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Protective and risk factors in criminal development of youths

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ABSTRACT

Antisocial behavior in adolescence could be influenced by multiple factors. Developmental psychology and criminology mostly evaluated the influence of family, social, individual and environmental characteristics in aggressive and antisocial conduct. The tendency to assume such attitudes is widespread in adolescence and sometimes predicts delinquency. In Italy it is estimated that seven teenagers (14-18 years old) out of ten commit crimes and are involved in criminal justice system. The most diffuse offences among youths are property crimes and violent crimes, often related to a specific background of belonging. Nevertheless, not all adolescents behave in a transgressive or antisocial way, and not all young people involved in justice have the same characteristics. This dissertation aims to provide a general overview on juvenile criminality in Italy. It is divided in three chapters. The first part shows the main multifactorial theories of crime; the second part illustrates the types of crimes, life condition in Youth Detention Centers and the social rehabilitation programs adopted to prevent recidivism. Finally, the last part is dedicated to the research, divided in three studies: (1) analyzes the background of youths justice involved and their life condition in Youth Detention Centers; (2) investigates the influence of family factors in aggressive and antisocial conducts of high schools adolescents; (3) compares risk and protective factors of two groups: high school students and youths involved in criminal justice system, in order to investigate similitudes and differences and to promote interventions and prevention programs.

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INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is characterized by high level of psychosocial vulnerabilities (Hatano, Sugimura, & Schwartz, 2018). It is a developmental phase in which youths explore themselves, others, and their social context. At the same time, the physical, behavioral and cognitive changes influence the self-image of adolescents. In addition, risk-taking and sensation-seeking are common and often associated with the engagement in risky or transgressive behaviors (Gonzales et al., 2017). During adolescence, aggressive or illegal conduct may symbolize a need of control and aim to achieve autonomy and self-identity from the family system (Piquero, Diamond, Jennings, & Reingle, 2013; Willoughby, Good, Adachi, Hamza, & Tavernier, 2014). Criminological and developmental psychology's theories are focused on these behaviors according to the multifactorial approach on criminality, taking into account individual, family and environmental factors (Lösel & Farrington, 2012; Mennis et al., 2011).

The self-image and the identity receive a positive or negative reinforcement from the society and from others, influencing the adolescent to change his/her behavior according to these reinforcements. Parents justice involved and criminogenic neighbourhoods are both clear examples of negative reinforcements which have an impact on adolescents' development and behavior. Indeed, according to the main studies in this filed adolescents who experienced these situations are more likely to be involved in a deviant career, antisocial conduct or drug addiction (Hardy, Bean, & Olsen, 2015; Jolliffe, Farrington, Piquero, Loeber, & Hill, 2017). These behaviors might describe a condition of plight and leads to communicate negative feelings with violence (Kaltiala-Heino, Eronen, & Putkonen, 2014; Sykes & Matza, 2017). According to this perspective, the element mentioned above could assume a positive or a negative role, becoming protective or risk factors respectively. Crimes during adolescence can assume different meanings often underestimate or misunderstood.

Starting from these researches and theoretical assumptions this dissertation aims to: 1) analyze the antisocial development of youths taking into account the impact of the family system, individual and environmental elements, such as attachment style, communication, family's structure, parental support, the perception of the neighborhood and the personal background, in both juveniles justice involved and not; 2) explore the educative and social rehabilitative programs inside the Italian Youths Detention Centers; 3) identify the differences and the similarities among adolescents who are justice involved and who are not, in order to evaluate how the risk and

protective factors affect both; 4) promote intervention and prevention programs at school and in Youth Detention Centers starting from the collected data.

In line with the main goals, this dissertation is characterized by three chapters. The first one explores some of the most important psychological, sociological and criminological theories on criminality. The second chapter describes the development of the antisocial identity, the most diffuse crimes among youths and the life condition in Italian Youth Detention Centers. The last chapter reports the research divided in three studies.

The first study involves adolescents in the Italian Youth Detention Centers and explore their background and life condition in the Centers. The second study focuses on the influence of the family factors in the antisocial conduct of a group of youths from high schools. The last study compares two groups, student and youth's justice involved, with the aim to evaluate the main similarities and differences among groups in order to promote intervention of social rehabilitation and prevention on criminality.

CHAPTER 1. HOW DO DRUGS, FAMILY SYSTEM AND NEIGHBORHOODS INFLUENCE YOUTH DELINQUENCY?

1.1 The Circle of Crime: Criminality, Substance abuse and Problematic Family Relations

During adolescence, there is an increasing possibility of becoming a perpetrator of violence or being involved in at-risk behaviors, such as drugs use and unlawful acts. Such behavioral difficulties burden families, schools, communities, and society at large. Substance abuse during adolescence is often associated with delinquency or antisocial or aggressive conduct, which are common amongst adolescents and often hide other problems, such as family conflict or parental neglect. Delinquency and substance use could become habitual modes of conduct and communication for adolescents. Such perpetual patterns of behavior need to be understood by going beyond the apparent meaning of risky actions. Several studies carried out in Europe, United States, South America, Africa and Asia emphasize the importance of the family system and parenting, highlighting the role of parental support and parenting style, parental drinking and incarceration on the youth's illicit and antisocial behavior and on substance use (Piko & Balázs, 2012; Secretaría de Políticas Integrales sobre Drogas de la Nación Argentina [SEDRONAR], 2012; Thomas, McLellan, & Perera, 2013; World Health Organization [WHO], 2010/2011).

Data from the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance (Kann, McManus, Harris, Shanklin, & Flint, 2016) report that 11.1% of youths has been in a physical fight in school, and 5.6% has carried a weapon at least once in the past month and that one of the significant risk factors in their behaviors is family disruption. Through the qualitative text analysis of adolescencents' focus-group data about their perceptions of violence and the coping strategies they engaged in to manage conflict, emerged that fights were caused primarily to protect a family member inside or outside the school. Participants also use terms of endearment and possession to identify family membership, for instance, the term "my princess" referring to a cousin. They described their communities and lives as lacking in supports and safety and explained how they resorted to the use of violence as a strategy to survive. The adults in their lives were perceived as unable to protect them or to help them to avoid fights. Most participants affirmed that their parents were absent from the household when they returned home from school and that they did not provide protection for them against

violence. For some of the participants in the study, their mothers were perceived as protective against neighborhood violence. Additionally, this perception of the family involved an excess of responsibility and a lack of confidence, which affected the participants' interpersonal anger management skills.

Data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Tucker, Pollard, De la Haye, Kennedy, & Green, 2013) confirm these results, reporting low-income family background as one of the primary predictor variables of early adolescent substance use. Participants whose families confront unemployment and are exposed to people who engage in illegal behaviors and activities are more likely to perceive lower cohesion and safety in their context and to experiment binge drinking and smoking marijuana. On the other hand, participants who perceived their parents as more conscientious and present were less likely to engage in substance use and misuse and delinquent acts. Moreover, the use of drugs is not affected by social and individual risk factors whether the family is intact. Tucker and colleagues (Ibidem) examined the influence of family risk factors in the use of substances, assessing the following variables: low parental control, closeness to mother, availability of drugs at home, differentiating between alcohol and illegal drugs.

Regarding marijuana initiation, an intact family is a protective factor that is not associated to personal demographics, as gender, age and ethnicity; while binge drinking is associated with behavioral and family risk factors, such as the use of marijuana, delinquent behavior, low parental supervision, permissive or absent parents, and having alcohol readily available in the home. Moreover, these results show a difference between risk factors and type of substance: marijuana is more related to peers and linked to illicit activities, while binge drinking relates to the family system (opportunity to drink at home or parents who drink). Additionally, adolescents who are experiencing these risk factors foresee few opportunities for themselves and have less hope for the future. Consequently, they may be at higher risk also for involvement in drug selling and related activities and consequently engaging for long periods in unlawful behaviors.

Along the same lines, a survey conducted in rural and suburban communities by the Northeast Communities Against Substance Abuse, a community-based coalition representing the 21 towns and municipalities in northeast Connecticut, the frequency of alcohol consumption was associated with parental drinking. In fact, this factor seems to be associated with increased odds to become an alcohol experimenter, occasional polysubstance user, or frequent polysubstance user compared to non-users. At the same time, parental disapproval of substance use is associated with decreased odds to become a frequent polysubstance user compared to other users. The same results are valid for the use of marijuana, according to Canadian Institutes of Health Research and the Heart and Stroke Foundation of Canada (De Looze, Janssen, Elgar, Craig, & Pickett 2015). Marijuana

remains the most commonly used illicit drug among adolescents and is frequently related to addiction, use of other illicit drugs (OID) and to externalizing problems such as delinquent and aggressive behaviors. As in alcohol users, frequent marijuana use is negatively related to parental support and family affluence, as shown by a comparison between frequent lifetime marijuana users to never or less frequent lifetime marijuana users. Therefore, good relationships with parents may reduce the risk to develop an addiction or to use OID during adulthood, not depending on whether adolescents attend schools in high versus low crime neighborhoods, showing the mediator role that the family system assumes in risky behaviors.

According to the literature, each family is a dynamic system composed by a specific parenting style. The construct of parenting style, initially described by Baumrind in 1991 (Tavassolie, Madigan, & Winsler, 2016), is characterized in two dimensions, affection or responsiveness and control or demandingness, giving rise to four distinct categories: authoritarian style, authoritative style, indulgent style and negligent style (Lei, Chiu, Cui, Zhou, & Li, 2018). Responsive parents are affective, empathic, close and involve themselves in the adolescent's lives, communicating affection and recognizing teen's achievement. Conversely, demandingness refers to control, severe education and enforcing to respect strict rules of behavior. Based on this theory, parents with an authoritarian style report a low level of affection and a high level of control; while authoritative style is characterized by a high level of both affection and control, indulgent style involves high affection but low control, and negligent style is characterized by low level of both affection and control. Adolescents whose parents are authoritative are less likely to become heavy drinkers, and they showed more resilience, self-esteem and a better psychological adjustment. Additionally, authoritative parenting is negatively correlated to alcohol use even when adolescents have friends who drink (Bahr & Hoffmann, 2010) in contrast with other styles; for instance negligent parent style makes it more difficult to develop tools for emotion self-regulation, thus teenagers may develop problems of adaptation and functionality related to behavior problems, or social competence (Luk, Patock-Peckham, Medina, Belton, & King, 2016; Mestre, Tur, Samper, & Latorre, 2010; Jiménez-Barbero, Ruiz-Hernández, Llor-Esteban, & Waschler, 2016; Tur-Porcar, Mestre, Samper, & Malonda, 2012; Van der Watt, 2014). A research on German students shows the relationship between negative parenting and identity development via natural aggressiveness (Hofer & Spengler, 2018); another research on Turkish adolescents emphasizes the role of perceived parenting on aggression and self-esteem (Avcı & Sak, 2018; Özdemir, Vazsonyi, & Çok, 2017).

In contrast with these findings, some studies consider authoritarian parental style as a risk and indulgent style as a protective factor (E. Gracia, Fuentes, & Garcia, 2012; Martínez, Fuentes,

García, & Madrid, 2013) and show that adolescents who have authoritarian and authoritative parents appear more hostile than others, and that mother's deprivation, physical coercion, and mother's verbal coercion are the most significant predictors of hostility (Aymerich, Musitu, & Palmero, 2018; De la Torre-Cruz, García-Linares, & Casanova-Arias, 2014; Martínez et al., 2013; Trinkner, Cohn, Rebellon, & Van Gundy, 2012). Also, data obtained from class analysis show an inverse association between negligent parenting styles and alcohol users/binge drinkers, tobacco, marijuana and synthetic drugs (Peña et al., 2017). However, the majority of findings identify authoritative style as a protective factor. Other studies focused on the differences between mother and father (Gómez-Ortiz et al., 2016) found that mother is often more indulgent than father, who is more negligent; negligent father' style may involve externalization problems in teens more than the indulgent mother style. Studying the association between fathers' and mothers' parenting style and externalizing behaviors, Groh et al. (2014) found that a father's participation has a positive impact on the acquisition of empathy and social skills, factors related to lower rates of risky behaviors (Hoeve, Dubas, Gerris, Van der Laan, & Smeenk, 2011; Llorca, Richaud, & Malonda, 2017). The relevance of father's parental style is confirmed by a longitudinal study conducted by the Centre for Research into Parenting and Children, Oxford, United Kingdom. In this study, father's involvement in the adolescent life is shown to play a protective role in well-being, that is associated with positive parent-adolescent relationships, and is related with a less likelihood to be in trouble with the police in the future, and with the later educational attainment (Symeou, 2015).

In this line, the Baltimore Prevention Project (Furr-Holden et al., 2011) collected data from high school students and examined associations between an incarcerated father (FEI) and substance use during adolescence for the US population; 13% of the sample had fathers in jail and this is associated with an increasing use of marijuana and OI, and higher levels of delinquency. Other outcomes suggest the positive correlation between father imprisonment and alcohol and marijuana use; 51.3% of males and 39.3% of females with FEI reported using marijuana, compared to 37.7% and 28.3% of males and females, respectively, without FEI. Father's imprisonment is not the only factor, but it is related to other familial factors, such as parental separation, poor parenting, and stigma, history of physical abuse, maltreatment and parents' neglect, which are also associated with criminal involvement (Lee et al. 2012). Violence, abuses, and abandonment are related with criminality during adolescence and adulthood than parental substance use; 20% of emancipated youths before the age of 19 had been arrested and the period of emancipation coincides with the peak of criminal involvement. The mother also plays an important role in adolescent life: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health indeed

reported that mother' binge drinking and demandingness could be a predictor of substance use (Roettger, Swisher, Kuhl, & Chavez, 2011).

Finally, the most favorable situation for adolescents is to have support and involvement in their lives from both parents. Moreover, authoritative parenting style is associated with less conflict within the family and subsequent developmental adjustment for adolescents (Berkien, Louwerse, Verhulst, & Van der Ende, 2012; Harper, 2010; Jiménez-Barbero et al., 2016; Shayesteh, Hejazi, & Formany, 2014;). In late adolescence parent-child relationship gradually become less hierarchical and more horizontal, and teens need more emotional support from their parents. Hence, in this phase maternal and paternal support should focus on emotional regulation (Riquelme, García, & Serra, 2018; Van Lissa, Keizerab, Van Lierc, Meeusd, & Branjed, 2017). Based on the review of the literature, therefore, the important central aspect is the balance between affection and control and the role of father and mother in parenting: the father as the educator in social and normative skills and mother as a caregiver (Gallarin & Alonso-Arbiol, 2012; Kokkinos, 2013).

Additionally, attachment and sense of belonging to the family or surrogates like school, peers, and religious communities, mediate the use of violence during adolescence, guarantee informal control during the transition to adulthood and reduce likelihood of future involvement in the legal system.

Safe attachment and close relationship with parents decrease the rate of bullyism and violence (Cho, Hong, Sterzing, & Woo, 2017) and promote relational and social skills (Groh, Fearon, Van IJzendoorn, Bakermans-Kranenburg, & Roisman, 2017). Adolescents with secure attachment have more confidence and better emotional regulation skills than adolescents with avoidant attachment, who show more difficulty in interpersonal relationships (Clear & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2017). The role played by the father is essential for attachment and also as a predictor of adolescent' aggressive conducts. The scientific literature highlights that family structure also influences behavior. Children who lived in mono-parental and dysfunctional family are more likely to fall into risky behavior during adolescence (Baker, Jensen, & Tisak, 2017; Wong, 2017) than children who lived in an intact family. Data collected from 372 single-mother families showed that maternal responsiveness positively influences adolescent development as compared to "broken" homes and "deficiency" of single-mother families (Leung & Shek, 2018). Similar results are common in adolescents who have good family' communication and *disclosure* (Savage, 2014), this confidence facilitates emotional managing, problem-solving and coping skills, decreasing violent and risky acts (Dufur, Hoffmann, Braudt, Parcel, & Spence, 2015; Haverfield & Theiss, 2017); contrariwise poor communication involves an emotional gap, which may develop in risky behavior (Harris,

Vazsonyi, & Bolland, 2017; Massarwi & Khoury-Kassabri, 2017) and parental drug talk styles in early adolescent may increase the use of substance in teens (Pettigrew, Miller-Day, Ju Shin, Krieger, & Hecht, 2018).

Taken together, these findings suggest that parental support, psychological control, and parental monitoring, attachment and communication are mediators in teens risky behaviors, emphasizing, therefore, the importance to develop training for parenting skills in school in order to decrease negligent parenting and use of drugs during adolescence (Pereyra & Bean, 2017; Valentea, Cogo-Moreirab, & Sancheza, 2017). It would be simplistic, however, to continue considering the relationship between parent and adolescent as a one-way street and, based on the most recent researches, it would be closer to reality the description of this relationship as co-constructed by parents and adolescents, as a circular system.

1.2 Substance Abuse and Criminal Conduct

Juvenile delinquency continues to be a sensitive issue; as a specific set of age, limits exists that determine whether a person accused of a crime is treated as an adult or a juvenile. It is a topic which causes discomfort between professionals and jurists. Youths at the age of 14 could be charged with a crime. In most cases, young people are considered juveniles until the age of 18. However, some states set the limit at 16 and 17, while others wait until the age of 25. Smoking, drinking and the use of illicit drugs are also a cause of mortality during adolescence as well as later in life (Siegel & Welsh, 2015); criminal conduct of adolescents consists in most cases of drug-related crime, but they could be involved in other crimes, such as murder and robbery.

There are many theories about the association between substance use and criminal conduct during adolescence. Based on the Rochester Youth Development Study conduct by Phillips and Coretta (2012), it is clear that adolescent drug use is a risk factor, predictive of criminal offenses, including violent and not violent offenses, such as attacking another person with a weapon, throwing objects at another person, stealing money from others, physical aggression, sexual violence, and others, and adolescents who use drugs probably will continue with substance use, transitioning from marijuana to cocaine, crack, or heroin, and this escalation could involve violent criminal activity.

According to Green et al. (2016), there is no evidence that the use of marijuana , alcohol or OI is related to non-drug-specific criminal charges, like homicide or sexual violence; in fact, drug disorders have been linked with economic crime, weapon carrying and robberies, in particular among users of heroin. High consumption of drugs, however, is associated with drug crimes, as an illegal import, manufacturing, dealing, and possession of drugs; moreover, there are also cases of violence and sexual crimes between adolescents who are substance users.

In conclusion, aggressive behaviors and the use of drugs during adolescence may also be related to a general trend of early deficits in self-regulation, temperament, and social cognition that develop and often worsen over time, based on family problems, developmental deficits or dysfunctional backgrounds.

1.3 Drug and Crime: Onset in Early Adolescence

Moss et al. (2014) show that one main factor for involvements in illegal conducts and the use of drugs is the onset in early adolescence; substance use onset for a particular substance may differentially relate to the criminal career. For instance, from qualitative analysis (Harris, 2013) on 751 male offenders' criminal histories, exploring the difference between sexual offense, nonsexual violent offense and property offense according to the onset of the first offence, data revealed that despite sexual and nonsexual violent offense being the most severe crime, propriety offense was more likely related with a future criminal behavior due to the earliest onset. Additionally, analysis of the same interviews in relation to 12 typologies of crimes in juvenile delinquency (murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, auto theft, arson, weapons, sexual offense, drug sales, and drug use), reveals that only the use of drug during adolescence was related with all three criminal behavior outcomes (sexual offense, nonsexual violent offense and property offense), proving to be the highest risk factor in juvenile criminal conduct, and in criminal records. On the same line, adolescents who use alcohol, marijuana, and cigarettes before the age of 16 have a higher risk to become addicted and offenders in late adolescence and adulthood. Moss et al. (2014) divided their sample into three classes: non-users of alcohol and marijuana (40%), marijuana-only users (10%) and alcohol and marijuana users (32%) and found that the last one is associated with more criminal justice system involvement than the other classes. Significant differences were also found between the frequency of use: "High Dual Users" (35%) and "Moderate Alcohol/ Increasing Marijuana Users" (25%) have higher rates of addiction than "Moderate Alcohol users" (12%).

Additionally, criminal justice records showed significant differences among these classes: 44% of "Moderate Alcohol/Increasing Marijuana Users" and "High Dual Users" report higher crime rates than "Non-Users" (19%) and "Moderate Alcohol Users" (21%). Consistently, data from Young in Norway Longitudinal Study (Pedersen & Skardhamar, 2010) show an association between marijuana use, abuse of OI, such as amphetamines, cocaine, and opiates, during early adolescence and more serious criminal involvement. Findings suggest two risk factors to develop a drug disorder and to become deviant: the polysubstance use and the early onset in both crime and drug use (Green et al., 2016).

1.3.1 Marijuana: The "kids drug"

Marijuana is the most common drug used during adolescence and is often linked to criminal acts and antisocial behavior in teens (Connell, Gilreath, Aklin, & Brex, 2010). According to the EMCDDA (European Monitoring Center for Drugs and Drug Addiction, 2018), 87% of the general population have used drugs at least once in her/his life, and the higher percentage and frequency in use involves adolescents. For instance, 21% of adolescents aged from 15-24 use marijuana more frequently than older population, as reported by the annual long-term study on substance use promoted by the National Institute on Drug abuse (Johnston et al., 2018). Furthermore, it shows that the use of marijuana during adolescence has been increasing from 2017 by a 1.3% in moderate users (one or more time use during the last 12 months) with an annual prevalence of 10%, 26%, and 37% at the age of 14, 17, and 18 respectively; while daily users report 1%, 3%, and 6% respectively. In 2017-2018 adolescents perceive marijuana as very easy to get, not risky and do not disapprove its experimental use (Aranmolate, 2018).

Regarding OID, including inhalants and narcotic analgesic, there is an increment of 2.0% in all three cohorts aged 14,17, 18 years old. The use of these drugs shows in 2017 a reversal trend compared to the past years. The group aged 14 reports the highest rates in the use of inhalants, according to the prevalence of inhalants use in 2017 that upped by 0.9%; in fact inhalants are identified as "kids drug" because many other drugs are available for older adolescents, who do not use inhalants anymore. Contrariwise, the use of crack, synthetic marijuana, salvia, bath salts (synthetic stimulants), Vicodin and OxyContin (narcotic analgesics) and Ritalin (stimulant) exhibits a significant decline. In particular, synthetic marijuana, usually containing herbal materials sprayed with chemicals of the cannabinoid family, was used from 2011 until 2012 by the group aged 14 and 17; while in 2013 the use dropped in all the three cohorts cited above, and declined until 2017 as they perceived its risk as lower than in the past, probably because the easy availability of this drug made teens feel safer.

Concerning juvenile delinquency, data from the Woodlawn Study (Clark et al., 2012), a prospective study of an African American community on the Southside of Chicago, show that heavy adolescent marijuana users report a high rate of incarceration compared to light/non-users; 58.9% of heavy adolescent marijuana users have an arrest record compared to 34.8% of light/non-users. Distinguishing arrest for three types of crimes, findings show that 35.1% of heavy adolescent marijuana users report arrests for violent crimes versus 17.8% of light/non-users; 40.5% of heavy users and 21.3% of light/non-users report arrests for property crimes; finally, 28.7% of heavy users and 10.3% of light/non-users report arrests for drug-related crime.

