resulted in emergency care, hospitalization, or broken limbs.

Figure 10: Type of Injury

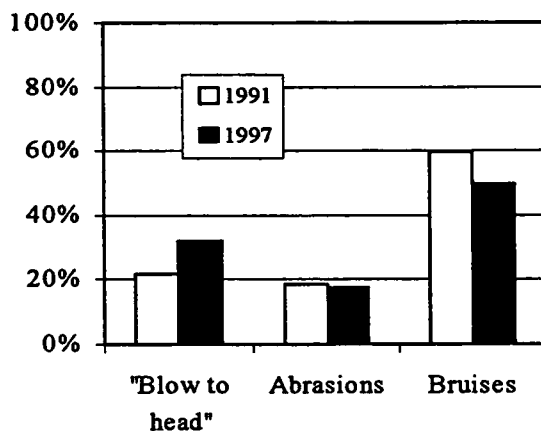
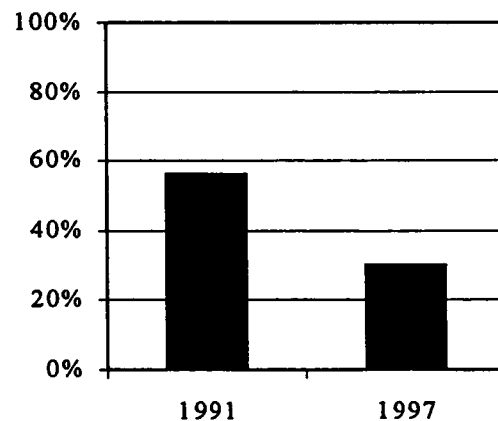


Figure 11: Proportion of Victims Injured



Essentially, while weapon use did increase over time, the overall seriousness of juvenile robbery offenses appears to have decreased between 1991 and 1997. In 1997, guns were used

less often, and decreases occurred in the proportion of adults victimized, the frequency and severity of injuries sustained by victims, and the value of items stolen.

Interviews

In addition to collecting and reviewing quantitative data on the dimensions of juvenile robbery, interviews were conducted with key personnel from the Honolulu Police Department and the Department of Education. The goal of these interviews was to achieve a better, and more qualitative, understanding of the factors associated with the upward trend in juvenile robbery arrests.

In total, seven individuals were interviewed: four law enforcement personnel and three administrators from the Department of Education (DOE). Law enforcement personnel were drawn from the Honolulu Police Department's Robbery Detail, Juvenile Records Section, and the McKinley High School Patrol Program. Educators interviewed were selected from different administrative levels, including a high school principal, a middle school principal, and a student support coordinator.

The interviewees were asked about the levels of juvenile violence occurring within their situational context, and specifically about robbery offenses. Without leading the respondents, they were asked to share how their organizations tend to respond to juvenile robbery offenses, as well as to offer an explanation for the increasing number of robbery arrests seen in recent years.

Department of Education

A key theme that emerged from interviews with school personnel was the observation that principals have begun to request more assistance from the police department. One principal stated, "In the past, many schools handled these offenses within the school, but now more and

more principals are leaning towards the help of law enforcement.” The same person went on to say that, “Law enforcement personnel are viewed as more qualified to handle violent offenses, not schools.” Nevertheless, schools apparently continue to handle some “problems” administratively, while it is considered appropriate to summon the police in cases involving repeat offenders and more serious offenses: “Many times in a situation involving non-violent kids, we are able to retrieve the victim’s belongings from the suspect, then we take care of the ‘problem’ in the office,” one principal stated.

Some officials noted that there is a problem with student victims failing to report robberies occurring in school because the items that were taken were “contraband.” Baseball caps and electronic devices (headset stereos, hand-held video games, etc.), are examples of these banned items.

DOE personnel did note an increase in the number of school incident reports received from the schools between 1991 and 1997 (see Table 6). While they commented that the pattern of robbery incidents did not specifically track the pattern found in the arrest data (they felt that there had been a more gradual pattern of increase), they also estimated that the figures do show the same doubling of juvenile robbery incidents by the end of the study period (1997).

Table 6: School Incident Reports of Robbery Offenses

School Year	Number of Incidents
1990 - 1991	17
1991 - 1992	21
1992 - 1993	18
1993 - 1994	34
1994 - 1995	32
1995 - 1996	39
1996 - 1997	43

Honolulu Police Department

Law enforcement personnel were also helpful in their assessment of the factors related to the increase in juvenile robbery arrests. When asked to explain the pattern, one officer from the Robbery Detail relayed that, “We cannot make an arrest unless we are called,” implying that arrest numbers can be affected by changes in reporting patterns. The officers suggested that schools have perhaps become more aggressive in their efforts to curb youth violence, and that a part of that pattern might be an increased willingness to involve police officers in school incidents. One officer who had previously worked within the schools remarked that, “Schools are requesting the police more than in the past.”