1.3.2 “Club drugs” and “Date rape drugs”

Despite the use of illicit drugs is progressively decreased from 2010, the use of LSD, ecstasy, MDMA, cocaine, heroin, amphetamines, sedatives, tranquilizers, methamphetamine, crystal methamphetamine, and steroids held steady among 2017 and 2018. One of the most used “Club drugs,” so called because they are common in nightclubs and rave, is LSD, the use of which has increased in the cohort aged 18 from 2013 to 2018. In 2014 and 2015 the risk perception in cohorts aged 17 and 18 decreased, while in younger people it remained stable, probably because they are less knowledgeable about this drug's effects, affected by the process called "generational forgetting." Compared to the trend in use between 1991 and 1996, which was high, at date LSD is less available and fewer adolescents have LSD-user friends from whom may buy it, regardless of age.

Another "Club drug" is methylenedioxymethamphetamine (MDMA), known as ecstasy, and Molly which is a “pure” form of ecstasy. Until 2011 the perceived risk in the use of ecstasy was lower than in the past in all three cohorts of age, 14,17 and 18 years old, corresponding to the increase in its use; in 2015 there has been a further decline in disapproval and in the perceived risk of use among the lower two cohorts. On the other hand, Molly, which is perceived as more dangerous, decreased availability in 2016; this may help to prevent addiction in adolescents.

Regarding delinquency, results revealed that, after marijuana, ecstasy is the next drug more related to delinquency among 10-16 years adolescents, both in males and females; while LSD and other hallucinogens are diffused between girls and stimulants between boys, aged from 10 to 16. In particular, ecstasy use during adolescence is a risk factor related to antisocial conduct, externalization problems, unlawful conduct and arrest (Estévez & Emler, 2011).

However, club drugs are also used during parties and raves with the specific aim of victimizing and sexually abusing others. These drugs are called "Date rape drugs” and include GHB-gamma-hydroxybutyrate, ketamine (special K) and Rohypnol. In 2017 the use declined but rape drugs-related crimes are still diffuse, as reported by Campus Sexual Assault (CSA) Study, carried out among adolescents, that shows a high rate of sexual assault and sexual violence in campus, especially against girls (Lasky, Fisher, & Swan, 2018; Warner et al., 2018). Indeed, rape drugs are more associated with serious crime than others, because they involve victims and are used with the intention of committing sexual offense (Hamby, 2018). Normally, rape drugs are added to drinks or food without the victim’ knowledge. According to the text analysis of perpetrators interviews, they describe the use of rape drugs as intended to create “fun,” “have a better party experience”, or even as “a practical joke”, showing high level of moral disengagement and typical cognitive distortions of sexual offenders (Lamade, Lopez, Koss, Prentky, & Brereton, 2018;

Vander Ven & Fesmire, 2018). No models have been developed to better explain the association between typologies of drugs and crime, but criminal justice system clients had significantly more drug problems than other persons. According to Clark et al., (2012) adolescents who use cocaine are significantly more likely to commit property offenses, but not person or drug offenses. Cocaine is still in use between adolescents, who have a low-risk perception of it, as shown by the decrease of the disapproval and the increase of availability. Like cocaine, heroin also is related to serious crime; a longitudinal study of severe juvenile offenders found that adolescents who use opiate are more likely to be involved in criminal severe acts than who used marijuana and alcohol. Furthermore, juvenile offenders who used heroin and OI may be more at risk to become recidivist than others (Hickman, 2018).

Nevertheless, there was a decline in the use of heroin in the younger age group, as compared to young adults, more common users, probably because younger adolescents perceive heroin as one of the most dangerous drugs and therefore have a high level of perceived risk and disapproval.

1.3.3 Psychotherapeutic and Medical Drugs

Even if these are not strictly speaking illicit drugs, the most common drugs used by young people today are psychotherapeutic and medical drugs, outside of medical supervision, which may involve addiction, psychological problems, and risky behaviors. Medical drugs are common partly because of increases in the nonmedical use of many prescription drugs, the cause of the decrease of street drugs, and also because adolescents have a reduced risk perception in using medical drugs outside prescription. For instance, since 2014, availability of tranquilizers, such as Vicodin has increased in teens aged from 14 to 18. An example of availability and low-risk perception is the diffused use of the cough syrup, which contains dextromethorphan, a hallucinogenic psychoactive substance which provokes hallucinations and dissociations, agitation and feeling of confusion. This substance is also readily available and economic (Fei & Shin, 2018); cough syrup does not seem to be related to crime but more with drugs disorder and health problems.

Anabolic-androgenic steroid (AAS) is also a common medical drug among adolescents, especially in athletes and in the cohort aged 17 with a significant decline of perceived risk and disapproval. A study conducted by Addiction Centre in Örebro involved 36 adults participants using steroids, analyzed the association between the use of steroid and criminality, dividing crime in the use of violence, weapon offenses, fraud, crimes against property, drug-related crimes, traffic crimes, and other crimes. The study was conducted with quantitative and qualitative analysis and showed that 69% was involved in criminal acts, especially the use of weapon and violence. The study was designed in collaboration with the Swedish Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ) and

was focused on adults. AAS are used by the general population also and produce increased aggressiveness and feelings of hostility. AAS abuse may trigger violent acts in individuals who have not to experiment violence before, and in high dosages promotes fighting, physical and sexual abuse, armed robbery and property crimes. Moreover, the association between AAS abuse and violence is often mediated by other risk factors, such as the concomitant use of alcohol and opiate, factors which involve more adolescents than adults, because teens are more sensitive to the induction of aggression by AAS, and they often use concurrently other drugs; this aspect generates more concern among the use of AAS between adolescents, who are more likely to be involved in crime and impulsive violent behavior.

Medical drugs out of prescription during adolescence are also associated with self-reported delinquency and arrests, risky sexual behavior, skipping school, family conflict and abuse of alcohol, marijuana, heroin and OI (United Nations Office on Drugs & Crime, 2011). A recent study shows that also antidepressants, ADHD drugs, and anti-smoking medications all are linked with violent behavior (Moore, Glenmullen, & Furberg, 2010). As shown by literature, medical drugs are increasing in adolescents, for this reason it is fundamental not to underestimate health risks and involvement in criminal actions and interpret the use of prescriptive drugs by adolescents also as a response to stress and typical problems of this age (Van Amsterdam, Opperhuizen, & Hartgens, 2010).

1.3.4 Tobacco and Alcohol

An opposite trend compared to OI appears for cigarette use, which declined between 2016 and 2017 in early and late adolescence; indeed, fewer young people are initiating cigarette smoking, probably due to greater disapproval and perception of risk. Qualitative analysis of the interviews among students aged 14 shows that 71% of the sample said that they "prefer to date people who do not smoke," proving how cigarettes are less attractive for teens, we can find same results in other cohorts aged 16 and 18. This decrease in cigarette use is probably related to the increasing price and from negative propaganda about smoking in the last years. However, the raise of the cigarette price brought adolescents to smoke tobacco with another method. In 2010 23% smoked cigarillos; while 23% used Hookah in 2014, 20% in 2015 and 10% in both 2016 and 2017.

Another method of consuming substances is by inhalation, which became very diffuse between adolescents, referred to as Vaping (i.e. inhalation of vapors of nicotine, such as e-cigarettes). In 2016 users of vaping were 6% for the group aged 14, 11% for the one aged 16 and 13% for those aged 18. In 2017 the trend changed due to the wide selection of substances to be inhaled; marijuana vaping was 3%, 8%, and 10% in age 14, 16, and 18; while nicotine vaping was 8%, 16%, and 19%

respectively, and vaping "just flavoring" 12%, 19%, and 21% in the three cohorts. E-cigarettes are the most commonly used vaping device, and adolescents report the lowest levels of perceived risk. The use of tobacco is more significantly linked to delinquency than alcohol, but antisocial behaviors were significantly higher among users of marijuana, cocaine, or crack (Nardi, Da Cunha, Bizarro, & Dal bosco Dell'Aglio, 2012). A longitudinal study among 16 to 26 year old individuals focused on reactive and proactive aggression found that at the age of 16 both types of aggression were significantly correlated with hard drugs, binge drinking and delinquency; while proactive aggression with cigarette and marijuana only; at age 26 reactive aggression was linked to marijuana use and hard drugs; while proactive aggression was associated with violence, cigarette use and binge drinking (Fite, Raine, Stouthamer-Loeber, Loeber, & Pardini, 2010).

Finally, alcohol remains the substance most used among teens and the most related to violence. Data (Johnston et al., 2018) shows that 45% of adolescents have drunk to the point of intoxication at least once in their life; in 2017 the use of alcohol has increased, showing 8%, 20%, and 33% for age 14, 17, and 18 and for the binge drinking phenomenon also, with rates of 4%, 10%, and 17% in the three cohorts, emphasizing an increase from 2016. Alcohol is also fairly available and related to violent offenses; adolescents who engage in heavy drinking at the age of 18 were more likely to be convicted in early adulthood (Craig, Morris, Piquero, & Farrington, 2015; Morgan, Lyneham, Davy & Coughlan, 2018). According to the Add Health survey (Popovici, Homer, Fang, & French, 2012) conducted in a sample of adolescents, alcohol use and being drunk are also associated with increased probability to commit property crime. The same results were obtained from a survey on adolescents aged from 14 to 18 about the association between incidents of violence and the use of alcohol; discovering that younger adolescents experiment fewer incidents of violence, but when they hazard with alcohol the percentage of incidents increases. Higher alcohol consumption and alcohol-related problems are associated with patterns of criminal involvement, while moderate use is related to a decrease of offenses. Finally, the use of alcohol is a significant risk factor in psychophysical adolescent' health (Resko et al., 2010).

In conclusion, the empirical evidence just discussed on the relationship between the use of drugs and criminal and antisocial conducts during early and late adolescence highlights that early onset in crime and the use of drugs are the most critical risk factors in developing a substance abuse disorder and criminal career in adulthood. These studies also point out that specific drugs might be predictive of the type of crime, and the polysubstance misuse and the heavy use of substance are more likely to lead to illegal and violent acts. Despite these findings, additional researches focused on association between typologies of crime and categories of substance may be useful to understand and prevent juvenile delinquency and drug disorders. Moreover, research

should be expanded on the new drugs, such as inhalant, vaping and medical drugs. It is also important not to underestimate the association between substance use and delinquency, familiar dysfunctionality and social context since, according to the theoretical frame of multifactor interaction in adolescent' risky conducts (Damm, Piil, & Dustmann, 2014), for prevention of youth involvement in antisocial behavior and drug problems.

1.4 Disadvantaged Neighborhoods and Environmental Criminology

The neighborhood concept may be conceived as spatial constructions that are defined ecologically, both with reference to geographic area, but also as a psychological investment that involved feelings, emotions and memories of those who live there. People who construct their own lives in a neighborhood, establish a connection with it, developing a sense of community and perceiving it as their own territory (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Guest & Lee, 1984; Lee, Karen, & Campbell, 1997). The neighborhood is characterized by social, cultural, psychological and ecological factors, as reported in Table 1; these factors may influence each other, affecting the inhabitants' behavior positively or negatively, especially the tendency to anti-socialize (Skogan & Maxfiel, 1981; Wellman & Leighton, 1979; Chaskin, 1997; Hipp, Tita, & Boggess 2009; Nielsen, Lee, & Martínez 2005).

Table 1. Neighborhood's Characteristics

<i>Neighborhood' Characteristics</i>		
<i>Socio-cultural</i>	<i>Psychological</i>	<i>Ecological</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social support and solidarity • sharing of common values • informal social control • fear of crime 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • proximity • sense of belonging • cohesiveness • neighbors' relationship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • residential stability • presence of public services • safety and care • deterioration and poverty (abandoned building, graffiti wall)

The influence of all of these factors may be summarize according to the concept of “neighborhood effects”, which illustrates the interaction among individual, social and ecological characteristics. There are different methodologies to assess the neighborhood effects, for example Kirk (2008) employs the research *Moving to Opportunity* (MTO) in which families who live in poverty were randomly assigned to one of three groups: the experimental group that received a voucher and housing relocation assistance; a comparison group that received a voucher but not relocation

assistance and the control group that received no change in housing assistance and no voucher. These methodologies may provide useful information about the changes in moving to a new house and neighborhood, with more opportunities, but may not explain why this change happened and the cause-effect interaction between moving from a poor neighborhood while changing behaviors. Moreover, when individuals move from one place to another, there are many variables which may influence the changes that are not directly connected to the neighborhood. In order to avoid this bias, there is another method which consists on assessing the repercussions of the changes in a given neighborhood; for example: how crime rate changes, following the implementation of a community policing strategy when individuals are not removed from their own neighborhood. In this essay, we are interested in the effect of neighborhood on its inhabitants, and their behavior in line with the second methodology.

Jencks and Mayer (1990) identify five theoretical frameworks to describe neighborhood effects on people' behavior:

1. Neighborhood Institutional Resource Models: Services offered by the neighborhood, such as parks, libraries, and community centers, are provided to stimulate learning and social environments and to promote healthy development. On the other hand, neighborhoods that are disadvantaged and that are not provided with these services may influence children's development in a negative way and also contribute to youth delinquency.
2. Collective Socialization Models: Community, social organizations and rules of a neighborhood may affect children's education. This aspect also includes adults as role models who guarantee guidance, supervisory monitoring and a stable routine structure; vice versa, instability, caused by a lack of rules, guidance and monitoring from parents and community might result in criminal or risky behaviors.
3. Contagion (or epidemic) Models: This is based on the idea that the negative behavior of neighbors and peers might strongly influence other behaviors in the same context. For example, criminality may expand as an epidemic starting from imitative behaviors in peer group.
4. Competition Models: This discuss the rivalry that neighbors or peers exhibit in order to excel or survive in a poor environment.
5. Relative Deprivation Models: Neighborhood conditions that are mediated by relative and peer situations can indirectly influence individuals.

These models have influenced theoretical discussions of neighborhood effects on children and youths, revealing that there is more to the original dichotomy between sociological and

anthropological factors in explanation of delinquency. To date, the best knowledge about crime is considered to derive from the integration of several factors, and therefore from the union of social characteristics to individual ones.

The most important example of theory which investigates the complexity and multidimensionality of individuals environmental and social interactions, links crime and neighborhood characteristics is the Bronfenbrenner Ecological System Theory (1986). This is focused on the individual-context relationships and his/her behaviors basing on the human ecology tradition. According to this theory, human development is a product of the interaction between the organism and its environment and is based on three important aspects of the ecological definition of human development:

1. The individual is not considered as a “clean slate” modified by the environment; but the individual grows and moves dynamically, restructuring it.
2. The interaction between individual and environment is based on reciprocity, the first one modifies and influences the second one.
3. The ecological environment is defined in a topological form, as a series of ordered concentric structures which influence and include each other. These structures take the name of microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem and chronosystem, described in Figure 1:

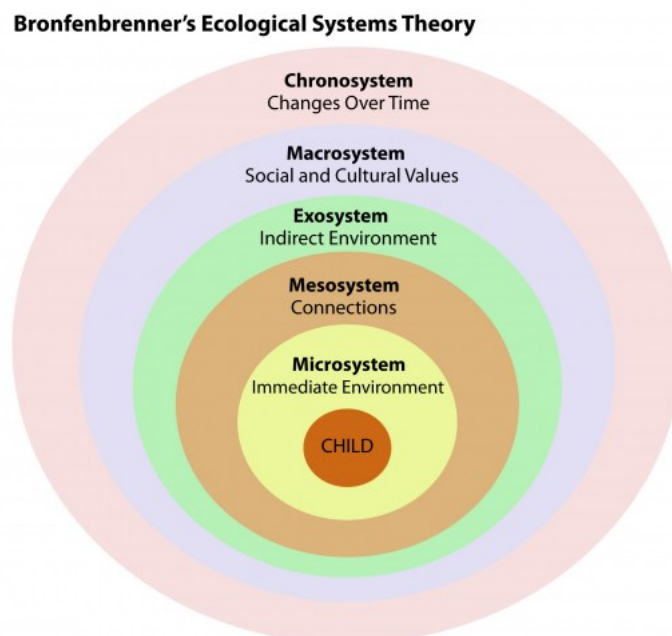


Figure 1. Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory

A child typically experiences different kinds of ecosystems simultaneously. From the most intimate such as the immediate family and school structures, up to society and the culture system; each of these systems interact with each other, influencing the child's life.

In this model the first level of interaction is between the individual and the microsystem, which involves the child in his/her personal relationships with family members and with classmates at school. According to Bronfenbrenner's theory, it is possible for siblings who find themselves within the same ecological system to still experience very different environments, because of personal traits, perception and experiences with the system. The second level of interaction is between different microsystems, for example: between home and school or peer group and family members. For instance, if parents are positively involved in their children's life, such as spending time with them or allowing their friends at home, this produces positive child development. In addition, the involvement of parents, protect their children from risky behaviors, such as the use of drugs and alcohol or illegal and criminal acts. Contrarywise, if the child's parents dislike his/her peers or do not care about their friendships, the child is more likely to be involved in criminality or drug abuse and can experience conflicting emotions which may negatively affect his/her development. The third level is the exosystem, characterized by two or more settings' indirect interaction. This level includes systems which affect a child's life indirectly, such as the parents and relative's workplace and the neighborhood. If parents have a problem at work, they may be more aggressive/stressed, resulting in the mistreatment of their children. The fourth level is the macrosystem, composed by beliefs, knowledge and resources of a specific culture and society in which children live. For example, a repressive or violent social system, based on a culture of violence may affect the lives of some children whereas, others who experience the value of cooperation or respect in their own neighborhood may not be affected. The last system is the chronosystem, which describes changes in the environment in which children live during their time period. This system may include a change in all the others because of the influence by the specific period in which individuals experienced his/her environment. According to this theory, Bronfenbrenner stressed the importance of studying children, taking into account multiple environment influences. This theory was used also to describe juvenile delinquency phenomenon; indeed, according to this vision, children who live in a neighborhood characterized by a high crime rate are more likely to have criminal development (Hertler S.C., Figueredo A.J., Peñaherrera-Aguirre M., Fernandes H.B.F., Woodley of Menie, 2018). In the same line, Bronfenbrenner studied also the effect of the breakdown of desirable familial and social values and virtues, such as honesty, integrity, and compassion on the child's behaviors, especially on the development of

apathy, delinquency and rebellion, finding a correlation between these factors (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; de Baca, Figueredo, & Ellis, 2012).

Another theory that explains human behavior through the multifactorial interaction of family and social and environmental factors is the Wikstrom' Situational Action Theory-SAT (2011). According to this model, moral actions and emotional involvement influence the criminal action and effects on the context. This theory includes street crime, white collar crime, and terrorist acts. However, it is not based on the type of crime but on the moral and emotional component that leads to crime. The SAT explains the process that drives a person from motivation to crime to deviant behavior and presupposes that is not possible to ignore the perception of social rules and norms. Therefore, it is important to evaluate criminal actions as a perceived breakdown within social norms, taking into account these elements:

1. Individual: Physical and psychological factors, experiences and the perception of agency
2. Environmental: Interactional, interpersonal and environmental characteristics
3. Situational: Stems from the result of a person's decision making in interaction with a specific setting
4. Action: Implementation of a specific behavior in order to achieve the intended purpose

Wikstrom analyzes individual reactions to a given situation, asserting that the commission of a crime derives from the interaction between the elements mentioned. For example, illegal or deviant actions could derive from the perception of the social rules placed in relation to one's morality; he adds that if a person is systematically exposed to a given situation, he/she may lose the real capacity to choose. Thus, criminality could derive from desensitization, resulting in a natural tendency to act on the learned behavior (Wikstrom, 2009). Wikstrom conducted a longitudinal study on youths belonging to disadvantaged contexts, highlighting that the criminal context does not in of itself imply a tendency to commit crime, but rather stems from a prolonged exposure to it, thus, mostly influencing deviant behavior (Wilkstrom, 2003).

Finally, one of the most cited theory of criminal sociology was promoted by two sociologists Shaw and McKay. This theory, called Social Disorganization Theory (1942) involved the study of criminogenic and dilapidated areas and afterwards was advanced by the Chicago School. According to them, these places could be defined as "criminal areas" because of the high rate of poverty, residential instability and unemployment; characteristics mostly related to crime.

The first studies on the distribution of crime in urban areas were first carried out in Chicago and then repeated in other large American cities. According to these researches, criminal areas consist of neighborhoods where a high percentage of people in need of economic assistance is

concentrated, living in conditions of poor hygiene and overcrowding. The inhabitants of these areas are usually unemployed or have precarious activities. They are various reasons why families decide to live in such conditions; some have no choice and others have few aspirations and so resign themselves to these conditions of poverty and degradation (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000). These areas therefore become an attractive center for those who are looking for a permissive and adequate environment for delinquent status. Thus, real crime zones are born, which also become schools of crime, especially for young people who were born and grew up in these neighborhoods (Krohn, Lizotte & Hall, 2009). Moreover, the findings of these researchers show that, despite the continuous turnover of the inhabitants, the crime rate of these areas remained constantly high, indicating the criminogenic meaning of the social environment. According to the ecological theory, mentioned above, the criminogenic environment can lead to the genesis of crime, in conjunction with other factors. Despite these findings, we know that not all those who live in criminal and disadvantaged areas develop a deviant career, as shown by Oreopoulos' study (2003). He had two groups. In one group he analyzed the experiences of adults who were sent as children to a housing project in Toronto metropolitan area. This area was made up of a wide neighborhood location and services. The second group was also adults who lived in the public houses with higher exposure to crime and poverty. In comparing these two groups Oreopoulos found that, the different living conditions did not play a significant role in determining youths' behavior and that family factors were more powerful in influencing the behavior. In the same line, Jacob (2004) explored the experiences of youths relocated by the Chicago Housing Authority from the public housing to private-market housing. In comparing the group that was forced to move with the individuals who were permitted to stay, he found no evidence of the adverse effects of public housing poverty and disadvantage conditions in youths. These results show the importance to considering other factors, such as individual and family elements, which may be a moderating role on the adulthood outcomes, especially during the development.

Another factor which has an effect on criminality is the Socio-Economic Status (SES) which is an index which measures socio-economic level of an individual or of a family. This index was proposed by Hollingshead (1975) and is the most used in psychological and clinical research and is based on two variables: educational and cultural level and profession. The SES is simultaneously a cultural and an economic index and is fundamental as a socio-environmental factor to understand the condition in which an individual or a family lives in a specific neighborhood. During childhood and adolescence high SES neighborhoods have a positive effect on school achievements outcomes, as studies shown (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1993; Chase-Lansdale, Gordon, Brooks-Gunn, & Klebanov, 1997; Duncan et al., 1994; Klebanov, Brooks-Gunn, Chase-

Lansdale, & Gordon, 1997; Klebanov et al., 1994) high-SES affects positively children' IQ scores and adolescents' school outcomes, such as math achievement and skills tests and is also associated with less risks.

Contrarywise, low-SES neighborhoods have an adverse influence on children's and adolescents' mental health and on externalized behaviors, such as acting out, aggression, use of drugs and delinquent behaviors (Sampson & Groves, 1989; Simons, Johnson, Beaman, Conger, & Whitbeck, 1996). According to the evaluation of the Yonkers Project, adolescents who remained in low-SES neighborhoods were more likely to become substance users, specially alcohol and marijuana user (Briggs, 1997b). Also, a report on criminal activity based on criminal-offender records from the Maryland Department of Justice found that adolescents who moved to low poverty neighborhoods were less likely to be arrested for violent crimes, than their peers who remain in public housing or in low-SES neighborhoods (Ludwig, Duncan, and Hirschfield, 1998).

Other evidences show the strong connection between low-SES, use of drugs and criminality in youths. Smart et al. (1994) found a higher percentage of use of alcohol and drugs among adolescents who live in SES lower areas compared with high-SES. Tobler et al. (2011) found a positive association between environment deprivation and use of alcohol. In the same line, Furr-Holder et al. (2011) compared young adults who live in deteriorating neighborhoods with those who live in good ones, founding that the first ones are more likely to use marijuana rather than the second one. Tucker et al. (2013), examined the correlation between neighborhoods disorganization and the onset of drugs use; basing on the hypothesis that the onset for both, alcohol and marijuana may be more likely among adolescents who come from economically disadvantaged neighborhood, with greater residential instability and a poor perception of cohesion and safety. The first important result shows that residing in a neighborhood characterized by a high rate of unemployment is the most influence factor on adolescent's onset marijuana use; while the environmentally perception of disapproval in marijuana use is related to lower rates of adolescent cannabis use (Keyes et al., 2011). The researchers identify other environmental risk factors in use of drugs during adolescence, such as poor education at home, trouble at school, delinquent behavior, low parental control and parents or friends who drink or use marijuana. Moreover, the adolescent' exposure to adults who use drugs may decrease beliefs about the potential harm of them, incrementing the risk of use, involving in criminal conducts and developing less hope for the future. Mason and Mennis (2010) examined the crime rate linked to the use of drugs. The found that adolescents' marijuana use decreases as they move farther away from areas where there is a grate propensity for robbery and use of drugs.

As is noted, according the Ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), different environments are characterized by specific kind of criminality; for instance, poor and disadvantage places may lead to so-called street crime; while a rich environment may involve in white collar crimes (Ponti & Merzagora Betsos, 2008). Data from the analysis of the Crimecast dataset (CAP Index, Inc., 2012; www.capindex.com), which consists of a computer modelled crime score for each area in Canada for the year 2011, combined criminological and demographical data and created a score for 7 types of crime (de Looze et al., 2015): homicide, sexual assault, robbery, assault, breaking and entering, theft, and motor vehicle theft; using two software PCensus for Mappoint (Tetrad Computer Applications Inc., Vancouver, BC) and ArcGIS software version 10.2 (Esri, Redlands, CA). The researchers linked these crimes to some schools close to 5 km radial buffer, creating a neighbourhood-level crime scores for each participants of the schools. Regarding individual factors, results show that the use of drugs is more common among adolescents with low family influence compared to adolescents with high family influence. It was also more common among adolescents who did not have a good relationship with their parents and who had many cannabis-using friends. At the neighborhood level, low-SES and a more rural geographic status were related to frequent cannabis use and to criminal acts, specially linked to property and violence crimes, such as breaking and entering, sexual assault and motor vehicle theft.

Early exposure to criminal neighborhood may have subsequent delinquent behavior in later life. Damm and Dustmann (2014) investigated this effect on children from 0 to 21 years old, allocated randomly to these neighborhoods with their families. Results show a stronger effect of criminality on the development of criminal behavior in these youths. Analyzing the results (influence) of the type of crime convictions for which these young offenders are convicted, results show (suggest) that the conviction rates are higher in violent crime than in property or drug crimes and that the rate of conviction in violent crime continuous in adulthood.

In criminal neighborhood delinquent behaviors becomes as a channel of transmission of neighborhoods values; this transmission is strong, as showed by the percentage of crime across neighborhoods and municipalities; 34% of the co-offenders lived in the same area and 75% resided in the same municipality of residence. The most important aspect is the early age of exposure. In Damm and Dustmann' study the children were allocated to neighborhoods at different ages: between 0 and 5 years, between 6 and 9 years, between 10 and 14, and between 15-21 years of age. The results show that those between 10–14 years old at assignment are most affected by the neighborhood conviction rate, rather than the other groups. Moreover, criminal neighborhoods and conviction rate have an effect also on the probability of obtaining a higher education and or to

obtain decent employment. This affects more specifically young males who live in areas with a large criminal population.

Indeed, the exposure to violence influences males and females in a different way. Prior research on the genders show that the predictors of male offences are similar to the females offences, showing that gender differences are not due to the influence of different social factors but males and females are affected differently by the same criminogenic condition (Heimer & De Coster, 1999; Mears et al. 1988). A study of 400 economically disadvantaged cities, Heimer et al. (2006) found that females were more likely to be involved in arrests, especially property crime, rather than males. Thus, neighborhoods disadvantage moderates the effect of gender on offending. According to the Disorganization Theory by Shaw and McKay (1946) in disadvantage and economically distress neighborhoods, where there is an ineffective social control by the family and the community, this provides more opportunities for youths to be affiliated with violent and deviant peers. This lack of control has a stronger impact on females rather than on males, because females are more controlled by family and more involved in conventional activities in their home, school and community. When social control breaks down in these areas, females are more likely to be exposed to crimes, as reported by data from the Project of Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods-PHDCN (Zimmerman & Messner, 2010).

To conclude, one of the important reasons for neighborhood crime affecting the criminal behavior of youths is the absence or negative social interaction between individuals. According to Manski (1993, 2000) two types of social interactions exist: endogenous, where the propensity of an individual to engage in crimes is based on the criminal behavior of her/his peer group and where criminality is interpreted as a shared value; and contextual, where the propensity of an individual to engage in crimes is influenced by the contextual characteristics of residents, such as their economic and social status or their attitudes toward crime. The researcher reports also that sharing neighborhood with convicted criminals, especially for violent crimes, affects later crime convictions of youths, who were assigned to these neighborhoods as children, highlighting the vulnerability to the effect of delinquent neighborhood during adolescence, when they are particularly receptive to role models and peer behavior (Ingoldsby & Shaw ,2002).

1.4.1 Crime Across Cities: Population Size and Geographical Area

The population size and the distribution of the services are both important factors which influence human behavior; also, the presence of socioeconomic differences in urban distribution and the high unevenness on the quality of life among neighborhoods may affect people behavior. Similarly, in the past some evidences have been found there is a correlation between higher rates of violent crime and city with high population size (Bettencourt, Lobo, Strumsky & West, 2010).

This theory was well documented also from Uniform Crime Reports by Harvard University and National Bureau of Economic Research, which confirmed that crime rate is higher in big cities than in either small cities or rural areas; illustrating a possible connection between pecuniary benefits higher in big cities. For instance, there are lower possibilities to be arrested for crimes that they had committed; thus, half of the urban effect on crime might be explained by the population size (Glaeser & Sacerdote, 1999; Ackerman, 1998). According to the SAT theory mentioned in the previous paragraph, the authors hypothesize that the population size is likely to be related to criminal activity in term of possibility and opportunity. A cross-sectional comparison of 86 French departments involving offences in urban and rural ones, during five-year intervals from 1831 to 1861, showed a strong relationship between property crime and higher population size; while no correlation was found with collective violent offences (Lodhi & Tilly, 1973; Bernasco, & Block, 2011). Moreover, Durkheim (Zembroski, 2011) presented a theory based on the connection between incrementation of the population related to criminality; Clinard and Sutherland (Ibid) explained the same concept, finding that crime rate in United States is associated with the increment of the city's size, as reported by the United Nations report (UN Commission for Social Development), which associated crime with the town's growth (Berman, 1973-1974). According to Brown's (1982) study on crime distribution among Chicago's suburbs by regression analysis of crime occurrence rates, property crimes are commonly more diffused in the city financial activities locations, extending cross suburban boundaries. He showed a connection with the city's economic development, while the rate of homicide seems to be connected to the income inequality diffused in big cities. For example, Brazil is one of the most income inequality cities, in which the homicide rate is four times higher than the world average (Machado, Rodrigues, Rasella, Barreto, & Araya, 2018). Finally, rural cities are more civically focused and respectful of the rules; and this may be a possible reason for the low violent crime rate (Lee, & Thomas, 2010).

Another important aspect studied by the environmental criminology is the role of the places called "crime generators". These areas are situated in non-residential location. They have no services such as children's playgrounds, athletic fields for organized sports and nighttime lighting which are more attractive for conventional users. The absence of these could become an attraction to offenders or potential offenders (Groff, & McCord, 2012). This study shows a higher frequency of offences in the crime generators areas, such as murder, rape, robbery, motor vehicle thefts, drug and alcohol users, weapon violations, prostitution, gambling and graffiti. Dilapidated, run-down buildings and abandoned parks were the most common examples of potential criminogenic areas. In another study, *Situational Crime Prevention* (1983, 1997, 2008) by R.V. Clarke, that the specific characteristics of a given environment influence the decision-making process on the

commission of an offence and also on the crime rate of these areas. According to Jacobs (1961), parks are often used by unconventional users as a free area, controlled by a denser informal control networks, such as the “eyes on the street”. These places for unconventional users become areas void of rules and social control. Additionally, Jacob says parks are not criminogenic areas but are common examples of high-risk places. They are often located in non-residential places, not monitored during the night and are avoided by conventional users, who may feel uncomfortable. As a consequence, these places become even more isolated and attractive for criminals, specifically for young people, who are more likely to be involved in illegal or risky behaviors. Brantingham, P.J. and Brantingham, P.L (1995 a;b) and other researchers (McCord and Ratcliffe, 2007, 2009) conducted a study on a park in Philadelphia, using specific computer software. In this study they used the area of the park expanding an additional 50 feet, 0–400 feet, 400–800 feet and 800–1200 feet, in all directions to capture the sidewalks and streets immediately surrounding the park, called also “park environs”. The results show that crime is more clustered in and around the park than in Philadelphia as a whole. Specifically, the density of violent and disorder crimes in the park environs (park and surrounding streets) are double the rate than that of other Philadelphia areas.

Another focus of interest in environmental criminology is the difference in crime rate and the types of offences perpetuated in various geographical areas. Historically, in the United States the South shows a culture of violence and homicide rate which are higher compared to the North (McCall, Kenneth, & Cohen, 1992). According to Connell (2007) this difference in crime in these areas are derived from power and knowledge distribution; indeed, the author suggests that the inequality is not derived from the south definition as “periphery” but from a deficit of recognition and circulation of the knowledge which is developed and generated from modern societies of the global North. To date, Southern Criminology Theory conceptualizes Connell’s thinking adding new and diverse perspectives, avoiding to dichotomize in a binary way south and north; there still remains vast disparities between North and South in wealth, income, education, health care, adequate food and shelter, effective political institutions and safe and secure living environments (World Population Data Sheet, 2014). Moreover, the grave problems, such as environmental infrastructure, climate change, resource conflicts, human trafficking, organized crime, corruption, terrorism and financial crisis, have a stronger impact on the poverty and social conflict in the poorest areas of the world, as synonymous to parts of the South. In regard to criminal activities, organized crime is one of the most common offences in the global South. Violent and organized crimes are connected to governance, poverty and environmental degradation which involve financial criminal activities, such as drug trafficking, political movements and corruption of public

officials (Morris, 2012). This kind of situation prevents these areas from being updated and maintaining equality in politics and economy. For this reason, these areas remain less developed than others (World Bank 2010;2011). In Italy the situation presents some analogies and some differences; according to the Department of Public Security of the Ministry of the Interior, the most dangerous cities in Italy, as specify by crime rate of 2018, are regions of the North and of the Center and not of the South, specially the most touristic cities in which there are often crime linked to tourism, such as thefts, as showed in Table 2;

Table 2. The top Twenty of the Provinces with more Issues. Crimes reported every 100,000 inhabitants per province in 2018

<i>Province</i>	<i>Crimes reported every 100 thousand inhabitants</i>
Milan	7.237,70
Bologna	6.951,16
Rimini	6.367,41
Florence	5.700,61
Turin	5.649,15
Prato	5.348,52
Rome	5.323,77
Livorno	5.148,49
Genoa	5.073,99
Savona	5.061,37
Pisa	5.059,51
Parma	5.036,69
Lucca	4.848,77
Venice	4.337,61
Ravenna	4.689,21
Imperia	4.662,05
Modena	4.521,47
Pistoia	4.354,35
La Spezia	4.298,14
Reggio Emilia	4.273,20

Moreover, there are also differences between types of crimes per regions; for instance, murder, attempted murder and organized crime are more rooted in Southern Italy; while sexual violence, fraud, theft and drug dealing are located in the Center and in the North. Despite these findings, criminality is hard to define according to geographical position or population size; indeed, results and evaluations are heterogenous, as reported by the National Institute of Statistics-ISTAT and Italian Ministry of the Interior. Thus, the perception of risk and criminality is influenced by the subjective feelings and thinking's of the population. Additionally, as shown in Figure 2, South, North and Centre are not divided in a dichotomic way and crime distribution is not representative enough to establish which part of Italy is most at risk criminally based on geographical areas.

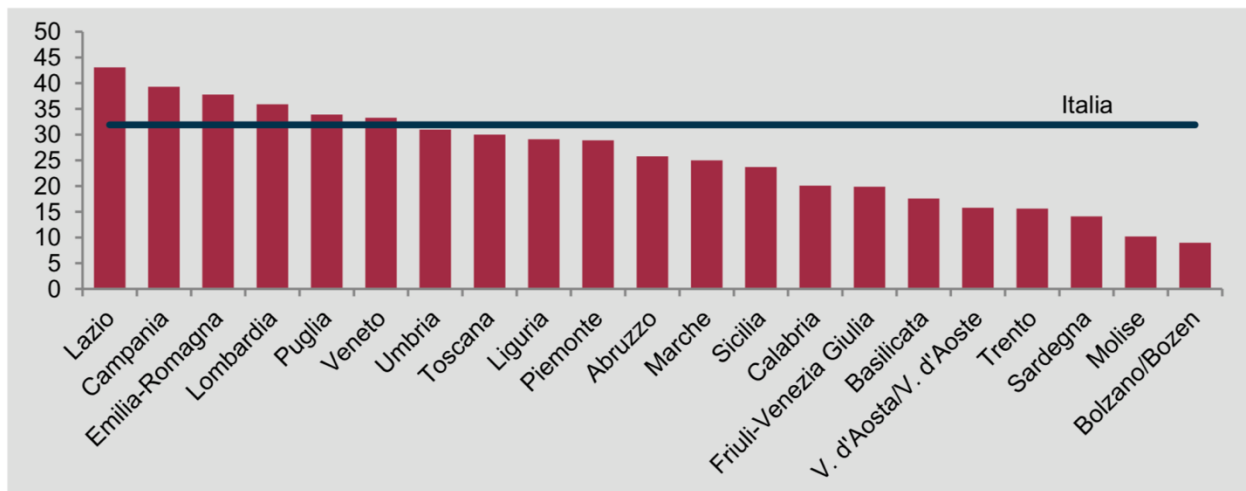


Figure 2. Perception of Criminality and Risky in Italian Regions. Retrieved from: Istat, *La percezione della sicurezza - Comunicato Stampa*, 22 giugno 2018 <https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/217502>

From this point of view, it is also important to take into account the bias derived from the culture which could influence the personal perception of risk in a neighborhood or area. Furthermore, only certain crimes are taken in consideration based on the issues and convictions and not on official reported by the police. Therefore, data is not reliable.

1.5 Summary

In summarizing the key findings of the chapter, one needs to conclude that there has been an increase of studies on the multifactorial interaction between the family system, substance abuse, neighborhoods and juvenile delinquency. Most of the results presented were focused on the interactions between substance abuse and criminal conduct, concerning the family system, evaluating the role of parents and the perception of the neighborhood on the development of criminality during adolescence. Associated factors of family system and of the neighborhood were also considered, such as parent-children communication, feelings of disclosure, parenting style, family structure, population size, crime rate, geographical position and the perception of safety and risk.

To date, there are some observable and important evidences associated with criminal behaviors and which influence the future deviant development of juveniles, such as the onset in use of drugs and criminal conduct in early adolescent, the polysubstance abuse, residential instability, poverty, high crime rate and the presence of people using drugs in their own neighborhood. These factors could involve an escalation in both behaviors, developing a drug disorder and a criminal career in late adolescence and adulthood. There are also evidences showing that an early onset of deviant

behavior during adolescence may characterize life-course persistent of criminal behavior in adulthood. These findings give reasons to consider onset in risky behavior seriously and illustrate the importance of systematic evaluation of these behaviors diffused among adolescents.

The main general findings below suggest a higher involvement in criminal conduct and use of substances by adolescents; (a) those who had parents who were involved in illegal activities and drug abuse (b) those who had received poor emotional support and avoided attachment and (c) those who suffered physical or psychological abuses and neglect. These common factors involve poor perceived control and increase the possibility of substance abuse. Currently, use of marijuana and alcohol are stable among juveniles aged from 14 to 18; OI also used are inhalants, a narcotic analgesic, non-prescription medical drugs, LSD, Rohypnol. Adolescents have a lower perception of risk on substance use than in the past and choose the typology based on availability and inexpensiveness of the drugs. For example, they use higher doses of cough syrup to provoke themselves hallucination and a state of excitement or vaping marijuana and other substances. These evidences need to be evaluated taken into account social context and historical period's trend, according Bronfenbrenner Model.

In regard criminality, there is no specific findings which link typologies of substances and typologies of crimes. Nevertheless, data from the majority of the articles analyzed showed a prevalence of sex crime in cocaine and amphetamines users and, specifically, the use of "date rape drugs" to victimize other people during a party or a rave, while crime related drug and property crimes are higher in marijuana users. Finally, alcohol and non-prescription medical drugs, may involve violence offences and more serious criminal activities. However, it is not possible to give an unidirectional interpretation of this phenomenon, but one needs to consider the other influence factors, such as the social and cultural background, often characterized by the culture of deviance, actually diffuse in specific neighborhoods and families, which often mediate between individual and social domains.

On this base, the focus was also on environmental criminology and sociological theories to understand the incidence that social control and typologies of contest could affect juvenile delinquency. These theories found some characteristics that are related to juvenile criminality such as low SES, degraded and abandoned places and use of drugs in the neighborhood, which involve a decrease in perceived social control and a higher involvement in criminality. Another important aspect considered was population size and geographical areas; metropolitan areas are more like to develop criminality rather than rural areas and the South is more affected by organized and violent crimes than the North. These results are heterogenous and other studies are needed to provide stronger evidence on the influence of these characteristics in crime rate.

The interaction between familial, individual, behavioral and environmental factors is not a linear but a circular process, defined by reciprocity and interactive influence. Also, future researches should consider the correlated variables for each factor; for instance, family system include the structure of the family and the emotional and cognitive bonds between family members; neighborhood is also associated to the personal perception of risk and the satisfaction for the services offered also from a subjective point of view.

CHAPTER 2. JUVENILES JUSTICE INVOLVED, DESISTANCE AND SOCIAL REHABILITATION

2.1 Normative or deviant? Personal and Social Identity during Adolescence

The concept of deviance is strongly associated to the social and cultural norms of a specific historical period; these norms are co-building and shared from who play a role in the social context. From this point of view, the term “to divert” linked to crime, means broke the social agreement and failing to comply with the established rules and norms. However, since the norms are correlated to a specific historical and cultural context, the concept of deviance is relative and can be modified based on the evolution of the same context. For this reason, we can affirm that deviance is not an ontological characteristic of the individual but rather the social response which deviates from the norm. Therefore, De Leo and Patrizi (2002) describes deviance as, first of all, a social construct influenced by personological, environmental and family factors, and also by decision making process, based on the interaction of the social and behavioral elements of an individual, who may decide to adhere or not to certain shared norms. Social norms cited above, can be formal and informal. The first one is normative constraint translated into precepts, codified and regulated, while the second one consists of customs and describe the cohesion of a social group or community. The rule within a social group performs the task of anticipating behavioral expectations, if it is disregarded it would involve reactions of disapproval and sanction that would focus on restoring homeostasis (Frazzetto & Volpini, 2013). Shared norms and social expectations define the role of an individual, associating also thinking and behaviors. Deviate from the norm involves a transgression or adherence to the assigned role, based on the context of belonging; the social role, confirmed and reinforced by the context can be both positive and negative and can influence the prejudice or social stigma (Ciampi, 2017; Moore, Stuewig & Tangney, 2016).

According to social psychology, two considerable concepts in both normative and criminal development exists: first, personal identity, which describes and represents the individual from a wide perspective, in order to promote his/her interaction with others and the context and secondly, the role based on the expectations about specific tasks, behaviors, attitudes, values and mutual relations and which are part of the individuals as a consequence of the position that he/she has in

the context and on the performed activities in the social group. Erik H. Erikson and J.M. Erikson (2018) has devoted his studies to the problems connected to the development of identity, asserting that the feeling of identity is comparable to the organization of a coherent, homogeneous and continuous image of the essence of the personality. According to him, the identity formation is a process that develops over the entire existence and is realized through the subsequent symbolization with significant models and through the roles proposed and assumed from time to time during life experiences. This process has its climax during adolescence, when starting the most demanding social experiences, characterized by the reconsideration of interpersonal relationships with parents and a consequent questioning of the rules and behaviors learned during childhood. When this reconstruction of relationships and roles do not work this may become a problematic identity development. If during adolescence a problematic or criminal behavior is identified, the expectations of others may be negative. This alters and shapes the identity and image of the individual who thinks he/she can do nothing but accept the negative attitudes that others expect from him/her, confirming the idea of the latter and realizing the so-called "prophecy that is self-fulfilling". The opposite occurs when the expectations of the group, the family or the context are positive, thus resulting in the positive identity of the person.

Therefore, society, groups and the family continually confirm the sense of identity of the individual, through positive or negative reinforcements such as gratifications, frustrations, judgments and evaluations. In severe cases characterized by exclusion from the group, marginalization, isolation, complication, stigmatization and imprisonment, the society condemns and mortifies the individual, exposing the person to a "negative identity", which is a label that may become part of the thinking of the individual and which may influence the rest of his/her life. As suggested by the Labelling Theory (McIntosh & Rock, 2018) the individual recognizes him/herself as a person with social, negative values, attributed by others, assuming a conforming identity and, in the case of antisocial and deviant conduct, developed and maintained it over the time. The Labelling Theory recovers the assumption of symbolic interactionism (Downes, Rock & McLaughlin, 2016), according to which the interactions between social actors, the expectations, the meaning of the actions performed, and the phenomena of marginalization and exclusion are more relevant than the objective behaviors. This definition shifts the focus from the action that connotes a person as deviant or antisocial to the social reaction and the concept of deviant label. The authors of this theory overturn the problem, affirming that the one who is considered deviant is not so because he commits certain actions, but because society labels him as such. Indeed, the social reaction has the role of define the person and his/her behavior as deviant, which is a definition created by society itself. Deviant individuals are considered by society as outsiders and

their antisocial conducts are used by the society to define them as deviant and to compare them with those who conform to the rules. Deviants and antisocial people need to exist to maintain a balance among good and bad, deviance and normative, the social group and the outsiders. These concepts are linked to the stigma and to the criminal stereotype (Ciampi, 2017).

Being labeled as delinquent or criminal during adolescence increases the risk of developing a deviant identity and criminal career, establishing a deviant role. On this line, Mailloux (Ponti & Betsos, 2008) describes the importance of not underestimating the negative expectations of parents and significant persons towards children in order to prevent them from developing a negative identity in adulthood (Moore, Tangney & Stuewig, 2016).