In addition, these respondents spontaneously elaborated on the inter-ethnic nature of juvenile confrontations. For example, one law enforcement official stated, “It is not uncommon for Samoan kids to jack Filipino kids.” However, aside from inter-ethnic concerns, officers believed that the most visible pattern of juvenile “hi-jackings” is older kids victimizing kids who are younger and/or smaller.

Another theme that emerged was the increasing criminalization of youthful confrontations by law enforcement personnel themselves. Said one officer: “It’s not that schools haven’t been reporting ‘hi-jacking’ all along, it’s that law enforcement personnel have begun to classify school yard bullying and thefts as robbery offenses.” This officer went on to make it clear that this re-classification was an outgrowth of the shift in the type of items stolen as well as the broader local and national concerns about youth violence and victimization.

Interviews with both DOE and HPD personnel seem to indicate that the national “get tough” attitude has filtered down into the classroom. It appears that teachers are encouraging juveniles to report victimization, more teachers are aggressively responding to school violence,

and more principals are calling the police rather than handling these incidents administratively. Finally, police officers may be more inclined to label and process incidents involving youth as bonafide robberies. And since, as the data have already shown, many of these offenses were committed by an acquaintance of the victim, suspects are easily identified and arrested.

To summarize, the interview data suggest that an informal redefinition has occurred. Historically regarded as schoolyard “hi-jackings,” school officials as well as police officers (and possibly parents) now define these incidents as robbery offenses warranting police involvement.

Explaining Juvenile Robbery Arrests in Honolulu

While there is no intention of minimizing the seriousness of juvenile-perpetrated robberies committed in the City and County of Honolulu, the quantitative and qualitative data summarized in this report suggest that the bulk of these offenses involve older youth bullying and “hi-jacking” younger youth for small amounts of cash and occasionally jewelry.

The major shift in juvenile robbery during the study period is that less serious offenses became much more likely to be brought into the juvenile justice system. Consistent with this explanation are the following observable patterns: during the years under review, the age of offenders shifted downward, as did the value of items taken. More significantly, the proportion of adult victims declined sharply while the number of juvenile victims increased. Finally, while more of the robberies involved weapons in 1997, those weapons were less likely to be firearms, and the incidents were less likely to result in injuries to the victims.

The data also indicate that the largest number of incidents occurred in schools and on the streets near schools. The opportunity exists in and near schools to “hi-jack” younger students, as school cafeterias, hallways, playgrounds, neighboring parks, and streets highly populated with

youth walking to and from school are primary locations where juveniles congregate and adult supervision is less visible. Essentially the data show an increase in cases of “schoolyard bullying” by older juveniles who are extorting lunch money and game room tokens from younger youth; recall that the median value of items taken fell almost 50% between the two time periods.

What, then, accounts for the increased use of arrest in response to juvenile robbery, particularly on or near school grounds? Chapter 19⁴, of the Hawaii Administrative Rules, Title 8, Department of Education, requires that any teacher who witnesses an offense must report the offense to the principal. The principal is then to decide if the police are to be summoned, or rather if the incident will be handled formally or informally within the school. Principals are then responsible for reporting the incidents to the school superintendent via school incident reports.

According to interviews with DOE personnel, reporting of school-related robberies to the police has increased over the last few years. The increase occurred as principals, perhaps concerned about campus violence, began displaying a tougher “zero tolerance” attitude toward incidents that might previously have been handled administratively.

Cracking down on incidents of bullying by arresting youth is one approach to the problem of youth violence in schools, but it should not be our only response. As with the youth gang problem, a balanced approach that mixes prevention, early intervention, and suppression is desirable (see Elliot, 1993; Sherman, et al, 1998).

School officials might wish to explore violence prevention curricula (see Artz and Reicken, 1997; Artz, 1998), with a particular focus on the problem of bullying. Programs that target bullying can be classified as either school-wide or person-oriented, and it is believed that components of both types of programs are necessary for successful interventions (see McMahon

⁴ Chapter 19: Student Misconduct, Discipline, School Searches and Seizures, Reporting Offenses, Police Interviews and Arrests, and Restitution for Vandalism and Negligence.