Another element of considerable importance is the “status”, characterized by the rights and duties of the person and based in part on what a person is, namely sex, age, ethnicity, economic position; on the other side from what the person does, from his/her actions and his/her behaviors. Each status is linked to social, cultural and juridical norms, which regulate and form the role of the individual in the context in which he/she lives. The concept of role is characterized by the awareness of those who occupy that role on what others expect from him/her and this reflects on personal identity, so in most cases the person tends to have an identity that conforms to this role. Nevertheless, the role is not necessarily imposed by the context, in fact, there is a prescribed role, such as the student who has the task of learning and the teacher who has the task of teaching, but also a subjective role, the independent choice of undertaking a profession instead of another and the role played, determined by what the individual does and how he does it. These aspects, however, derive from a personal decision which could be addressed by the context and by the role imposed, but in any case, always retains a margin of autonomy in choosing. If a person interiorizes a negative role from disqualifying status, this is more likely to crystallize and consolidate the negative role both for oneself and for others. This stabilization of negative role and identity is common in people who are justice involved in correctional institutions and prisons. According to Goffman (Goodman, 2017) these places are called “total institution” because they are based on a global involving of the individual, on manipulation of their personalities and on limiting their perspectives. The institution strips people of their previous identity, depersonalizing them, making an automaton without conscience or criticism, following the imposed rules and causing them to perceive themselves in a passive way and without ambitions. Total institution like prisons convince individuals that they are not capable of doing anything positive other than committing an offence. This is a representative of the role imposed by the context. The concepts cited above may play an important role in interventions on juvenile delinquency.

Nowadays, although there have been great strides in the management of the youth justice involved (JI) and their social rehabilitation, the prevalent thinking is still based on providing occupational activities in Youth Detention Centers as a form of control to make juveniles conform to the Center and social context. These perspectives do not consider the adolescents as individuals with a personal identity, social role, experiences and understanding of his/her reasons, but only as object to correct. This process compromises the possibility for the adolescents to desist from crime.

2.2 Juvenile Delinquency: From Plight to Criminality

In order to understand antisocial behavior in relation with uneasiness in youths, it is appropriate to define the differences between deviance or antisocial behavior, criminality and plight, that are interconnected but not equivalent concepts. The term *deviance* derives from a statistical concept linked to the departing from the average. On the same line, is possible to identify with this term a series of anomalous behaviors which diverge from social customs and shared norms, based on a comparison between what is common and what is uncommon. The concept of deviance was later generalized and today collects all those behaviors that provoke social reactions of repulsion; since this concept seems connected to a negative, moral, value judgment from the society, which is not necessarily connected to crime but also involves all those actions that provokes social disapproval; while the term *antisocial behavior*, connected with deviance, is used mostly to describe any violation of formal and informal rules, oppositional acts against society. The two terms describe the same concept but from a different point of view; the deviance is focused on the person, who represents his/her actions; while the antisocial behavior describes not the person but the action, changing the perspective and focusing on the rehabilitation of the person who has a conduct problem and not on the person as a problematic individual.

According to Stephen Crossley, as described in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (2015), in order to promote social rehabilitation, scientific community may focus on the term antisocial behavior to break the perceived association with criminality and delinquency which emphasize the social and criminal stigma, especially in juveniles. This changing of perspective also arises from the necessity of educators, social workers and psychologists to pay more attention towards social rehabilitation, rather than only to relinquish the punishment of young people defined as *deviant subjects*, a definition which removes from the humanization and rehabilitation of the justice system. Both concepts are connected to the personal identity, the social role and the social control already mentioned in Shaw and McKay's Social Disorganization Theory in 1942 (Bellair, 2017), which mediate the relationship between the social role and the respect for the norms. There is a positive/negative social control, exercised

through a system of rewards and punishments, positive and negative reinforcements that encourage or discourage a given behavior, in this line exist different type of control:

Formal/informal control is regulated by the rules and varies proportionally to the complexity of the social structure in which it is applied.

Internal control refers to the person's ability to internalize the learned rules, learning to self-manage and self-regulate the behavior in compliance with them.

External control is maintained by professional figures such as the policeman or the judge, trained to guarantee social control, recognized by the society to better ensure safety and compliance with the rules.

According to this point of view deviance becomes criminality, describing a path from psychological and social concept to juridical concept, when it threatens social well-being, representing a challenge to the system and security, entailing an intervention that involves the imprisonment of those who commit criminal actions and the restoration of the consequent social homeostasis. During adolescence it is important to distinguish between antisocial behavior as a form of delinquency and antisocial behavior derived from rebellion or distress. Adolescents are involved in social homeostasis that groups and individuals seek to maintain by relying on and sometimes clinging to the social norms; in the meanwhile youths maturing their expectations and their knowledge about society and relationships and they constantly look for emotions and answers, considering less the rules and being more attracted to the desire to discover and experience new sensations. This constant search often involves risky conducts, making it more difficult to distinguish between the norm and the deviance. Indeed, this period of life is characterized by sudden changes, need for autonomy and closeness, conflicts and insecurities that can involve transgressive behaviors and rebellion. According to the developmental point of view, it could be asserted that the tendency to deviate or to behave anti-socially, characterizes adolescents and is called “normative deviation”. The deviation defined as normative is the one we can find in all those adolescents who feel for the first time the feeling of going beyond their limits. Obviously, this does not mean that all adolescents feel the need to “escape” from the rules, but that transgression is a component that is part of this phase of development.

In this line, distinguish two forms of deviances is needed:

Contingent deviance which is part of the development process and involves a series of transgressive actions and behaviors that decrease, ending during adulthood, is part of the concept of the normative deviation;

Persistent deviance which is not associated to a specific period of development but rather to a behavioral modality which leads the individual towards criminality, increasing over time and affirm as a criminal career (De Leo & Patrizi, 2002).

For this reason, it is important to pay more attention to the behavior implemented by the adolescents rather than to the meaning expressed through these actions, which are not always clear and linear, but mostly symbolic and hidden. As is noted, an antisocial behavior could be an expression of *plight* through which adolescents communicate their negative emotions and feelings such as confusion, interpersonal difficulties, which involves a situation of suffering and discomfort and may manifest on individual, social, family and friendship level. The *plight* involves a progressive closure in themselves that imply an increasing of confrontation with peer group in order to belong. For the adolescent who feels a strong sense of unease, it is not the action that is covered with meaning but the underlying motivation. Consequently, it is difficult to define illegal actions committed by youths as conscious choice, because the evaluation of the consequences is sometimes confused and unclear for them. The concept of distress has been explored by pedagogy and psychology and has been defined as a condition that derives from subjective perception. The distress could be perceived by other people but is not always clearly visible; many teenagers lead parallel lives and stand up on a split reality, based on given labels, such as the *model student* at school and *the bully* with the peer group.

According the sociology youths' distress derive from a perceived problem on the relationship between individual and his/her context; for instance, one of the most common and studied phenomena of distress among adolescents is bullying, in which the bully could express intra-family violence, negligence or abuse through his/her violent actions; or could still have a strong fear of being marginalized and isolated from others if perceived as weak, showing his/her superiority through bullying. If the family or the institution is not interested in youth' distress, it may become chronic and involve behavioral and psychological problems, such as addiction, delinquency, mental and physical diseases (Cardinali & Luzi, 2016). Finally, the concept of *criminality* is related to illegal behaviors, punished by the law, identify with the juridical term "offence". It is important to distinguish between the dynamic of a crime from the motivation, for instance the majority of the juvenile offences is connected to property crimes, called also Mickey mouse crime, linked to poor social and family context or to the criminal peer group. Indeed, the motivation of this kind of crimes is related to a specific environmental condition or it is a part of the psychological characteristics of the adolescents (Ponti & Betsos, 2008). In Italy, the most common offence diffuse among adolescents is organized crimes offences, especially in the South of Italy, in which adolescents are involved in drug dealing and traffic of foreigners (Ibidem).

Crimes such as homicide and sexual violence are less diffuse among adolescents but present in rare cases and in specific context. As mentioned above, criminality in adolescents assumes different reasons than in adulthood. For this reason, it is important to analyze the meaning of juvenile crimes according to the developmental perspective.

2.2.1 Organized Crime and Mafia

In Southern Italy, it is common for juveniles to be involve in organized crime, especially in Mafia (Lo Verso, 2002; Craparo, Ferraro & Lo Verso, 2017).

The main characteristics of Mafia organization are:

- The building of a financial empire by committing various crimes
- The hierarchical structured associational physiognomy based on absolute obedience and silence, also called “omertà”
- Illegal goods and services such as prostitution, smuggling, drug trafficking, weapons trafficking and gambling
- Control and economic sovereignty

Juveniles are involved in this system sometimes because their own family is part of the organization, as a consequence they cannot refuse to be part of the system (Pace & Guzzo, 2012; Lo Verso, 2002). Moreover, participation in organized crime could also be the only solution for many youths who live in poverty; indeed, young people who do not perceive possibilities for the future perceive Mafia as a way to make a career and to have everything they need; specially as a consequence of their lack of trust towards institution (Lo Verso & Lo Coco, 2015). In Southern Italy it is also common for juveniles to be involved in organized crime as a part of interiorize cultural stigma, based on the context and on the society; they may have to carry on the family name and reputation (Giorgi, Giunta, Coppola & Lo Verso, 2017). The mafia-type criminal associations in Italy are distinguished in the Sicilian Mafia, in the Campanian Camorra, in the Calabrian Ndrangheta and in the Apulian Sacra Corona Unita.

An organized criminal association defines itself as mafia-type when those who are part of it use intimidation and the associative constraint to commit a crime, use it to have control of profitable economic activities and to establish contact with the politic of the State. Through investment in drug trafficking, mafia-type criminal organizations extend their power to a multinational level and this is the main offence in which juvenile are involved by the organization (Ponti & Betsos, 2008). In order to be part of the organization, family educates juveniles according to Mafia’s values and rules; family is a constraint that avoids external infiltration, becoming the lifeblood of mafia organizations, in which women and mothers have the role of educating their children according to

the canons of crime. Children are the new levers to make the organization grow (Allum & Marchi, 2018).

Clinical studies show that illegal acts in Mafia subcultures are conditioned by antisocial models which lead to an identification with deviance. This subculture gives a different perception of laws and rules, leading to assimilate amorality and non-ethical principles. From this point of view, this education is against the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child which proclaims that the transmitted values from parents to children should be based on the ideals promulgated by the Agreement of the United Nations; while Mafia families educate their children according to the principles of anti-state and crime (Di Blasi, Cavani, La Grutta, Lo Baido & Pavia, 2015; Iacolino, Pellerone & Ferraro, 2017). Thus, youths are involved in problematic conduct, crimes, oppositional, aggressive and risky behavior, violence, poor school attendance, extortion and violence against their schoolmates and peers. According to the Juvenile Court, transmitting to children values that adhere to the canons of crime is a violation of the parental duties and generates educational and behavioral problems during adolescence and adulthood. In order to provide civic/administrative services, it has to be shown that the child lives in a stigmatized setting, without any planning for the future, and being in constant contact with the Mafia' organization (Ponti & Betsos, 2008). For example, if one or more family members is accused of association with the Mafia, administration may remove children from the family to provide an alternative life to the deviant culture and safeguard his/her still developing personality.

2.2.2 Property Crimes and Drug Dealing

The crime most prevalent among young people is property crime, usually linked to financial reason. Indeed, during adolescence steal may assume multiple meaning “I want to be someone” not “I want to have something”. Money, wealth and success are priority goals of our cultural system, so many people are pursuing these goals through illegal methods. The impulsivity associated to the thefts is not only linked to money but also to objects of consumption, a widespread tendency among youths, who often commit cars' thefts.

The illegal action could become a way to affirm themselves, to feel powerful and worthy of attention, or it may be derived from a sense of boredom. In this case, theft is linked to *ludic delinquency* because juveniles interpret this as a play or a way to have fun. In other cases, theft may be interpreted as work, in order to survive and to gain independence from parents. When thefts are considered as work, the process becomes an organized business. In this case, it assumes the meaning of convenient purpose and is more likely to evolve in criminal career in adulthood. This developmental evolution is often linked to *poor delinquency* and associated to a specific

criminal subculture, called “malavita”. While property crimes are associated with specific situation, they are not professional but occasional or situational. In a lot of cases youths commit occasional property crimes with peers for fun or to show their power. Additionally, many crimes have an indirect relationship with profit issues; for example, stealing objects that may represent a wealthy social status, such as cars, mopeds, and expensive cellphones. However, the possession of this objects only provides a temporary satisfaction on adolescents.

There is also a playful delinquency, such as non-utilitarian theft, which derives from the need to vent emotional tension, for the sake of risk or to acquire prestige in the peer group. These motivations are common among young people who have immature personalities.

Drug dealing is an illegal activity which has different interpretations and motivations; indeed, it is possible to divide it in some categories. In fact, the small drug dealing is often an extension of consumption and is understood as a sharing between friends -who get the substance acquires prestige-. Thus, the illegal act is specific of a certain phase of adolescence and does not continue into adulthood. Additionally, when drug dealing is associated to the youth culture and is combined with personal and social problems, it may be used as a way to have fun during a party with friends or to face feelings of sadness or insecurity. Adolescents who sell drugs in specific context and situation are more likely to develop a drug addiction in adulthood rather than to become professional drug dealers. In other situations, the drug dealing may take place in non-disadvantaged social contexts, where the parents' expectations lead the adolescent to look for alternative routes that become a sort of escape from family rules. Drug dealing can become dangerous for the development of an addiction rather than a criminal career, because it is linked to a specific need of autonomy and recognition of one's identity. Contrary, when drug dealing is considered as a form of work and survival for those who come from contexts in which they do not perceive alternatives or when adolescents are hired by organized crime to carry out drug dealing activities, they are more likely to become professional drug dealers and to perpetrate this criminal behavior during adulthood.

2.2.3 Aggression and Homicide

Despite the current evidences and understanding about the use of violence during adolescence, homicides committed by youths continue to increase and to affect public health (Cornell & Malone 2017). From 1970 to 1980 adolescent homicides increased by 31%; from 1980 to 1990 by 62% while from 1990 to 2000 it decreased by 44%; from 2000 to 2010 by 13% and from 2010 to 2014 by 20% (Crespi & Rigazio-DiGilio, 1996; Price & Khubchandani, 2017). Indeed, in 2014 homicide was the third leading cause of death for teens between 15-19 years of

age and the weapons mostly used were firearms, especially in the urban industrial areas of the United States (Ibidem). Also, in 2014, 10% of homicide arrest was committed by adolescents younger than 18 years with 8% being females, and 92% males. In 96% of the cases death involved only one victim.

Aggression comes in different forms: verbal aggression, which is translatable into crimes of insult, slander and defamation; physical aggression, which is comprehensive of beatings, injury, torture, sadism and may lead to murder and aggression against objects, such as destruction and damage to property. Moreover, it is possible to find crimes in which aggressive conduct is transitory, as a result of a decrease in normal inhibitory capacities and emotional control; other cases in which aggression is a habitual way of interacting with others and which is part of a person's lifestyle. Aggression may be also cultural, linked to the value of violence. Thus, the culture of violence, the physical and psychological supremacy of an abusive parent, or the use of violence to solve conflicts may be take into consideration.

Aggression and offence linked to violent behavior can be considered in various ways, such as a response to frustration, a reaction to fear, the result of identification with an ideal, or the need for differentiation from parents. In general aggression is towards parents in order to promote the sense of autonomy and at school against peers to affirm power or supremacy. It is important to consider different level of aggressive behavior, murder being the more severe.

Evidences on juvenile homicide offenders (JHOs) show gender difference in the background and in the types of murder and victims. For instance, females have higher rates of childhood abuse, mental health problems and substance abuse disorders. Thus, they are more likely to kill people that they know, such as parents, friends, their own children and for personal conflict reasons. Females are more likely to kill other females than males, while males tend to kill strangers. Furthermore, females use weapons physically less demanding, such as, drugs, poison and firearms than males use more during homicide or other forms of crime (Chan, Heide & Beauregard, 2019).

One of the most common risks linked to violence during adolescence is the prolonged exposure to violence and maltreatment in the family. The co-occurrence of other factors, such as high crime and poor neighborhoods increases the possibility for youths to develop a crime conduct. These are risk factors and they are not directly the cause of violence. According to the National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence in 2011(Ibidem) among youths between 14-17 years of age, 17% had experienced assault with a weapon, 41% of them maltreatments, 26% emotional abuse, 22% neglect and 18% physical abuse. Furthermore, 28% witness their own parents committing a crime by assaulting or shooting someone.17% of adolescents themselves were

engaged in criminal activities. From a comparative study among JHOs and non-violent offenders shows four characteristics which differentiated the first group from the second one: criminal and violent family, gang participation, alcohol abuse and severe education and physical abuse. Also, JHOs have high rates of neurological and neonatal problems, such as injuries, sleep problems and visual and speech impairments (Chan, Heide & Beauregard, 2019). According to Italian professor Gatti et al. (2000) the adolescent who commits a serious crime such as killing someone can do it knowingly or without realizing the consequences of his/her action. He describes the distribution of the phenomenon as follows: in the South homicide is more connected to organized crime and Mafia; and in the North of Italy is more linked to family conflict. Moreover, a factor that influences homicide rate is also citizen duties, related to family and cultural education; for instance, in North Italy the index of citizen duties is higher than in the South and the homicidal rate is lower. The opposite situation is found in the South.

These studies indicate the importance of formal education and support for family to learn parenting skills and parent-children communication in order to promote emotional development and avoid aggressive behavior during adolescence.

2.2.4 Sexual Aggressive Behavior

Ample evidences show that children are often victims of sexual abuse, but they are also perpetrators (Ryan, & Otonichar, 2016; O'Shaughnessy, 2002). Current estimates show that 20% of rapes, 50% of child sexual assaults are committed by young adolescents and preadolescents and in the majority of the cases, sexual assault happens among friends and relatives (Bentovim, 2018; Jones, 2018); indeed sibling incest is the most common type of sexual abuse among minors. According to the Social Service Offices for Minors (USSM) in Italy in 2017, 1.045 sexual violence and 125 child molestations involved juvenile sex offenders (Dipartimento Giustizia minorile e di comunità – Sezione statistica, 2018).

The definition of Juvenile Sex Offenders (JSO) describes young perpetrators between 12 and 18 years old who commit sexual crime such as harassment, rape, exhibitionism or voyeurism against a child, a peer or an adult (Van Den Berg, Bijleveld & Hendriks, 2017). The literature research indicates that juvenile sexual offenders are a heterogeneous population with different characteristics: common experiences in childhood such as neglect, violent and dysfunctional families, separation from parents and placement away from home, experience of sexual, physical and psychological abuse, academic and behavioral problem and psychopathology (Hunter, Hazelwood, & Slesinger, 2000; C. Veneziano et al., 2000). A range of 25% and 50% of JSO

experienced physical abuse during childhood; less than one third resided with both parents and was victim of negative family communication, low support and aggressive statements.

Data from Italian Social Service Offices for Juvenile Justice Minors identify some characteristics of JSO: 99% of the sample subjects are males. Of the JSO sample 55% were adolescents, 81% Italian, 71% attended middle school, while 15% primary school, (denoting a high failure rate and early school leaving which leads to poor teaching and social skills); 42% of these subjects did not carry out study activities and 73% were unemployed. Analyzing the difference between violent adolescents and JSO, Lussier and Davies (2011) found that sex offenders are less antisocial, have fewer delinquent peers, have a lower substance abuse problem and a more atypical sexual interest and they suffered from sexual victimization.

Regarding JSO' evolutive trajectories and the onset of sexual crime they are heterogeneous. Indeed, some JSO may begin their behaviors with the onset of puberty, some begin at very young ages; studies on adult sex offenders show that often their deviant behavior during adolescence and continue over time (Kim, Benekos, & Merlo, 2016; Krahé & Berger, 2017). However, sexual crimes do not always persist in adulthood. According to Moffitt' person-oriented approach (1993) two typologies of developmental trajectories in sexual offending exists, one is called "life course persisters – LCPs" in which individuals transgress throughout their entire life cycle and the other one is called "adolescent limited -AL offenders" in which individuals commit sexual offence only during adolescence. Starting from this theory Lussier et al. (2012) suggest that in the group of "adolescent limited- AL offenders" deviant behaviors appear late, around 14 years old, after which, the level of sexual transgression decreases rapidly becoming extinct at the end of adolescence, with only 2% of recurrence in adulthood. In the second group called by the author "life course persisters – LCPs", the deviant sexual behaviors start in early age, with a peak at 12; their level of activity decreases from that point forward, but very slowly and then reappears around the age of 30. These considerations suggest that for the AL group, sexual offense is connected to the development and is extinguished during adulthood; while the LCP group is characterized by specific individual and personal factors, not connected to the process of adolescence identity construction and is more likely to remain stable beyond the evolutionary phase, entailing a high risk of committing sexual crimes.

Regarding the types of JSO, it is possible to identify three groups: sexually assaultive juveniles, pedophilic juveniles and a mixed group (Righthand & Welch, 2001). Male rapists and sexually assaultive juveniles select victims of their own age or older, especially female victims (Veneziano C., & Veneziano L., 2002); while male pedophilic juveniles tend to have poor social skills and choose young victims, 60% older than 12 and two thirds younger than 6. Finally, mixed

group included juveniles who perpetrated more than one class of sex offense and the ages of their victims varied considerably.

Starting from the studies on JSO proposed by Gray and Pithers in 1993, they illustrate the concept of sexually aggressive children (SAC), described by the atypical and sexually aggressive behavior perpetrated before age of 12 and concerned: forced, tricked, coercive sexual behavior, nudity, genital exposure, voyeurism, kissing, fondling, masturbation, oral-genital contact, use of pornography, digital penetration and vaginal and anal intercourse that may develop in sexual crimes during adolescence and adulthood. Many theories have partially explained the etiology of SAC' correlates. These elements involved in sexual crimes, are often derived from abuse or maltreatment during childhood, or they might express frustration and repression towards sexuality and/or they may hide a sense of impotence and insecurity in social and affective relationships. According to the cycle of abuse, people who had report sexual abuse during his/her childhood could have more probability to become perpetrators during adolescence and adulthood (Plummer, & Cossins, 2018). According to the psychodynamic theories, as a victim, the child identifies his/herself with the aggressor and reexperiences the sexual abuse in the role of perpetrator in order to reduce his anxiety and to counteract the traumatic experience. This sexual aggression may be also subconscious and derived from a dissociation operated by the victim, in this case the perpetrator splits his victim identity from his perpetrator one (Allen, Tellez, Wevodau, Woods, Percosky, 2014; Artime, McCallum & Peterson, 2014).

Another important component is the parental sexual education and family' context which play a protective role in future affective relationships. When child-parent relationship is characterized by embarrassment about sexuality, sexual behaviors may become a taboo and children could develop difficulties in managing impulsivity that often results from early affective deficiencies. Indeed, the family has a critical influence during childhood in developing and maintaining dysfunctional behaviors (Piquero, A.R., Jennings, W.G., Diamond, B. et al, 2016). According to the Object Relations Theory exposed by Guntrip in 1967 (1971;2018) and to the Attachment Theory (Bowlby, 1969; Van Rosmalen, Van der Horst & Van der Veer, 2016) abusive acts of SAC are derived from an internalized model of behaviors developed and learned during childhood. As Bandura explains in his theory about vicarious learning (Bandura, 1977; Akers & Jennings, 2019) the continuous and reciprocal exposure to sexual violence and aggressive conducts may involve in sexual aggressive behaviors.

Finally, according to the theories cited above, aggressive sexual behaviors in youths could become a re-enactment of sexual abuse victimization in poor socialized and punitive families, such as victim-perpetrator hypothesis suggests (Gagnon, Lee & DePrince, 2017). This hypothesis was

confirmed by the traumagenic dynamics model that identifies four components which characterized abused children: traumatic sexualization, betrayal, powerlessness and stigmatization. These factors lead a distortion on the meaning of sexuality and become a way to manage stress events (Juster, Ouellet, Lefebvre-Louis, Sindi, Johnson, Smith & Lupien, 2016). Also, neglect or abuse during sexual and affective development may encourage sexual offending during adolescence and adulthood, establishing a connection among violence as a result of perceived dangerous word and humiliating and destructive relations that threatened the psychological integrity of the young person.

2.3 Italian Youth Detention Centers

In the Italian context 29 Social Service Offices for Minors (USSM) aim to intervene in every level of the criminal proceedings, from the moment the minor becomes a part of the criminal justice system, until the conclusion of his judicial process. According to the Italian judicial system a person can be tried and convicted from the age of 14 onwards; based on the same system, adolescents and young adults (14-25 years of age) are taken in charge by the Youth Detention Center.

The following social services for juvenile JI are involved:

First reception center (*Centro di prima accoglienza-CPA*) of which there are 25 of them and they temporarily shelter minors, who remains in the reception center for a maximum of ninety-six hours. During the validation with the judge (*Giudice per le Indagini Preliminari GIP*) it is assessed whether there are sufficient elements to validate the arrest or detention and afterwards the judge decides on the application of one of the four precautionary measures envisaged for minors (prescriptions, placement at home, placement in community and precautionary custody);

Community (*Comunità*) of which there are 12 and can be ministerial or private. Communities have a strong openness to the external environment and host minors to the precautionary measure envisaged by Article 22 of Presidential Decree 448/88 (placement in community); the community may also be ordered as a form of probation or as an alternative measure or security; also, some communities are annexed to the reception centers;

Youth Detention Center (*Istituto Penale Minorile-IPM*) of which there are 17 and the measure of pre-trial detention and imprisonment are carried out; the IPM are structurally designed in order to provide adequate responses to youth users and to the requirements connected with the execution of the judicial authority's provisions; the treatment activity is carried out by a multidisciplinary team, in which there is a stable socio-educational reference operator belonging to the Administration; training, professional, cultural and animation activities are carried out in collaboration with operators of other educational professions, such as private social and voluntary

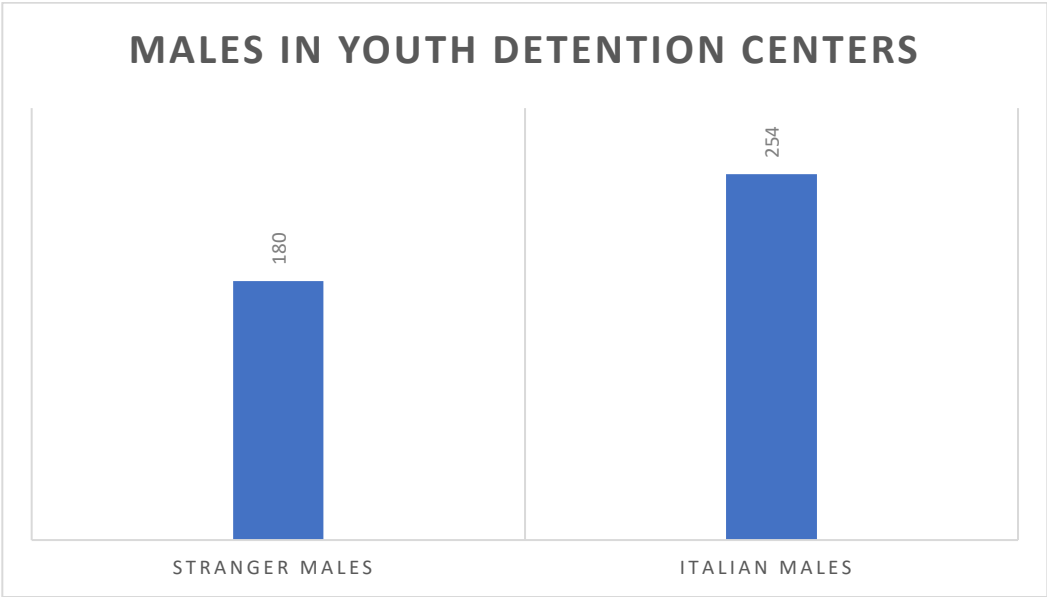
associations; in the IPM there is a staff of the Penitentiary Police Corps who should be adequately trained in the relationship with adolescents. The Administration also manages the multi-functional day centers (CDPs), that is a non-residential juvenile service for day care of minors and young adults in the penal area or in situations of social hardship and at risk of deviance, even if not subjected to criminal proceedings. The CDP offers educational, training-work, as well as recreational and sports activities.

According to the report of the Ministry of Justice for the year 2018 (Zanghi, Toraro, Nolfo, Condrò & Pergolini) in recent years society witness an increasing application of community placement and other alternative judicial measures, in order to avoid detention and to promote educational needs (Table 3).

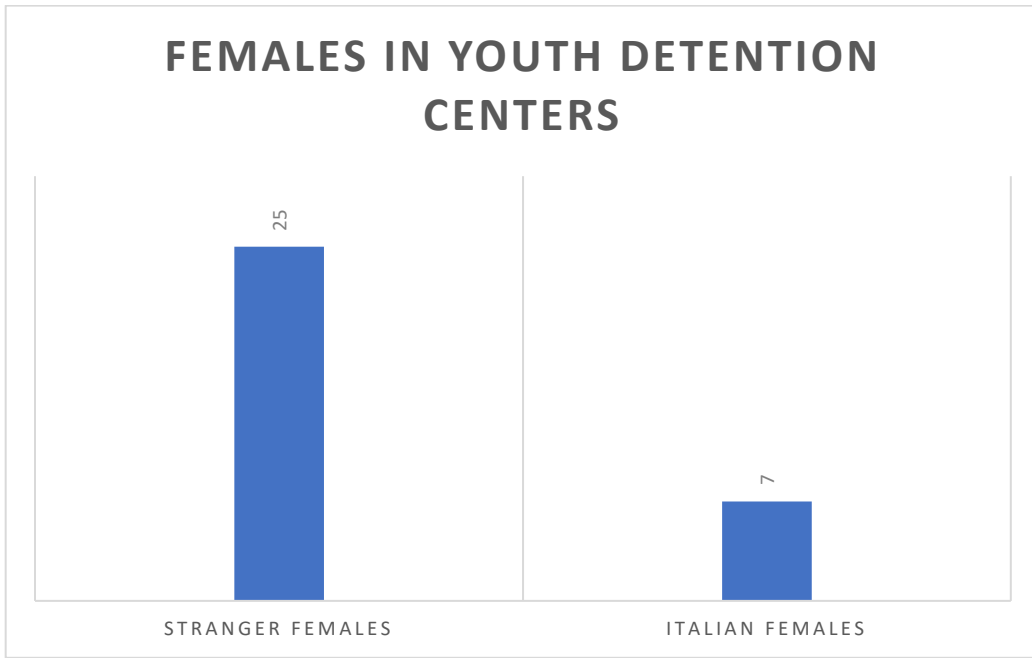
Table 3. Juveniles JI in Residential Service until February 15, 2018. Informative Service for Juveniles (SISM)

<i>Services for Juveniles</i>	<i>Gender</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	
First reception Center	2	3	5
Youth Detention Center	434	32	466
Ministerial Community	20	0	20
Private Community	926	73	999

The collocation in IPM is mostly used for Italian males (Graphic 1); while the females are mainly foreign, from countries as Yugoslavia and Romania (Graphic 2).

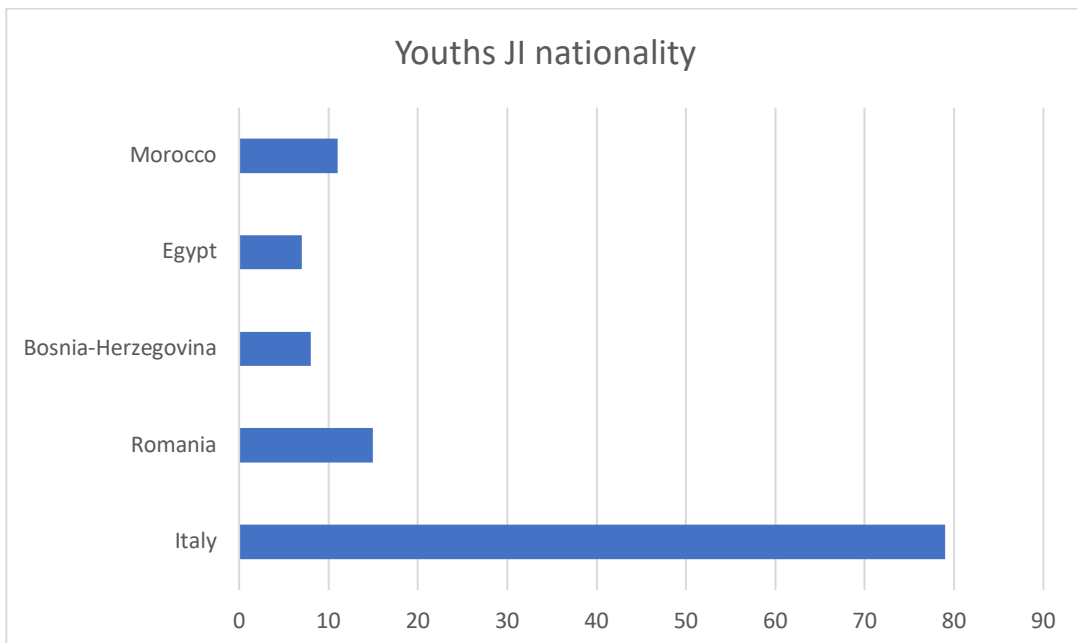


Graphic 1. Male juveniles JI in Youth Detention Centers, divided by nationality, until February 15, 2018. Informative Service for Juveniles (SISM).



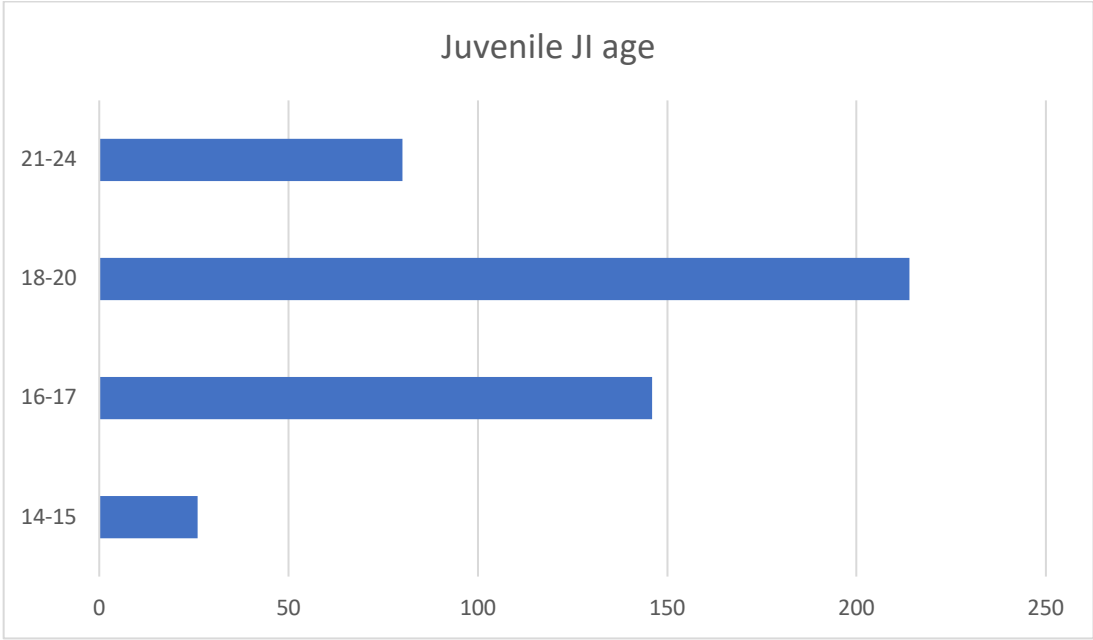
Graphic 2. Female juveniles JI in Youth Detention Centers, divided by nationality, until February 15, 2018. Informative Service for Juveniles (SISM).

The presence of foreigners is more evident in residential services, while Italian youths JI are located in Youth Detention Centers; data show that in recent years the typical nationalities of juvenile crime are by people from Morocco, Romania, Albania and the countries of the former Yugoslavia, still prevalent, have been joined by other nationalities, singularly not very relevant in numerical terms, but which have contributed to making the overall picture of users multi-ethnic and more complex (Graphic 3).



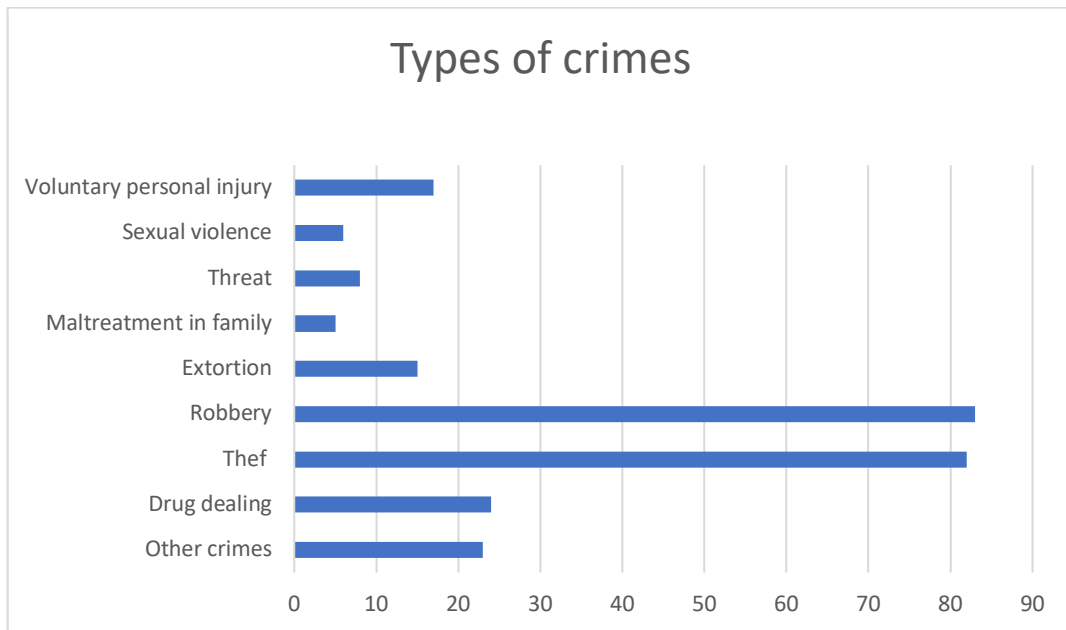
Graphic 3. Juveniles JI in Youth Detention Centers, divided by provenience, until February 15, 2018. Informative Service for Juveniles (SISM).

Regarding the age of the youths JI the number of young adults has increased, after the Law Decree of 26 June 2014 n. 92, converted with modification into Law 11th August 2014, n.117, according to which the minor who commits a crime can remain in the IPM up to the age of 25 (Graphic 4).



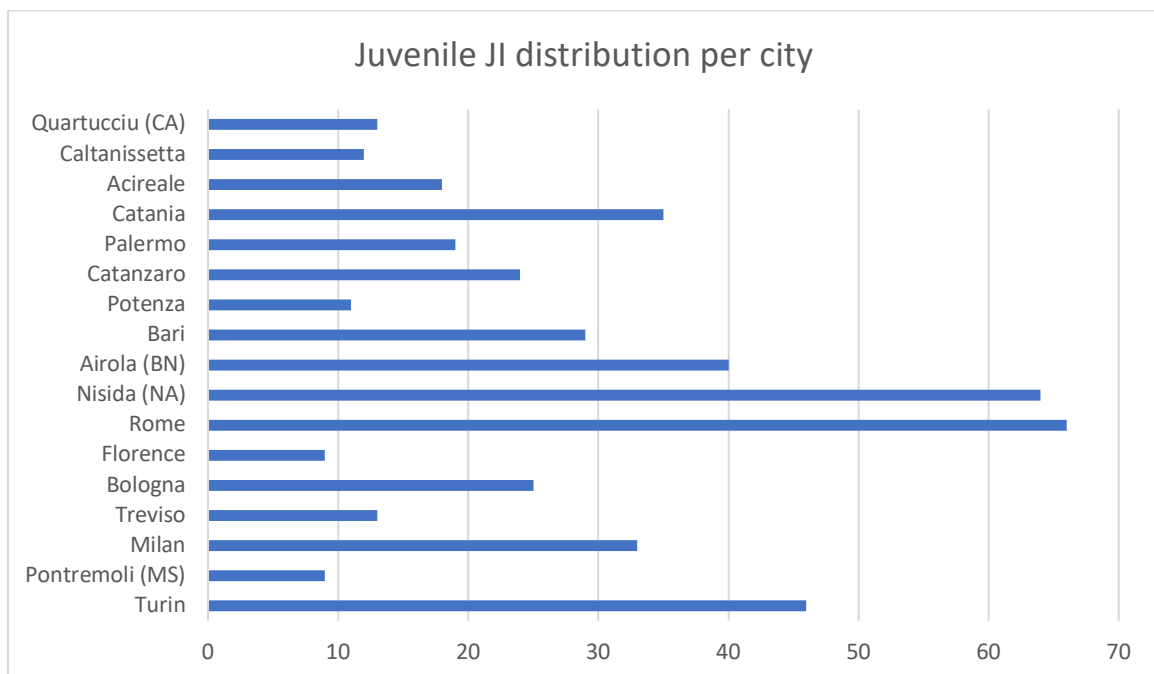
Graphic 4. Juveniles JI in Youth Detention Centers, divided by range of age, until February 15, 2018. Informative Service for Juveniles (SISM).

Juvenile delinquency is characterized by the prevalence of crimes against property and, in particular, theft and robbery crimes. Violations of the provisions on drugs are also frequent, while among the crimes against the person, voluntary personal injuries prevail (Graphic 5).



Graphic 5. Juveniles JI in Youth Detention Centers, divided by types of crimes, until February 15, 2018. Informative Service for Juveniles (SISM).

Concerning the distribution per cities, in 2018 the Youth Detention Center of Rome was the most crowded followed by Nisida (Naples) and Turin (Graphic 6).



Graphic 6. Juvenile JI in Youth Detention Centers divided per city, until February 15, 2018. Informative Service for Juveniles (SISM).

Italian IPM are regulated by different rules and schedules which define the quality of life of the juvenile's justice involved (JJI), marked by various activities such as sports, school, work,

relationships with families and entertainment. For instance, in Bari, after pre-selection, JJI can watch the channels of the Sky platform, a significant offer, because it supports the sporting or other ludic passions and enhances educational values, specially through of some history and science channels. Regarding relations with families and friends, a maximum of six hours of face to face per month of interactions with relatives are permitted, a maximum of four monthly calls of ten minutes each and there are some restrictions to friends. During adolescence and early adulthood these limits must be completely abolished, in order to facilitate and promote the permanence of relationships with family and friends. Foreigners constitute the majority of JJI in various Youth Detention Centers; these rules are not applicable to them because of their circumstances; for example, their relatives live in another country and long-distance calls are restricted. Otherwise every formative offer and social recovery, in the face of a forthcoming expulsion, loses its meaning. Foreigners JJI requires a reflection on the entire educational, training and treatment offer, in order to promote a program more suitable for them. According to the last published evaluation on the quality of life in the IPM during 2015, the rate of foreigners JJI is higher in the Center and in the North of Italy, while in the South there is a prevalence of Italian juveniles. For this reason, the organization may take into account the linguistic, cultural, social, family and economic needs of non-Italian JJI. Unfortunately, the presence of interpreters and cultural mediators is minimal and mostly totally insufficient. The staff of the Center cannot fill this communication gap; few know English and French and no one knows the Arabic language. In general it should be envisaged a revolution in professional figures; police officers who work in contact with juveniles do not wear a uniform and this is an important, because also symbolically attenuates the custodial function of the Center, but the presence of educators, and more generally of social workers and psychologists, is totally insufficient; while there is a large numerical presence of policemen. It is also important to address some of the issues forgotten in the criminal system and beyond, for example the needs related to sexuality, health information for young people in order for them to avoid violence, diseases and prejudices. For instance, in Potenza no information was given to juveniles on the transmission of infectious parasitic and sexual transmitted diseases, or contraception. Furthermore, since both minors and young adults share the same facilities, some detention centers try to divide them to avoid management problems; while others consider this as a useful integration in order to guarantee comparison and heterogeneity. In both cases, a professional and formative project is needed, based on education, work, ludic activities and social rehabilitation. However, Centers have no resources to provide elaborate productive projects based on the ranges of age and on specific educational needs. School education in IPM is difficult and problematic. The system should be able to dialogue with the different types

of conflict and problematic situations such as JJI past history and values of different cultures; it should also overcome prejudices and rigidity that force the normal school system inside the detention school system, and maintain the rules of the "school" in a context that differs from it. In the same line, professional education is important to boost individual resources and to promote social rehabilitation and on the decrease of recidivism. The educative and professional process in IPM is based on teaching content and developing skills starting from practical activities, an approach closer to JJI modality of learning. For instance, cooking course, carpentry, gardening or music are useful activities to develop math, science, language and other important elements of cultural and educational aspects.

In fact, as sanctioned by Law 354/1975, penitentiary treatment should be based on the principle of individualization, responding to specific educational needs of the juveniles. From the available data, there are no particular differences between North, Central and South Italy, as far as the training sectors are concerned, while the types of courses are different: professional training are more diffused in the South with courses ranging from a minimum of 200 to a maximum of 600 hours, divided into theoretical and practical lessons, often funded by the Regional Operational Plans of the European Social Fund; while professional labs and orientation are diffused in the North and in the Center of Italy.

The professional activities carried out at the Center of Milan deserve particular attention. In the center there were a bakery workshop and a wiring electrical panels lab, both turned into external work centers. Also, in the Center of Turin a "Chocolate Factory", a laboratory for the production and marketing of high-quality handmade chocolate was opened, made possible by a loan from Unicredit and the involvement of a historic brand of Turin chocolate. The activity has gained considerable consensus on the territory, and currently involves 16 young people who, after having attended a specific professional course held by maître chocolatier, have the opportunity to practice and take advantage of work grants. Two points of sale have therefore been opened outside the center.

Despite the innovative activities which promote integration and rehabilitation in some Italian Youth Detention Centers, there are still critical issues:

- Lack of institutional financing for the promotion of the professional training and for the job placement; failure to participate in regional, provincial grant for access to other funds;
- Inadequate availability of financial resources based on the Law 193/2000 which provides tax relief and reduction of social contributions for companies that hire detainees; scarce knowledge of these opportunities by companies and operators;

- Poor cross-over between demand and supply of job: the training offered is not in line with the real needs of the job market and with the professional profiles required by companies;
- Poor education about the citizen's booklet and the apprenticeship contract that allows the person to increase his chances to find a job;
- The absence of a planning of activities in order to organize future perspectives, due to the discontinuity of financial resources and intervention policies;
- Absence of monitoring after JJIs release which often leads to relapse;
- Difficulty in involving the context, which is often not sensitive enough to the problem.
- Lack of facilitation among productive activities within IPM and companies;
- Strong prejudices and social fear which provoke a lack of inclusion of the JJI released from Youth Detention Centers;
- Discontinuity of the experimental activities which had a good outcome;
- Precariousness or absence of a politic and social *governance* on the field.

Data reported below derive from the third and fourth reports on the condition of the Italian Youth Detention Centers by *Antigone*, social and cultural association in Rome. The following reports did not show the center of Florence that is not on the list (2015; 2017).

2.3.1 Insular Italy Youth Detention Centers

Insular Italy is composed of four Sicilian Youth Detention Centers, located in Acireale, Catania, Palermo and Caltanissetta and one Sardinian center which is in Quartucciu.