& Estes, 1998 for review). School-wide efforts such as increased adult supervision combined with individual-focused interventions, to include social skills training, are thought to affect greater change than focusing on either the school or individual alone (Olweus, 1992). Prevention programs should involve special efforts to deal with girls as well as boys, since the data indicate that girls are increasingly involved in a substantial number of local robberies. School-based interventions might also be developed as an alternative to arrests, since many of the incidents detailed in this study were of the sort that seem amenable to broader school-based responses. A focus on the risks associated with the illegal carrying of weapons would be an essential component of this curriculum.

Increased adult supervision in areas immediately surrounding schools, as well as areas on school grounds that have been demonstrated to be unsafe for youth, such as bathrooms, cafeterias, and recess areas is also suggested by this research. Here, the school administrations might wish to involve families and community members more completely in the crafting of potential solutions to dangerous situations and areas on or near campus.

The findings also point to a serious problem that our community faces with inter-ethnic violence among school-aged youth. While juvenile robbery patterns are clearly shaped by age and class differences as well, schools should consider implementation of programs and curricula that are designed to encourage racial/ethnic tolerance and sensitivity. Schools might also benefit by providing activities that illuminate cultural diversity and foster a positive environment for youth to discuss cultural differences and acceptance.

Finally, scarce criminal justice resources should be employed when an incident suggests that the youth(s) involved are of sufficient danger to the school and community that they require a more formal and structured response than the school is able to provide.

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APPENDIX A

Note: Data on robberies reported near specific schools or on school grounds, and the schools that robbery arrestees attend, should not be interpreted as a reflection upon the individual schools. Rather, schools can be useful proxies for geographical areas, and it is for this purpose alone that these data are herein reported. It is hoped that inclusion of this information can help guide important crime prevention and intervention efforts.

RANK ORDER OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED BY JUVENILE ROBBERY ARRESTEES, 1991⁵

McKinley High School	30
Aiea Intermediate	6
"Drop out"	6
Stevenson Intermediate	6
Kahuku High School	6
Kailua High School	6
St. Louis High School	5
Waianae High School	5
Kalakaua Intermediate	4
Central Intermediate	3
Radford High School	3
Kaimuki High School	3
Waialua High School	3

RANK ORDER OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED BY JUVENILE ROBBERY ARRESTEES, 1997⁶

McKinley High School	20
Waipahu Intermediate	14
Farrington High School	12
"Drop out"	10
Central Intermediate	9
Campbell High School	8
Waipahu High School	8
Roosevelt High School	8
Kailua High School	7
Mililani High School	7
Aiea Intermediate	6
Castle High School	6
Waianae High School	6
Olomana High School	6
Kaimuki High School	5
Kalani High School	5
"Graduated"	5
Aiea High School	4
Dole Intermediate	4
King Intermediate	4

⁵ A school is listed only if an arrestee was a student attending that school at the time of her/his arrest. Sample also includes youth who had graduated, "dropped-out," or were attending special programs and receiving alternative education, such as the BIP Program, Olomana, Palama Settlement, Store Front, Maui Youth Services, or "home schooling." Missing data were coded as "unknown."

⁶ Ibid.

APPENDIX B

HAWAII REVISED STATUTES

Robbery in the First Degree & Robbery in the Second Degree

§708-840 Robbery in the first degree. (1) A person commits the offense of robbery in the first degree if, in the course of committing theft:

- (a) The person is armed with a dangerous instrument and:
 - (i) The person uses force against the person of anyone present with intent to overcome that person's physical resistance or physical power of resistance; or
 - (ii) The person threatens the imminent use of force against the person of anyone who is present with intent to compel acquiescence to the taking of or escaping with the property.

(2) As used in this section, "dangerous instrument" means any firearms, whether loaded or not, and whether operable or not, or other weapon, device, instrument, material, or substance, whether animate or inanimate, which in the manner it is used or threatened to be used is capable of producing death or serious bodily injury.

(3) Robbery in the first degree is a class A felony. [L 1972, c 9, pt of §1; am L 1983, c 68, §1; am L 1986, c 314, §68; gen ch 1993]

§708-841 Robbery in the second degree. (1) A person commits the offense of robbery in the second degree if, in the course of committing theft:

- (a) The person uses force against the person of anyone present with the intent to overcome that person's physical resistance or physical power of resistance;
- (b) The person threatens the imminent use of force against the person of anyone who is present with intent to compel acquiescence to the taking of or escaping with the property; or
- (c) The person recklessly inflicts serious bodily injury upon another.

(2) Robbery in the second degree is a class B felony. [L 1972, c 9, pt of §1; am L 1983, c 68, §2; am L 1986, c 314, §69; gen ch 1993]

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