Acireale. The IPM of Acireale in province of Catania is an ancient building, originally a convent, which since the nineteenth century has been used as a penal structure for both women and men: a reformatory, a prison school, and after the D.P.R. n.448, assumed the current denomination. The Center is near to the city and sufficiently connected with the territory. The structure is divided in three floors and can host 20 male minors: on the ground floor there are the waiting room, the parcel control room, the staff room, the refectory, the kitchen, the educators office, the commander's office, the freshman's office, the interview room, the rooms for professional courses, the infirmary and the restroom. The only open space is a strolling courtyard where sports activities are also carried out; on the first floor there is the detection section, the chapel, the gym, the educational kitchen and the office of the prison officer; on the second floor a library, two classrooms, a room for musical activities, a theater, two small rooms used for sanitary

isolation and offices for the staff. JJI are involved in two projects, regards agriculture and trekking on the mountain; some JJI attends elementary and middle school and participate to the professional courses for assistant carpenter. Moreover, two JJI are trained as masons to take care of the maintenance of the center facility. The Center with social and cultural association promotes various activities such as musical laboratories, the theater, film club, soccer and basketball tournaments, library, expressive laboratories, recreational activities animated by scout groups, sailing courses and creative writing workshops. The Center is characterized by concessions with the Provincial Health Authority for health treatment; Community educational and therapeutic communities; cooperatives, associations involved in social work. The Center is characterized by limits regarding both the internal spaces and the external space of the structure. Due to the scarcity of physical spaces and the chronic lack of resources, especially security staff, there has never been a division of the juveniles into subgroups, but this could become a resource which facilitates inclusion among JJI during activities and to decrease the stereotyping of those who collaborate with the judiciary, those who are accused of sexual violence and also foreigners. This organization is more educative than coercion and rigidity, it also has a positive effect on the staff, which collaborate each other and work together in order to promote the well-being of the Detention Center and to implement interventions to protect the most fragile adolescents. For instance, in the Center it is not mandatory for newcomers to do drug tests and the JJI who have a disciplinary sanction is entitled to attend school; these educational and managerial method guarantee a greater opportunities responsibility for the JJI.

Caltanissetta. The IPM of Caltanissetta in province of Catania is located in the suburb of the city and easy to reach by public transport. This Center was not born to host a jail but a community, after 1995 become a Detention Center. At date the structure hosts the Court and the Minor Social Services Offices and a First Reception Center for both, women and men. The Center also has a theater, a soccer field, a garden where barbecues and meetings with families are organized. There are 12 male JJI between 18 and 21 years old, hosted all together in 5 rooms; a lounge in which are organized religious functions and JJI can share a common space and a kitchen. Foreigners JJI are illiterate, while Italians did not conclude the mandatory scholastic path. Fortunately, there is an agreement with the Permanent Territorial Center for Adult Education and Training that guarantees the education of the JJI. There is also a professional course for restaurateur, mainly for young adults, to get them started in the workplace. Moreover, the Center had a project with high schools, with which JJI and students can share opinion and feeling about juvenile themes, legality, in order to promote a comparison between youths of different background. The Center had also a lot of agreements with local associations in order to promote

social rehabilitation and integration in the community through working, sportive, musical and cultural activities. This Center is the smallest of the four Sicilian centers and do not presented specific critic events.

Catania. The IPM of Catania was born as a center of detention in 1988 and is located far away from the urban center. The Center is characterized by 44 rooms and a lot of locals for cultural, social and leisure activities such as theatre, music and sport. There are four group of JJI which have no contact with each other and divided by age. In 2015 the Center hosted 50 JJI, of which 8 were parents and 15 foreigners. The Center promotes a work project which involves JJI in gardening and maintenance activities and a course of middle school. In 2014 the Center established a collaboration with local associations to promote Multimedia Graphic Operator and Electronic Operator training. According to the administration and the organization of the Center these courses are opportunities to manage and improve skills, useful to workplace and socialization after release. The Center had a collaboration also with the Municipality of Catania, the Department of Social Services, the Italian Federation of Soccer Games and other cultural and sportive associations which promote music labs, theater labs, sailing course, autobiographic labs, autogenic training, formative meetings on the theme of the memory of the neighborhood, of mafia' victims, of the judges Falcone and Borsellino. Regarding the relationship with the community there are a lot of agreements such as the Local Addiction Center for addicted adolescents and young adults; with a Psychiatric Center to take care of people with mental disease; with professional Institute and schools to promote social rehabilitation and integration of JJI. In the Center there were two cases in which juveniles tried to harm themselves and no other critic events. The most stressed factor is the location of the Center; it is difficult to reach, but one of the most important aspects is the wide range of the activities that it provides.

Palermo. The IPM of Palermo, the capital of Sicily, is located in one of the most artistic and residential neighborhoods, easy to reach by public transport. The Center also hosted the Court for youths and other ministerial offices and is characterized by a garden, a theater, a chapel and camp to play sport. Inside the Center there is a library, the kitchen and a room with a tv to organize cineforum and other ludic activities. The Center hosted 33 males JJI, the majority Italians between 21-25 years old who are concluded their scholastic path. There are courses of middle and high school and three professional courses of gardening, graphic and cooking. Moreover, there are labs and projects which involve JJI in social, formative, cultural, musical and sportive activities in order to promote social integration. There are no particular critic events or distress reported collected from the Ministry.

Quartucciu. The IPM in Quartucciu in province of Cagliari, Sardinia was built in 1980 as a maximum-security detention center and was used from 1983 as a Youth Detention Center. The Center is far away from the city and is not connected by public transport, for this reason families, educators and professionals go there by taxi or by car. The Center is composed by a lot of green spaces used to garden and sportive labs. Inside there are the administrative offices, the kitchen, JJI rooms. The Center hosted 9 males JJI, 5 Italian, from 14 and 17 years old. JJI are involved in middle school course and in two professional projects: repair shop and laundry. There are also leisure activities such as gardening and musical projects, the Center has a lot of conventions with the local associations. One of the most important problem of the Center is the structure which should be restructured; while the positive strength is the openness and the collaboration in order to promote course and activities for the juveniles.

2.3.2 Southern Italy Youth Detention Centers

Southern Italy Youth Detention Centers are located in Airola and Nisida in Campania; Bari in Puglia, Catanzaro in Reggio Calabria and Potenza in Basilicata.

Airola. The Center of Airola, in province of Benevento, is located inside the city and it is near to the main station from which is possible use public transport to reach it. The Center is an eighteenth-century ducal palace donated with the aim to assist underprivileged children; it was first a female reformatory and since 1988 the structure has become a Youth Detention Center. On the ground floor there are the theater, the chapel and the kitchen; on the first floor there are the administrative offices, the JJI rooms and the library. The rooms are open during the day and are separated from age, minors to majors and another section is dedicated to the article 21, JJI who have the possibility part to work outside for half of the day; JJI hosted are from 30 to 40 aged 18-21years old, are autochthonous and they not finish the mandatory scholastic path. The Center promotes literacy courses, middle and high school courses, musical and social projects about criminality and re-integration. Regards professional courses, there are some projects based on gardening activities and maintenance of the shared areas of the Center, which has a good relationship with the context; indeed, realizes projects with local associations, promoting psychological and physical well-being. Some examples are given by sportive activities, photography course, rap music, cinema, theater and the journal of the Center by which the adolescents and young adults can express themselves writing emotions and stories. There were some cases of bullying and brawls. The main problem of the Center is the lack of funding which provokes a less quality of the courses; while a positive aspect is that the Center is small, and this promote the quality of the relationship among JJI and educators more than in bigger Centers.

Nisida. The Center of Nisida, in province of Naples was owned by the Duke of Amalfi and has evolved from lazaretto to becoming a rehabilitation house in the 1930s over the years; now is an IPM, located far away from the urban center and isolated. The IPM is divided in some structures which hosted females and males JJI. There are also a sport camp and a theater; in the female section there is also a room dedicated to mothers-children meetings. At date, the IPM hosted 47 JJI and 6 females, the majority is composed by Italian young adults who not have received instruction and attend literary and elementary courses. Moreover, the IPM involves JJI in professional activities outside the structure and in the farm project; regards the activities inside the IPM, JJI both females and males clean, cook, take care of the animals and of the garden and manage the maintenance of the building.

The sport fields allow more activities with the help of qualified instructors, the theater course is held, and also the theater shows. The IPM favors the intervention of associations which allow the maintenance of courses and laboratories, as well as school assistance, which otherwise would be difficult to carry on due to lack of funds; these associations promote building courses, hairdresser, beautician, pizza maker, ceramics, pastry. The IPM suffered from some critic events between 2014 and 2015, and the punishment through the solitary confinement is often used. One of the positive characteristics of this institute is the direct relationship between the staff, including the Director, and the JJI; with some educators in particular seems to exist a very strong bond and also the copiousness of the activities and the course proposed.

Bari. The Center of Bari, Puglia, is located inside the city and is easy to reach by public transport. The IPM is spread over three floors: the ground floor houses the offices, on the first floor there are three detention groups and in the basement there are classrooms for school activities, training and laboratories; in the basement there are quite large classrooms and laboratories and externally is equipped with a soccer field. Inside is a large gym, one part is occupied by body building machines, another by baskets, table football and table tennis. There is also a special changing room for the outsiders who come to the institute to play football. The capacity of the IPM is 36 places, today it hosts about 20 males JJI, of which half are minors and half adults, mostly are Italians and young adults live separated from minors. The IPM promotes primary education for foreigners JJI and there is an agreement between the Juvenile Justice Center of Puglia and the Regional Scholastic Office, which allows sport activities to be promoted by educating on legality, dialogue and social re-integration. Understanding sport as a metaphor of life, made of hard work, suffering, failures, determination, commitment, but also successes, satisfaction and recognition of one's own value, all elements of any sporting activity such as the experience of everyone's daily life. The project involved the performance of sporting, musical, artistic and literary activities, well

integrated with the school activities, vocational training, cultural and expressive activities already present in the IPM. Moreover, the Center promote professional courses such as papier-mache, cabinetmaker, wood and furniture operator. Furthermore, minors can follow the Sky package programs (National Geographic, History Channel, Disney Channel, Fox, Hallmark, Video Music) and follow music courses by the technique of collaborative learning; there are also emotional and recreational activities such as painting, biodance, comics, theater and creative writing. The main problems would come from young adults; in fact what is missing is a specific specialization of the staff; a physical separation between adults and minors (which logistics does not always allow) and the different needs of young adults, for example they often ask themselves to return to adult detention facilities where they can enjoy a certain level of autonomy (they do not have the "compulsory attendance of school courses", they can cook independently).

Catanzaro. The Center of Catanzaro in Reggio Calabria is located in the north of the city, near to the Juvenile Court, the Ministerial Community for Minors, the Juvenile Justice Center and the Social Service Office for Minors; moreover, is easily accessible by public transport. The Center was built in 1934 as Rehabilitation Center for Minors. At date, the Center is organized in two floors, the first one is used as shared space to activities while the second one is used to host the JJI. The capacity of the IPM is of 17 males JJI, mostly are Italian young adults. The Center promotes literary, middle and high school courses and also provides a pizza-chef course and involves the JJI in cleaning and in internal maintenance of the IPM. Thanks to the projects of the penitentiary administration and volunteers, the JJI are involved in artistic workshop activities (painting, ceramics, production and composition of dried flowers, photography, paper recycling), in work orientation (with the editing of the Curriculum Vitae) and film club activity; the sports currently available are football, soccer, tennis and volleyball. Finally, the IPM has a journal from eighteen years, in which the editorial staff consists on JJI, policeman, a professional journalist and a magistrate. The IPM is well rooted in the territory, which supports it with private and public activities and funding. There are no specific critic events in the IPM.

Potenza. The Center of Potenza, Basilicata, hosted 10 males, mostly Italians. The shared areas are smaller rather than in the other centers; however, there are two rooms for school activities and film club labs, in one of these there is a well-stocked library (but reading is not among the favorite activities of the users), a ceramics laboratory, a laboratory dedicated to the repair of household appliances, a dining room; there are also two billiards and the chapel. The kitchen is located on a different floor and in the basement, there is a laundry room, a gym and a joinery.

The IPM and the Community obtain the attention of various associations, cooperatives and agencies, who carry out professional training courses, orientation activities and organize work-

training internships, to promote the processes of socialization and re-integration present in the territory. At date, are active artistic craft workshops, repair of small household appliances, expressive activities, recreational play and the photography course. School attendance is mandatory and includes a cultural enhancement and a high school course. Moreover, the JJI are involved in infra-jobs such as laundry, canteen service, small maintenance. Regards critic events, in 2014 there was an attempted suicide by a foreign detainee with serious psychopathological problems and a mandatory medical treatment and often there are disputes arising from the relationship difficulties between Italians and foreigners and also among boys with different typology of crime. Despite these aspects the IPM of Potenza is one of the most organized and represents high quality of integration and social rehabilitation for juveniles.

2.3.3 Central Italy Youth Detention Centers

The IPM located in the Central part of Italy are Rome, Florence, Pontremoli in province of Massa-Carrara and Bologna.

Rome. The Center of Rome, the capital of Italy, is spread over a vast area, with a total of 12 thousand square meters. The building dates back to the 1960s. On the large lawn, there are some low buildings, basically of two floors and the green spaces are well maintained. There is a soccer field, a basketball court, a volleyball court and a church. The detention spaces are structured on three buildings, two male and one female. One of the male buildings has 24 beds and is intended for younger children. The other has 22 beds and is intended for adults. The female building has 24 seats (which are never completely filled). On the ground floor there is a social room intended for various activities including a small library of a building, a nest room with games for children, the refectory, the tailoring. In 2015 there were 53 JJI, 44 males and 9 females, mostly foreigners. The IPM promotes elementary and middle school courses, pizzeria laboratory and the carpentry lab, in which furniture and repairs are carried out for internal use. As for the training activities, there is a hairdressing course and juveniles are also involved in outdoor activities, such as the zoological museum. About 30% of JJI are in psychopharmacological and psychiatric care and used drugs during their past. There were some episodes of self-harm and conflict among males JJI. One of the IPM' problems are to face conflicts between various ethnic groups; another problem is the distance of the family of the JJI and the consequent uselessness of working on a project outside the IPM for a JJI who live outside the city and who will probably return later to the place where he committed the offense.

Pontremoli. The IPM of Pontremoli, Massa-Carrara, is located near to the urban center, easy to reach by foot; the capacity is about 15-20 seats and is for females. On the ground floor

there are offices; on the first floor there are the rooms, always open and organized in one section; on the second floor there are the open spaces, the gym and the library. The IPM promotes literacy, middle school courses and a professional training in kitchen and bakery, to issue a certificate of attendance that can be used in external courses and economic remuneration, in order to facilitate re-integration. There are also some activities, such as theater, dance, recycling, hairdressing, artifacts, conflict mediation, fairy tales, music therapy, journalism. One of the main critical points of the IPM is inevitably connected to its location. Pontremoli is a small town in the Lunigiana, relatively isolated, which obviously cannot offer great opportunities of re-integration after released. On the other hand, all the JJI come from far away, generally from the suburbs of the big cities of north-central Italy, and it is there that they return once they leave the IPM, as a consequence is not possible invest in their future perspective in the city. One of the most positive factors is the presence of volunteers and the openness of the IPM in promoting projects and involve associations.

Bologna. The IPM of Bologna is located in the historical center and is easily accessible by numerous transports, it a former convent from the 1400s and it presents problems of water infiltration and the structure is not suitable for hosting a IPM, as it does not promote socialization, having narrow and unlivable premises. The IPM host about 16-20 male foreigners' young adults; there are JJI with drug addiction problems (hashish, cocaine and alcohol) and others with psychiatric problems who also tend to self-harm but mostly, JJI have behavioral problems. The IPM proposes a literacy course and professional training of kitchen and gardening. Moreover, there are not specific critic events suffered by the IPM. The most important problem is the difficulty to guarantee the integration and the professional formation after imprisonment, indeed, the majority of the courses are useful just in the IPM but not as work, due to the lack of funding.

2.3.4 Northern Italy Youth Detention Centers

Turin. The IPM of Turin is located outside the city but is easy to reach by public transport. The structure is divided in two parts, one for minors and the other one for young adults; on the ground floor there is a room used for various activities, such as scholar and professional courses, there is a large library, two gyms, a chapel and a large smoking room. Regards the external spaces, there is a soccer field and a multipurpose track, both in excellent condition. The IPM host 37 males JJI, 17 minors and 20 young adults, the majority are foreigners, who follow a literacy, middle and high school courses, complicated by the juridical problems and the sudden turnover from the IPM. Despite these difficulties there are a lot of courses such as ceramics, computer science – informatics multimedia, cooking, white art, orientation, equal opportunities; while professional

activities are reserved to young adults. In the IPM there are cleaning activities of the interior rooms and a chocolate laboratory and an internal newspaper has been published for many years. The recreational and socializing activities are promoted by local associations and take place in the afternoon: juggling and sports activities (football, basketball, volleyball). One of the problems is the lack of safety in the IPM, indeed, there were two evasions, one in 2015 and another one in 2011, which had caused quite a stir among the boys with some projects and failed attempts at emulation. Moreover, episodes of self-harm would be quite frequent, especially among Arabs, with the use of lighters and razor blades. The high presence of young people from outside the city, involves all difficulties in terms of distance from families, services and defense.

Treviso. The IPM of Treviso was built around the 1940s and is located in a wing of the district house of Santa Bona, a neighborhood on the outskirts of Treviso. Once it was the section of political prisoners for terrorist offenses, then the women's section. Since 1981 it is an IPM, the only one in Italy to be still included in a prison facility for adults. The location and the structure of the building not respect the criteria of IPM; such as external fences, internal and external spaces, rooms. The structure is old and dilapidated and most of the offices and rooms have been obtained from disused huts, on the first floor there are the rooms, the computer and the school. The IPM hosts 14 males JJI, the majority minors and foreigners, provides to literacy and middle school courses and also professional courses such as graphics, digital video-photography, computer science, project work, but due to lack of public funds, not a wide range as in the past. Volunteers and the social network in the area guarantee social rehabilitation and reintegration of JJI once they have left the IPM. There were no evasions, not even attempted, or missed returns from permit-reward or suicide attempts. Some cases in the past of self-harm, especially of young people from the Maghreb who sometimes arguments for trivial reasons.

Milan. The IPM of Milan derives from a tradition of avant-garde, but today it has lost this fame due to technical and administrative inconsistencies and media events that have contributed to exacerbating its negative situations. The structural problem is the main problem of the IPM, which is, in many areas, dilapidated, uneven and no longer suited to the new IPM rules. Located in an extra-urban area, not far from the train-station, the institute has been under renovation since 2008; the blocking of the works has led since then to the "provisional" downsizing of the capacity from 60 to 48 seats and the transfer of the entire women's section out of the region, the management had to "adapt", not without difficulty, to this situation. The part dedicated to the activities (laboratories, school, professional courses) is adequate and well equipped, while the other one dedicated to host the JJI is cramped, poorly lit and requiring major maintenance. The IPM host 40-50 males JJI, the majority are foreigners. The presence of a very significant number of projects

financed by local public or private bodies, certainly allows to widen the spectrum of treatment opportunities. The managers of the educational area appeared very motivated and aware of their mission and the IPM project is thorough and detailed, based on the idea of minimize the "dead times" of prison life, so the daily schedule of days is very tight, and this allows prisoners to spend as little time as possible in the rooms. The IPM promotes literacy and middle school courses, and professional gardening, maintenance, construction, music, jeweler and carpentry courses, has also a good relationship with the territory that guarantees a collaboration with local associations. In 2014, 34 critical events were reported (of which 31 were self-inflicted and 3 anti-conservatives; in particular, the case of an Egyptian detainee who set fire to the cell and remained severely burned and still hospitalized). In 2015, 10 cases of self-harm were reported (a slight decrease compared to the previous year), a suicide attempt in July and 1 case of violent struggle that led to hospitalization and surgery. One of the critical points, beyond the structure, is the presence of young and often turn-over police personnel, which suggests that there is a lack of specific training on how to relate to minor detainees.

2.4 Multidimensional Approach for Prevention and Intervention

2.4.1 From Nothing Works to What Works

The efficacy of the interventions of rehabilitation for people formally incarcerated has been a focus of debate for years. In particular, the sociologist Robert Martinson, in 1974, published an article in which he led the criticism on the effectiveness of the treatments in the correctional institutions: *What works: Questions and answers about prison reform*. In his article he summarised 231 studies published between 1945 and 1967, founding that ‘with few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism’ (Riley, 2011 p. 139). This pronouncement was eagerly embraced by many policy makers and academics and was labelled “nothing works”. Especially in United States this state of mind was used to change the role of prison and rehabilitation (Smith, Gendreau & Swartz 2009). Afterwards, he conducted other studies on the phenomenon, showing a second thought, based on the idea that some cases of treatment and rehabilitation work, retracting his earlier pronouncement. This new point of view had little impact on the social and scientific community which had enthusiastically accepted the researcher's previous statements.

In the meanwhile, the rehabilitative ideal was kept alive by Lamar Empey (Ibidem), a University of Southern California sociologist, who identified the crucial element for a success treatment: the condition under which the program is delivered. According to the researcher, rehabilitation is based on creating the best conditions and less on identifying specific treatment methods. For example, where there are strong alternatives to crime, recidivism can be lowered; while where there is little choice, recidivism remains the same or increases. This idea was developed in "Provo Project" which showed that recidivism rates decreases significantly for youth offenders placed in community-based programs, compared to youth in state institutions (Ibidem).

In this line, John Jay University sociologist, Jeffrey Fagan discovered that exist other elements of influence in the effectiveness of the treatment: intensity and integrity.

In fact, the concept of rehabilitation and the interest for the study of deviant behavior is foreign to correctional institutions, characterized of administrators and policemen; also, is difficult to propose a program in correctional institutions because is not always possible to maintain a schedule of treatment, hindering the intensity and the integrity of the protocol.

The positive idea of effectiveness of the treatment was re propose in 1988 by Gendreau and Ross, who published a survey of over 200 studies on rehabilitation from 1981-1987, demonstrating the existence of successful treatments of offenders, a decreasing of recidivism of 80% and the effectiveness of interventions in both community and institutions with a follow up periods of at least two years (Riley, 2011). According to the main results of this survey, a good model of intervention and treatment for offenders should be based on the following strategies and therapeutic approaches: family therapy, cognitive problems solving, support on independent living, on-the-street "tracking" and monitoring, negotiation skills, modeling, training in interpersonal skills, behavior contracting, individual and group therapy, reading, job training.

Furthermore, the professional journals increasingly began to publish evaluations of offender programmes, but the results reported were heterogenous, fuelling the increasingly acrimonious debate on "what works". The complexity of these evaluations derived from the differing approaches applied to diverse populations, utilising different criteria of success, that throw up results as diverse as the methodologies themselves. The problem with these evaluations has been overcome by applying the technique of meta-analysis to treatment outcome studies, in order to analyze the effectiveness of the treatment with respect of the other variables, such as treatment approaches, characteristics and participant types. Mark Lipsey was a pioneer in this area and published in 1989 a meta-analytic review of 450 correctional outcome studies, concluding that treatments reduced recidivism by approximately 10% (Ibidem).

The study of a series of meta-analysis showed different results in regard to the effectiveness of the treatment. Zinger et al. (Ibidem) re-evaluated those studies, revealing quite a different picture and underling that certain approaches applied to higher risk offenders surrendered good outcomes, while others, which were less targeted, were less successful. This consideration formed the basis of the concept of “risk” and of the different kind of treatment with respect to a specific target.

According to McGuire, (Marshall & McGuire 2003), who studied more than twenty reviews regards the rehabilitation in the Correctional Institutions, modern psychological approaches is based on targeting interventions according to specific criminogenic factors and this yielded results more powerful than general treatments, which not consider the target and which generalize the concept of rehabilitation.

In the same line, Andrews and Bonta (Cigno & Bourn, 2017) formulated the principle of balance between the risk and the treatment. For example, an intensive treatment should be direct at people with medium and high risk of reoffending, in order to obtain the maximum effect, and to avoid spending unnecessary resources for low risk offenders (Palmer, McGuire, Hatcher, Hounsome, Bilby, & Hollin, 2008). Andrews and Bonta (Ibidem) described also the concept of *criminogenic* and *non-criminogenic needs*. Criminogenic needs are dynamic factors because could change over time, influencing the recidivism, and are part of the overall risk level of the offender; while the non-criminogenic needs are also dynamic factors but are not associated to crime and recidivism and these influence less the reoffending. Finally, the static factors, such as family history and background, are linked to the possibility to reoffending but are stable over time. Another principle identified by Andrews and Bonta it is referred to the responsivity of the offenders to the interventions. According to this principle the treatment should be appropriate to the capabilities of the offender, such as social and family background, intelligence and cognitive and verbal ability.

Thus, the programs of rehabilitation for offenders should evaluate risk/need and responsivity principles in the assessment. These new findings shown an increase in research and knowledge about rehabilitation and treatment programs for formally incarcerated people, underline the passage from “Nothing works” to “What works”.

“What works” approach is based on the main risk factors related to crime and recidivism: family system, environment and the individual, and on their reciprocal relationship. Also, “What works” approach derived from the past researches and has the aim to create programs which include treatment integrity, the matching of treatment modality to participant level, an appropriate targeting of criminogenic factors, and monitoring of the future achievements.

Today, the efficacy of treatment in correctional institutions is no longer a matter of dispute because it is not possible to evaluate all the interventions at the same way, as in the medical standard, and it is based on the inclusion of all the factors which could influence the treatment according to the different category of offender and the different correctional institutions, starting from three phases: *assessment*, *treatment design*, and *treatment management*.

During the *assessment* is evaluated the risk level of the person to reoffending as well as the criminogenic needs in the individual's life, in order to establish the intensity of the treatment. Furthermore, this phase is useful in a first evaluation to identify the general condition of the person and in a second evaluation to develop and monitor strategies to maintain the main results obtained.

The measurements are more refined than in the past and the criminal justice agencies are able to plan interventions with greater precision; for instance, the Level of Service Inventory-Revised and the Offender Assessment System (Cigno & Bourn, 2017; Howard, 2006) used as adult risk/need assessment tools, and the Youth Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (Hoge & Andrews, 2002) for 12 to 17 youths. These assessment tools give an overall risk/need score and indicate the likelihood of future reconviction, including the following factors: family circumstances, parenting, education and employment, peer relations, substance abuse, leisure time, personality, and attitudes, elements useful to the management of the young offender at custodial or community level. Another assessment tool is *Asset*, adapted by the Youth Justice Board for England and Wales (YJB). *Asset* includes two sections: one completed by the practitioner and another self-reported.

The cited tools derived from the evaluation of the main risk factors related to the recidivism and reported by the research literature. The risk factors identified during the analysis of the literature have been studied in a large cohort of offenders for a specific period of time, usually 2 years, to evaluate the influence on the criminal behavior. According to this evaluation researchers established the weight of each factor on the future offending. Thus, the individual's risk score was determined by summing the weighted risk factor scores, taking into account the mediating role of the protective factors, if present. The YLS-CMI and *Asset* are both based on this principle and have predictive utility and efficacy in relation to general recidivism in adults and young offenders, respectively (Baker, Jones, Merrington, & Roberts, 2005; Olver, Stockdale, & Wormith, 2009).

The treatment design phase is focus on: (a) the reduction of the risk of reoffending, (by) the use of a structured approach and (c) promoting changing of both cognition and behavior of the person. Research findings reported that general treatments is less effective than focus and structured one. Moreover, cognitive, behavioral and family therapies are more useful within general samples of

offenders than traditional psychodynamic and nondirective client-centred therapies. In fact, the main aim of the intervention is to change attitudes, values, and beliefs that support antisocial behavior; in order to engage prosocial behaviors, develop social and cognitive skills and responsibility and empathy. For instance, the majority of offenders have difficulty in understand the effect that their actions have to others, such as family and so on.

Besides, the treatment design should be based on the responsivity principle, according to the personal and social background of the person and should be appropriate to the individual's capabilities, such as intelligence, verbal and cognitive skills. For instance, not all the youth offenders have a high educational level, verbal ability and attention to benefit in depth group or single discussion. Thus, a treatment design should be addressing according the personal ability and learning style of the person; for example, promoting an active participation that is based more on role play and activities rather than discussions. Finally, the treatment should be adapted to the culture and the gender of the offenders, because male and female have different risk/need and sensitiveness. When risk/need and responsivity principles are correctly evaluated, the effectiveness of the treatment is higher (Cigno & Bourn, 2017).

Finally, *treatment management* is the organization needed to ensure the intervention as designed from the developers and it is based on treatment integrity. When the intervention is coherent with the intentions of the program and with the main goals there is a high level of treatment integrity and the best results should be obtained. This coherence produces more quality and control in managing and improve the program (Ibidem).

An example of treatment for young offenders is the Good Lives Model (GLM), especially with juveniles engaged in sexual offending (Fortune, 2018). This model of treatment is based on the risk–need–responsivity rehabilitation approaches and also in offenders' support in developing social and personal skills. GLM focuses on specific objectives and it is designed in order to promote the abilities of the person according to a community-oriented approach in which the individual can interacts with the external resources, to engage his goals and his life plans. GLM assumes that sexual abusive behaviors are maladaptive strategies used to obtain a specific need and that these derives from inadequate resources of both, the environment and the individual. According to the GLM there are 11 *primary human goods* and the practitioner needs to identify how the person prioritizes these goods in order to establish a treatment design. These primary human goods are the follow: (1) life; (2) knowledge; (3) excellence in play; (4) excellence in work; (5) excellence in agency (i.e., autonomy); (6) inner peace (i.e., freedom from stress); (7) relatedness; (8) community; (9) spirituality; (10) happiness; and (11) creativity. People perceive and organize their lives, good life plan, around these values which can assumes different level of

importance. Sexual offending is a result of some gap and flaws in the GLP. For example, the use of violence to obtain a personal need or a primary human good.

After the assessment, the practitioner structures a Good Lives Plan (GLP) with the aim to provide to the offender alternative ways to obtain his personal goals. When the person learns socially acceptable skills in alternative to his antisocial behavior, this influences his perception of agency and self-evaluation, leading him to build a new lives plan, based on others primary human goods. The GLM is integrated to cognitive behavioral techniques in a therapeutic framework in which the relationship between the offender and the practitioner is fundamental to promote a change. Besides, this model of treatment takes into account the dynamic factors of the young offender, such as the family system, which could become a resource. Similar consideration can be found in the family-based approaches, models which consider family system as the main promoter of rehabilitation.

2.4.2 Family-based Approach

According to the main findings discussed in the first chapter, juvenile delinquency is a complex issue which involves the individual, as well as social and environmental levels, as developmental and clinical psychology researches have revealed. Studies in this field have the common aim to identify the critical “markers” to prevent and intervene on the illicit conduct diffused among both categories of teens: the convict and the student. Consistent research findings support the reciprocal interaction between positive family functioning and positive outcomes in desistance from crime in adolescents and adults (Hochstetler, DeLisi, Travis, & Pratt, 2010; Robertson, Xu, & Stripling, 2010) and one of the finding pointed out is the role played by the family system on social rehabilitation after justice involving experience.

For this reason, one of the main conceptualized therapy approaches is the focus on family at a multidimensional level, the so-called Family-based Approach Therapy. This approach is composed of three frameworks which help therapists and health-professionals to think in terms of mutual interaction between different factors, including the influence on adolescent' behavior. The first one is the *protective factor framework* that includes familial, social and individual domains. Clinicians need to know the interaction between these factors to facilitate positive adaptation during the main critical phases of the development. A framework based on protective factors also helps therapists to reason about the process and to interpret each situation based on adolescent' family's current life circumstances. The second one is the *developmental perspective framework*, focused on developmental psychology, which distinguishes the typical development from the dysfunctional in term of psychopathology and maladaptive behaviors. The last one is the

ecological framework, based on the ecological model, as it studies human behavior in a specific context. The most used and effective family-based therapy integrates these frameworks by taking care of the individual taking into account the family system.

One of the family-based models, which have considerable effectiveness among teens justice involved, is the Multidimensional Family Therapy (MDFT). According to this model, the family is the principal arena and educates the individual in both intrapersonal and interpersonal dynamics through a modeling process, playing a role in reinforcing behaviors both negative and positive (Liddle, 2010). For this reason, the family is considered a starting point to improve the living quality of adolescents, who present behavioral problems. MDFT is based on indirectly helping family members to implement new ways of interacting to each other and by supporting a positive family member's lifestyle, facilitating a change of perspective.

Another approach based on multilevel domains and focus on the family system is the Brief Strategic Family Therapy (BSFT), which has an evidence-base of effectiveness for behavioral problems of adolescents. This approach, based on the work of Minuchin and Haley (Robbins, Feaster, Horigian, Rohrbaugh, & Shoham, 2011), has a common perspective and goals of the MDFT, promoting good relationships between individual, family and other systems, such as school and peers in order to reduce adolescent behavior problems and supporting personal skills new coping capacities in both adolescents and parents. Robbins et al. (Ibidem) have conducted a study to compare the BSFT to the treatment as usual (TAU) with a sample of 480 adolescents and their family members, using specific and practical approach. During the initial sessions, the therapist establishes the therapeutic alliance with family members as a system and as individuals to evaluate the structure and the dynamics, identifying family strengths and weaknesses to develop a treatment plan, using reframing interventions to promote a positive change. During the treatment, the therapist reinforces therapeutic alliance, maintaining reframing interventions and promoting a redirection of the family' negative feelings and beliefs. Subsequently the focus of the treatment shifts on *restructuring* strategies, which transform the weaknesses of the family in strengths, helping to develop conflict resolution and parental skills. An example of the use of BSFT in the treatment of risky conduct during adolescence is the use of drug; in this case sessions are organized in 12/16 meetings for 4 months, and the analysis results are divided into three sections: engagement and retention, adolescent drug use and family functioning.

Regarding the first section, the group treated with BSFT shows higher levels of attendance and less probability to drop out rather than with TAU. With respect to the second section, self-report use of the drug with Median Self-Reported Drug Use Days (TLFB) at the last follow-up assessments was significantly higher in TAU than in BSFT condition. Finally, subjects treated

with BSFT show a higher improvement in family functioning, also reported by adolescents, than with TAU. This method may be adapted and used also with criminal and aggressive conduct.

Multisystemic Therapy (MST) is another family-based model more focused on delinquency from an ecological and sociological point of view. MST aims to reduce juvenile criminality working with both the family system and the community. Comparison of two cohorts of young offenders, one treated with MST and the other with the usual services offered by offending youth teams (YOT), show that MST reduces aggressive and delinquent behaviors more than YOT (Butler, Baruch, Hickey, & Fonagy, 2011). Consistently, qualitative analysis of 21 structured interviews of offenders aged 16 years old and their families treated by MST, show positive experiences and outcomes in both, a decreasing of antisocial behavior in adolescents and an increase of parental confidence and skills (Tighe, Pistrang, Casdagli, Baruch, & Butler, 2012). MST seems to be useful also with siblings of offenders who received MST treatment, as compared to Individual Therapy (IT) (Wagner, Borduin, Sawyer, & Dopp, 2014). Indeed, comparison of the arrest rates of siblings of violent offenders treated with MST or IT, the MST cohort reports lower rates of arrests (43.3%) than the IT cohort (72.0%), clearly indicating the impact of MST on the other family members.

Based on multisystemic family therapy models and the social ecology theory of Bronfenbrenner, Ecologically Based Family Therapy (EBFT) emphasizes the role of community and other social services as a protective factor in young delinquency (Horigian, Anderson, & Szapocznik, 2016). EBFT assumes that therapy can promote positive changes in family interaction patterns, such as communication and support skills by parents and establish a new interaction style which can reduce adolescent' problem behaviors. According to this model, home-based therapies are grounded on the recognition of the needs and the difficulties of those families who have members with criminal records and are more effective than office-based therapies; EBFT has a longer positive outcome in desistance more than the other therapeutic methods (Slesnick, Erdem, Bartle-Haring, & Brigham, 2013).

Another model used with juvenile justice involved is the Functional Family Therapy (FFT), based on behavioral and systemic approach; this model aims to identify and modify maladaptive family patterns that maintain the problem. The FFT changes family interactions through positive reinforcements by introducing new problem-solving strategies. This therapy reduces recidivism among delinquent teens and decreases antisocial behavior, as shown by a study on adolescent inmates with callous-unemotional (CU) traits which have committed violent and propriety crimes (White, Frick, Lawing, & Bauer, 2013). Participants and their families were involved in FFT and, according to the evaluation pre-post treatment, the association between CU traits and recidivism

was lower after the treatment as well as the aggressive and violent behaviors reported by parents (Ibidem). Same results were obtained by analyzing 917 families from both rural and urban settings in 14 different counties (Sexton & Turner, 2010). Most of the participants had committed weapon crimes, had some gang involvement and a history of running away from home, school dropout and use of alcohol and marijuana. Criminal onset was in early adolescence, between 12 to 17 years old. Participants were divided into two groups; one received FFT and the other TAU in traditional probation services in their local county. When the therapist was adherent to FFT, results showed a reduction in serious crimes one year after treatment; while when the therapist was not adherent to FFT the recidivism rates were significantly higher than the TAU group (Sexton & Turner, 2010).

The effectiveness of family-based models for adolescents' behavioral problems and criminal record has been demonstrated. The strength of these treatments is the focus on the interaction of several factors that trigger the vicious circle of crime and addiction during adolescence and the results appear to have a broader outcome than the traditional family therapy approaches. Family-based Therapy users are less likely to be arrested, to relapse after a treatment, to experiment internalizing and externalizing symptoms and in other co-occurring problems (Liddle et al., 2011). These data are encouraging and highlight important implications for clinical practice.

2.4.3 Social Rehabilitation and Relapse Prevention

Family-based therapy is fundamental for the rehabilitation and reintegration process after release. People who have no support from family members are more likely to relapse than others who receive support and from their own family. In the same way, significant contact with family members during the institutionalization process decreases the possibility of relapse after the release and increases the success of the reintegration process, based on the feelings of understanding and forgiveness, both essential for social rehabilitation. Data from qualitative interviews found that individuals who have successfully integrated after their release had been supported by family members and friends in contrast to individuals who relapsed (Bahr, Lish, Fisher, & Armstrong, 2010). In the same line, Berg and Huebner (2010) found that people who have quality ties to their family members are more likely to find a job, to be reintegrated in society and less likely to commit another offence. When people are released from prison or jail, they are stigmatized from the context and also from themselves, and emotional support of family is a way to react and co-construct a new life, engaging an identity transformation. Moreover, family ties have a controlling effect on behaviors; indeed, JJI and adults JI who do not receive support from their family show low control and are more likely to relapse in crimes. This concept is based on the Social Control Theory elaborated by Hirschi in 1969 (Ibidem). According to this theory, there

are four types of social bonds which influence criminal conducts: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. Attachment was considered by the author the most important one, when the social bonds are weak the individual has more probability of engaging in criminal and risky behaviors, especially during adolescence and, as reported above, individuals who show secure attachment are less likely to commit crime during adolescence and adulthood than the others. In the same line, re-construction of social bonds and establish connection to others after incarceration have a protective role in the life course of people who were previously incarcerated, decreasing the recidivism risk.

Moreover, social bonds are associated with life course events, also called "turning points". For instance, negative and stressful events associated to weak social and family bonds may become risk factors and influence both crime and relapse. Positive events instead, such as the birth of a child, marriage or find a stable employment, are linked to supportive and strong bonds and are protective factors from deviance and risky conducts (Murray, Shenderovich, Eisner, Ttofi, & Mikton, 2013).

Similarly, when it is not possible to re-build social and family bonds because adolescents are dually involved, both in neglectful family systems and in criminal justice, the rates of recidivism are higher. Dually involvement includes abandonment, sexual abuse, maltreatment in the family, youth' behavioral problems and arrests in early adolescence. Dually involved youths are more likely to report impulsivity, to believe that physical aggression is an appropriate response to solve the disagreement, and less likely to control antisocial behavior and to be optimistic about improving their life (Cashmore, 2011). These beliefs, in addition to neglect and an abusive family, increase the risk of recidivism after the release from prison or jail and other risky behaviors, such as drug use as shown by Returning Home dataset (Mowen & Visher, 2015; Ryan, Williams, & Courtney, 2013).

Family-based therapy mentioned above, and these results suggest the importance to involve family, friends and other social institutions in rehabilitation programs. For instance, MDFT interventions are characterized by a platform for post-detention which combines the teen, the family and the community in a shared aim: relapse prevention and other collateral behaviors. This treatment reduces recidivism and promotes social rehabilitation in young offenders involved in parole or probation services and is based on the strengthening of the social and family bonds (Liddle, Dakof, Henderson, & Rowe, 2011). According to self-efficacy construct of Bandura, to the labeling theory of Lemert and the theory of desistance by Laub and Sampson (Ibidem), social rehabilitation is based not only on family and community support but also on the new meaning which institutions and family members acquire in the adolescents' life after release. This aspect

promotes the desistance and increments the possibility that the teen chooses a conventional life rather than a criminal career in adulthood. This process needs to enable a transformation in both cognitive and identity domains; the individual changes his/her perception of *the Self*, constructing a pro-social identity with higher self-efficacy and positive feeling about the future. Following Maruna' theory of narrative desistance (2001), this is a sequential process in which the individual plays an active role in changing perspective and in self de-labeling from past delinquent identity. This re-attribution of meanings and re-construction of a new identity may modify social and family bonds as well as establish positive returning points and personal and familial or relational transformations (Cid & Martí, 2012).

2.4.4 Restorative Justice

In order to promote social and personal transformation in adolescents and young adults may be useful to adopt a new perspective, an example is the restorative justice system, which guarantees a new way to interpret the justice involved person and the victim who become both actors and director of the situation. Modern criminal law is characterized by the claim to eliminate the forms of proven justice, favor the exclusion of the victim and the community from the process and from the penal system; on the one hand, this attitude sees its roots in the historical and political analysis of the national states, which hold the monopoly of punishment. Even from a religious and cultural point of view private justice is discredited as many people are unable to judge adequately and without prejudice. Society therefore promotes an idea of justice in which the penal system has the task of maintaining a rational analysis of the fact, neutralizing feelings such as revenge and hatred, respecting the principle of legality. However, this lack of emotionalism and institutional rationalization soon leads to a strong dissatisfaction of the victim and an inability to grow and rehabilitate those who have wronged them. Starting from these considerations, an attempt is made to restore justice to a side of humanity that translates into a rediscovery of conciliatory justice practices used in the past. In fact, this form of justice, called reparative (RJ) allows, through a comparison and an emotional exchange, to reconciliation avoid the punishment, thanks to the presence of a figure that mediates the relationship between the two parts. The RJ is an alternative to vindictive justice and also allows the protagonists of the story to regain their roles to be able to overcome them. RJ models and techniques are developed around two paradigms, one victimological and one community. The first type arises from the growing attention to the victim and the need to avoid secondary victimization. In fact, the RJ procedure guarantees the victim to really meet his expectations; while the community paradigm aims to recreate a form of interdependence between justice and community. For instance, in the *circles*, practiced in Canada

and Australia, community conflicts are decided and mediated through a reconciliation path managed by a representative of the community. In the *Family Group Conferences (FGC)* the families of the victim and the person justice involved come together and discuss the conflicts generated by the criminal action committed. Thus, these paradigms coexist and reinforce each other. From a legal point of view the European legislation 2012/29 / EU of the European Parliament of the Council of 25 October 2012 establishes the rights of assistance and protection of the victims of crime by placing some openings to the practice of RJ, widening for example the concept of victim also to indirect victims, but the principal goal of the RJ is to guarantee justice to the victim and also to help the person justice involved to solve the conflict provoked by the offence. Indeed, RJ is a form of emotional education of the legal context and one of the main critical issues of this practice, especially in Italy is the lack of time and social and cultural conditions to promote it; indeed it is not always possible to follow the participants after the treatment, evaluating recidivism in the offender and bubble effect (McCold, 2008) on the victim.

Thus, despite the increased interest on RJ in Italy, the use of mediation tools is inevitably limited and occasional. However, juvenile rite can be a fertile ground for restorative justice institutes, as it is carried out is affected consistently by educational purposes. The need of pursuing recovery and self-empowerment for the young person makes processual outcomes, which do not result "socially stigmatizing" for the young, particularly desirable. According to D.P.R. n. 448/1998, which regulates juvenile proceedings, restorative justice tools are used mainly during the initial phase of the proceeding and the article 9 is needed to assess the personality of the young person in order to verify his level of responsibility and as well as to evaluate the social relevance of the fact. After that, judicial authority can ask mediation department operators to collect information in order to verify this opportunity and could be the possibilities for the young to receive prescriptions and precautionary measures, such as contact with the victim, as well as activities tending to reparation of damages. These procedures promote the social rehabilitation, starting from the narrative of restorative justice which shows both parts, injured person and the author of the damage and allows to rewrite their stories together, deciding what must be done and in "leaving them free" to continue their lives as they have decided, not being more dominated by the damaging event. The more damage is produced, the more there is the need to put a point to the story that generated it and let people go on without identifying themselves as a victim or criminal anymore. Through the reconnection of the inner experience with the external one the actors of the process have the possibility to tell their story, according to his/her point of view and in the way, they consider most appropriate, free to express themselves. In these terms the facilitator tends to understand and highlight the protagonists' experience. The question does not arise "what

is wrong with you?" But "what is important to you?". If we start from the assumption that it is the person who represents the problem, as happens in the traditional system, a feeling of shame inevitably develops which in turn creates the stigma and fear. This process often occurs in cases of gender-based violence where victims are criticized for being victims. In the same way, those who commit the crime should not assume the identity of a criminal, the victim should not assume the identity of a victim. Unfortunately, our societies are strongly based on the blaming process; while in the process of restorative justice the feeling of shame is not identified on the person as a criminal but on what that person has committed, the actor is therefore invited to express his feelings about the incident. According to the *kintsugi* technique, damage must not be repaired to perfection, but fractures must be highlighted, combined with precious materials. The damage in this way is not hidden but highlighted in its power and importance. This is in fact regenerated in all its beauty, as relationships are rebuilt, and traumas are overcome.

Thus, in restorative justice procedures it is important to promote the quality of the relationships among the participants and the damage is assessed according to two parameters, the first is based on the responsibility of the offender and the second concerns the interruption of the circle of the crime. The greatest probability of solving a problem occurs when all the people included in the event reach together a solution of mutual satisfaction. The facilitator's role is comparable to a solid scaffolding, the facilitator builds the scaffolding, but all the damage repair work is done by those who have generated or suffered it. It is not the facilitator who creates the results, but his/her goal is that the actors reach the agreement in total autonomy, supported by the scaffolding. Both stories, of the victim and the perpetrator of the crime, are true stories but taken individually considered to be incomplete, so the reparative process aims to create a shared story. It is important in this process to highlight the details of the whole story and this is a way to better understand what happened. Through the details we highlight the requests of the participants, their needs, what we want and what we want others to know. Shame and the need for respect are elements present in the process and it is important to reflect on the meaning of the word respect, of the word justice, of security and control, and only those who have produced the damage can respond to the request of the injured person. A form of dialogue is therefore necessary in order to respond to these meanings.

2.5 Summary

According to the main findings of this chapter adolescents could show antisocial conducts in order to communicate their feelings, as a strategy to solve interpersonal problems or social and familiar difficulties or as a form of rebellion and transgression to develop their own personality and autonomy. Antisocial behavior might evolve in two ways, life persistent if the person decides

to carry on the behavior and translate it in illicit and criminal activities, becoming a deviant career, or adolescence focused, if the person behaves antisocial during this specific period of life and after interrupts the behavior. Social identity and social rules are both important aspect in life of an individual and are part of the development; for this reason, is fundamental, especially for adolescents find a way to express themselves in order to establish and build identity which could adhere to negative or positive models. A clear and common example of a negative model is the deviant peer group or parent justice involvement; while a positive one could be support and good communication in family and a favorable environment. In this line, we know that exist a multifactorial influence in deviant behavior of an adolescent and that distress in youths could involve in criminality but is not possible predict the causal connection between risk factors and criminal conduct because all the factors influence differently adolescents. Despite the heterogeneity of JJI criminal profile, the main areas of research focused on individual, family and environmental factors in the incidence on the criminal behavior of young people, finding some common characteristics in juvenile's justice involved, such as lack of control in family system, belonging to a criminogenic context or the personal tendency to use aggressivity and criminality as a coping strategy.

An important aspect to take into account is the meaning and the motivation that described the type of crime. For instance, in organized crime, such as Mafia organization youths are often involved by the family system in order to carry on family business, especially in the South of Italy. According this perspective, illegal acts in mafia subcultures are conditioned by antisocial models which favoring an identification with deviance and antisociality, improving a different perception of laws and rules and the assimilation of ethical principles that lead to evaluate illegal behavior and parents educate their children according these values. The second crimes more diffuse among adolescents are the property crime and drug dealing, which could have more than one motivation, such as survive in a poor environment, demonstrate to be strong enough to adhere to the peer group, a way to have fun and avoid responsibilities. These behaviors could become a deviant career during adulthood if persist over the time or ending after adolescence. Regards aggressive behavior, is an offence linked to the normalization in the use of violence and can be considered in various ways, such as a response to frustration, a reaction to fear, the result of identification with an ideal, or the need for differentiation from parents. In general aggression is against parents in order to promote the sense of autonomy and at school against peers to affirm power or supremacy. These behaviors could become really severe for instance in case of murder and establish a modality of interpersonal disease. Finally, sexual violence and abuse among youths is often connected to sexual trauma, maltreatment during infancy, lack of sexual education in family and social context.

Juveniles who sexually abuse of children often start his/her deviant behavior during adolescence and continue over the time. Despite this result, exist two typologies of developmental trajectories in sexual offending, one is called “life course persisters – LCPs” in which individuals transgress throughout the entire life cycle and the other one called “adolescent – limited AL offenders, limited during adolescence. According the typology of crime, to the motivation and to social and family context which influence the offence, youths could have different possibilities to continue in deviant and criminal behaviors or not. Mostly of the adolescents who present more than one risk factors, such as dysfunctional family, poor environment, social and interpersonal problems, abuse or neglect, are more likely to be involved in criminal justice system and to experience life in Youth Detention Center in which educational and professional instruction is proposed in order to promote social rehabilitation and decrease recidivism. In Italy 17 Youth Detention Center are collocated on the Northern, Southern and the Center of the country and present some differences in organizations and educative project.

The rehabilitation path of juvenile’s justice involved is not linear due to frequent interruptions, failures, psychological and behavioral problems. The evolutionary process is, therefore, complex and delicate, and requires a constant reformulation of the integrated individual paths, also in consideration of the needs and objectives in continuous evolution and of the cognitive styles of the person in learning. Youth Detention Center aims to create individual and collective program for youths who present social, developmental and family difficulties.

Generally, the centers collaborate with some associations and training institutions and with them plan activities based on the juveniles ‘needs. These plans, in addition to referring to the ministerial funds, are partly financed by local authorities, foundations and associations or by private individuals. Data from the Report on Italian Youth Detention Centers show that there are centers with a significant educational and professional offers and funding from local and private company and associations; while centers with more limited educational offer, difficulties in involve the territory, therefore, more modest results are achieved from them. However, all the IPM offer the possibility of attending professional workshops, mostly artisanal. Association promote laboratories equipped with professional bakery, confectionery and chocolate equipment which provide for the sale of products outside the centers (Turin, Milan, Palermo), more receptive and sensitive areas where it is easier to activate collaborations; at the same time there are realities with less equipped laboratories. Moreover, some centers offer to the JJI an orientation service as a permanent help desk (Milan, Turin, Rome, Potenza, Catanzaro).

Also, the report shows an interesting experiences of work scholarships, internships, apprenticeships, professional experience, business simulations (Milan, Turin, Treviso, Bologna,

Pontremoli, Airola, Bari, Quartucciu, Potenza) and promotion of financial help for juveniles who work outside the center, as article 21 (Rome, Airola and Catania). Mostly of the juveniles perform maintenance activities inside and outside the center, help by experts in construction, electricity, thermo-hydraulic and mechanical, gardening and processing sectors of metals and wood. No particular differences emerge between the North, Central and South of the country, as far as the training sectors are concerned, while the types of courses are different; indeed, in the South there is a greater attention on professional courses; while all the centers guarantee educational programs. Despite these initiatives and projects, the most important critical issues are the lack of institutional funds dedicated to training and job placement and, at the same time, failure to participate in calls for grant founding, lack of crossover between demand and supply of labor; indeed, no attention is paid to the professional profiles required by companies and as a consequence the training offers, most of the times, are not in line with the real needs of the labor market and are not able to guarantee professional integration after release from the center. Moreover, there are no programs of psychological support for juvenile's justice involved neither for their families; this is an important risk factor of recidivism after the release. Indeed, youths who have stronger social and family bonds are more likely to barging into the society and to find professional position, achieving their goals.

Finally, according the main results on rehabilitation, family-based therapy and the approaches which involve the family system and the environment suggest the importance to take into account family, friends and other social institutions in rehabilitation programs. For instance, MDFT interventions are characterized by a platform for post-detention which combines the teen, the family and the community in a shared aim: relapse prevention and other collateral behaviors. This treatment reduces recidivism and promotes social rehabilitation in young offenders involved in parole or probation services and is based on the strengthening of the social and family bonds.

CHAPTER 3. THE RESEARCH

3.1 Introduction

In the last decades, the interest for the study of high-risk behaviors during adolescence has increased. Professionals such as psychologists, educators and teachers consider high-risk behaviors as socially worrying phenomenon. They define it as any activity that may lead to lethal or negative effects on the health of individuals. High-risk behaviors such as the use of drugs, unprotected sex are activities that could have negative impact not only on the individuals themselves, but also on society at large. In addition, crimes such as homicide and robbery have a greater impact on society. The attraction of young people to these behaviors has been explained as a manifestation of a common trait of the development. Indeed, adolescence is characterized by the desire to experience strong and exciting sensations, a concept defined by Zuckerman as (1979) "sensation seeking". He found that "sensation seeking" is highest at the age of 16 and decreases in late adolescence and adulthood. Bentin, Slovic and Severson (1992) focused their study on the perception of the risk during adolescence. They found that the high-risk behaviors are influenced by the need to be recognized and accepted by the peer groups.

The above evidences have shown that some transgressive behaviors during adolescence are common and could be defined as "normative" and should not be synonymous of antisocial behaviors in the adolescent. Thus, it is important to distinguish "normative" transgressions from antisocial behaviors, both of which are attributed to young people (Mennis et.al., 2011). Doing the evaluation of the differences between a transgressive behavior and an antisocial conduct, criminological and psychological theories focus on the influence of the individual, family and environmental factors in criminal development during adolescence (Miner, 2002). Simultaneously, externalizing problems, abusive families, high crime rate and other elements are taken into account (Loureiro et al., 2009; Shaw et al., 2012; Fisher & Bonnie, 2004).

Along with this point of view, the principal theoretical framework of the following research is based on the main environmental, psychological and sociological theories on the development of criminality during adolescence. Several studies (Steinberg, 2009; Smith, 2008) have shown how deviant behavior is influenced by a network of multiple, intersecting factors and how these elements impact the development of antisocial conduct (Mallett, 2013). According to this framework the individual interacts and modifies the environment in which he lives, as Bronfenbrenner illustrated in his model (1994). Also, as theorized by Bowlby, (Holmes, 2014) family and the style of attachment affect the capacity to engage in social relationships during

adulthood, thus, juvenile's justice involved could use criminality as a problem-solving strategy (De Li, 2004; Chapple, 2005). Those who have a secure attachment tend to develop social skills and deal successfully with stress situations; while insecure attachment and poor parenting can increase antisocial behaviors and criminality (Ryan & Testa, 2005). These factors are mediated by the individual characteristics of the person, who is more sensitive during adolescence (Jackson & Hay 2013).

Moffitt (1993) Patterson and Yoerger (2002) evaluated children whose parents interacted with them in a detached manner during infancy. In this sample they found that there was an increase of risk of deviance during early adolescence and a persistency during adulthood. This finding was confirmed by Bandura's Social Learning Theory (1969) in which the author defines the influence of the experience lived in a specific environment, mediated by the sense of *self-efficacy* and *agency* of the individual. Bandura analyzed this assumption during one of his studies, in which he involved a group of schizophrenic children and a group of non-schizophrenic children. Both groups were placed in an electronic game room. The environment was the same for both groups. The schizophrenic children could not interact with the toys in the room and they experienced a sense of failure. The other group of children played normally with the toys and experienced a feeling of happiness. Thus, Bandura defined the environment as potential not determinant, considering the feelings linked to the experience based on the capacity to act and react in order to change the environment.

In agreement with this theory, Schreier and Chen (2013) examined the differences between low and high socio-economic contexts. They noted that low socio-economic status is also associated with poor family communication and with an increased risk to develop a criminal conduct; while high socio-economic status is linked with a higher family support that influence in a positive way the self-efficacy and the agency of the children. According to Laferriere (2015) self-efficacy and agency affect risk behaviors. In fact, adolescents who have a high sense of self-efficacy are more likely to cope with stress situations and are less likely to have behavioral problems.

Despite the homogeneity of the results shown, other researchers reported different points of view. For example, Brezina (2012) affirmed that in particular risky contexts, adolescents affirm their identity through unconventional behaviors, such as antisocial activities. This result is important to promote interventions in criminogenic environments, which impact adolescents. In fact, those who commit crimes in order to survive in their neighborhood are more likely to relapse after release from the Detention Center (Wright, et al., 2014).

To conclude, this study focuses on the main characteristics which may lead adolescents to engage in criminal activities and the display of antisocial behaviors. These findings identified useful elements which will be used to develop preventive measures and rehabilitation programs to decrease criminality in juveniles involved in the criminal justice system and also in adolescents at risk. Moreover, this study aims to (a) analyze the characteristics of juveniles' justice involved, and of adolescents who are not involved in the criminal justice system; (b) investigate similarities and differences in these two groups of adolescents; (c) provide useful tools for teachers, parents and social workers to improve the quality of their work and the well-being of adolescents.

3.2 Procedures and Method

The research aims to study the tendency to behave risky and antisocial during adolescence and in young adulthood (14-25 years old). In particular the specific goals are:

- Evaluate the social and family environment, investigating the presence of facilitating factors in aggressive and antisocial behavior.
- Analyze the characteristics of the environment of the sample, differentiating those who carry out aggressive behavior and those who not.
- Identify the incidence of environmental and social factors in personal resources, such as the self-efficacy.
- Evaluate the importance of the family system and of the social support.
- Support the importance of the development of social skills and coping strategies of the sample.

In order to realize these goals, two anonymous protocols have been created: one for high school and university students and one for juveniles' justice involved in Youth Detention Center.

The research is divided into the following studies:

Study 1. Administration of questionnaires within Italian Youth Detention Centers with the aim to identify the main characteristics of juvenile' justice involved development and risk and protective factors which may influence their social rehabilitation. Participants involved were both males and females, age ranging from 14 to 25 years. The protocol is applicable to those who are foreign and who have a good command of the language, accompanied by a cultural mediator. Before submitting the questionnaire, the protocol was evaluated and approved by the Ministry of Justice and the Directors of each Centers. The questionnaires were administered during the hours devoted to laboratory and school activities, under the supervision of teachers, educators, research team and police officers. The compilation of the protocol lasted about 90 minutes.

Study 2. Administration of questionnaires within high schools from the Center, the North and the South of Italy with the aim to explore family relationships and background in order to analyze the influence of these factors on antisocial behaviors. Participants involved were both males and females, age ranging from 13 to 18 years. The protocol is applicable to those who are not Italian, but who have a good command of the language and a good knowledge of Italian culture. The protocol was administered during regular school hours, under the supervision of the teachers and the research team. The compilation lasted about 90 minutes.

Study 3. From a matching of the sample of the study 1 and the sample of the study 2, two groups were identified and compared: juvenile's justice involved and students from high school. This comparison aims to evaluate the main differences and similitudes in the two groups, investigating the main risk and protective factors in the development of antisocial behaviors.

The participants were informed of the anonymity of the questionnaires collected. They were also informed that they were free to interrupt at any time during compilation, if they felt uncomfortable with the questions.

3.3 Measures

Socio-demographic Questionnaire structured by the researchers of the University of Cassino and Southern Lazio, investigates the anamnestic situation of the person, taking into account the family and social profile in order to have a complete picture of the person and his involvement in risky behaviors, such as substances abuse, accidents, traumas, problematic family histories, poor socio-economic status and neighborhood environments, education received and level of well-being.

Deviant Behavior Questionnaire (DBQ), contained in the Socio-demographic questionnaire is composed of 9 items which investigate risky and antisocial behaviors during adolescence, evaluated dichotomously. In order to find the level of tendency to commit illegal activities the following questions were asked: "*Have you ever stolen something from a store?*", "*Have you ever entered a shop with the intent to steal?*", "*Have you ever stolen a bicycle, a scooter or a car?*", "*Have you ever illegally downloaded music or movies from the internet?*", and in order to recognize the level of tendency to show aggressive attitudes the following questions were asked: "*Have you ever threatened or assaulted someone with a weapon to steal their money or their belongings?*", "*Have you ever attacked someone verbally or physically?*", "*Have you ever intentionally damaged something, like a bus shelter, a window, a car or a place in the bus or*

train?". "Have you ever carried a weapon with you such as a stick, a knife or a chain?", "Have you ever participated in a brawl, for example at school, at the stadium or in a public place?". The tool derives from the adaptation of the International Self-Reported Delinquency Study (Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, 2005-2007).

Neighborhood Perception Questionnaire (NPQ) contained in the Socio-demographic questionnaire is composed of 15 items. It investigates the personal perception of the neighborhood divided in three subscales: safety subscale "I felt safe in my neighborhood", "I often witness crime". Satisfaction about the services offered subscale: "I felt satisfied with the activities and services offered" and sociality subscale: "When I had a problem, I could ask the neighbors for help". All these subscales are evaluated by likert scale (1=totally false; 5= totally true).

Aggression Questionnaire (AG) is a self-report devised by Buss & Perry (1992) which evaluates the tendency for aggression. This measure derives from a factorial analysis carried out on the items of the *Hostility Inventory* (Buss & Durkee, 1957) used to assess hostility levels, from which four factors emerged, distributed on 29 items: physical aggression (PA), verbal aggression (VA), anger (A) and hostility (H). Starting from the assumption that the aggressive behavior can be acted out through various modalities and that it develops along a continuum, the authors evaluate the types of aggressive conduct on a likert scale from 1 to 5 (1 = completely false; 5 = totally true). From the sum of the items reported in each basement, the questionnaire is scored, a high score is equivalent to a greater propensity to the specific subscale. The questionnaire has a Cronbach alpha ranging from .80 to .89.

Family Communication Scale (FCS) is a questionnaire created by Ardone and D'Atena (1991) deriving from the Italian adaptation of the Parent Adolescent Communication-PAC (HL Barnes & H, 1982; Howard L. Barnes & Olson, 1985; Olson, Russell and Sprenkle, 1983). This measure evaluates communication and family disclosure, through three subscales: mother-child communication (MCC) "I can express my ideas freely and without embarrassment with my mother"; father-child communication (FCC) "I openly manifest affection to my father" and the total subscale that assesses the general quality of family communication (TFCS). The questionnaire consists of 48 items evaluated on a likert scale from 1 to 5 (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agreed). Scoring is obtained by summing the scores of the individual subscales; Cronbach's Alpha goes from .86. to .89.

Attachment Style Questionnaire (ASQ) by Feeney, Noller & Hanrahan (1994) is a self-report composed of 40 items on a likert scale from 1 to 6 (1 = totally disagree; 6 = totally agree) and evaluates the attachment and family relationships. This measure is composed of five factors, one of which represents secure attachment, while the others characterize four types of insecure

attachment. The Confidence scale (ASQ-F1) represents the secure attachment "*I trust I can rely on others in times of need*"; the scale Discomfort with Closeness (ASQ-F2) "*For me it is problematic to depend on others*" and Relationships as Secondary (ASQ-F3) "*Engaging in one's own activities is more important than building good relationships*" make up the insecure avoiding/detached style ; the scale Need for Approval (ASQ-F4) "*For me it is very important to be pleasant to others*" and the scale Preoccupation with Relationships (ASQ-F5) "*I care a lot about my relationships*" describe the preoccupied or anxious/ambivalent style. The four scales together characterize the avoiding/preoccupied style. The questionnaire has a Cronbach alpha ranging from .78 to .86.

Moral Disengagement Scale-short version (MDS), (Caprara et al., 1995) is a self-report that evaluates the homonymous construct identified by Bandura (1991; 1996), which has identified specific mechanisms of moral disengagement that make it possible to avoid the gap between thought and action, which is created when an individual acts against socially recognized moral values. A high moral disengagement is correlated with a lower sense of guilt and the need to repair to the sufferance caused by the antisocial conduct. In its the short version the questionnaire is composed of 14 items evaluated on a likert scale from 1 to 5 (1 = completely false; 5 = completely true). The items of the scale derive from the moral disengagement mechanisms mentioned: Moral Justification "*It is good to use force against those who offend your family*"; Euphemistic Language "*Taking someone's scooter without permission is just a loan* "; Advantageous Comparison "*Stealing a little money is not at all serious compared to those who steal large amounts of money*"; Displacement of Responsibility "*If the boys are not well educated at home, they cannot be reproached if they behave badly*"; Distorting Consequences "*Teasing doesn't really hurt anyone*"; Dehumanization "*Some people deserve to be treated harshly because they have no feelings that can be hurt*"; Attribution of blame "*The boys who are treated badly usually deserve it*" and Diffusion of Responsibility "*The boys cannot be scolded if they use bad words since most of their friends do the same*". From the sum of the reported items we obtain the questionnaire scoring which has a Cronbach alpha of .88.

High-Risk Situation Checklist developed by David M. Price (1999) and adapted in Italian by researchers from the University of Cassino and Southern Lazio. The High-Risk Situation Checklist evaluates the perception of the risk related to recidivism, evaluating the emotional, social, situational and possible treatment variables. It consists of 63 items. In the specific case it evaluates the factors connected to the hypothetical possibility to relapse including negative emotions, positive emotions, thoughts and actions, the characteristics of the environment, rehabilitation and other positive or negative situations that could lead (a) a person who never committed a crime to

do so (b) a person involved in justice to relapse. It is important for clinicians and psychologists to evaluate and establish possible strategies to prevent problematic behaviors and to promote social rehabilitation of juvenile' justice involved during and after detention experience.

General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSES) by Lucio Sibilio, Ralf Schwarzer & Matthias Jerusalem (1995) assesses the perceived self-efficacy. This measure investigates problem solving skills with the aim to predict the coping strategies used to deal with everyday stress. The evaluation takes place through 10 likert scale items from 1 to 4 and has a Cronbach alpha of .87.

Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS) conceived by Prezza, M. and Principato M. P. (2002) aims to investigate the support perceived by the person on three dimensions: family, friendship and society. The measure is composed by 12 affirmations investigated on a likert scale from 1 to 6 which analyze how much one feels understood and welcomed by one's family, friends and their own social network. The thirteenth item is instead open-ended and asks you to specify the person defined in the test as "*a particular person who is important for you*" (Prezza & Santinello, 2002). The questionnaire has a Cronbach alpha of .93.

Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR) by Paulhus (1991) evaluates the tendency of the participant to answer the questions asked in such a way as to correspond to the expectations of the interviewer, evaluating level of sincerity of the participants. The scale consists of 16 likert scale items from 1 to 5. The questionnaire has a Cronbach alpha of .72.

3.4. Studies

3.4.1 Study 1

Juvenile Justice Involved and Criminality: An Explorative Analysis in Italian Youth Detention Centers

Introduction. The antisocial and illegal behavior in juveniles could be interpreted in various ways, as an expression of a need, as a conscious action or as an adherence to a family, cultural and social context. For this reason, it is important to investigate the meaning of the criminal conduct of juveniles' justice involved (JJI), identifying the background, the individual characteristics and the educational and rehabilitative programs of the Youth Detention Centers in Italy.

Objectives. The main goals of this study are providing a general overview of the justice-involved adolescents and young adults in Italian Youth Detention Centers, focusing on the perpetrator profile, the family system and describing the quality of life in the Italian Youth Detention Centers.

In the investigation of the perpetrator's profile the following factors were explored, relating to the period of their life before their involvement in the justice system: the age, the gender, the provenience, the occupation and education, the perceived socio-economic status, the perceived quality of life in their own neighborhood, the use of drugs and the tendency to commit illegal or antisocial conducts. The study also looks at the present time in the adolescents' life. It explored the type of crime more diffused among JI youths, the rate of recidivism and the personal perception of the major risk factors in relapse. Relating to the family system, the parents' background, i.e., their involvement in crimes, family structure, religious transmitted values and sexual education received during childhood. Concerning Youth Detention Centers (IPM), the main educational characteristics were reported, taking into account the distribution in the North, the Center and the South of Italy.

Sample. The sample is composed of 234 JI adolescents and young adults in Italian Youth Detention Centers (214 males and 20 females) with an average age of 18.90 (SD= 2.21; range of age 14-25).

Measurements. Socio-demographic Questionnaire; High-Risk Situation Checklist; Deviant Behavior Questionnaire (DBQ); Neighborhood Perception Questionnaire (NPQ).

Statistical Analysis. The statistical software SPSS 22 was used to carry out the statistical analyses. Data obtained were evaluated using descriptive statistics that highlighted some characteristics which could be interpreted as risk and protective factors.

Results. Data shows the following main results:

Perpetrators' Profile

Socio-demographic Characteristics: The descriptive analysis of the sample, collected from the *Socio-demographic Questionnaire*, emerged the following: 91,5% of the people who are justice involved are males, 66,2% are adolescents (14-19), 65,8% are Italians and 48,3% come from the South of Italy. Two of the principal factors which could represent a risk for antisocial behavior are: (a) poor education -74,8% of the sample has lower secondary school- (b) the absence of occupation -47,9% of the sample were not involved in any activities, neither work, school projects or study before incarceration- (Table 4).

Table 4. Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Sample

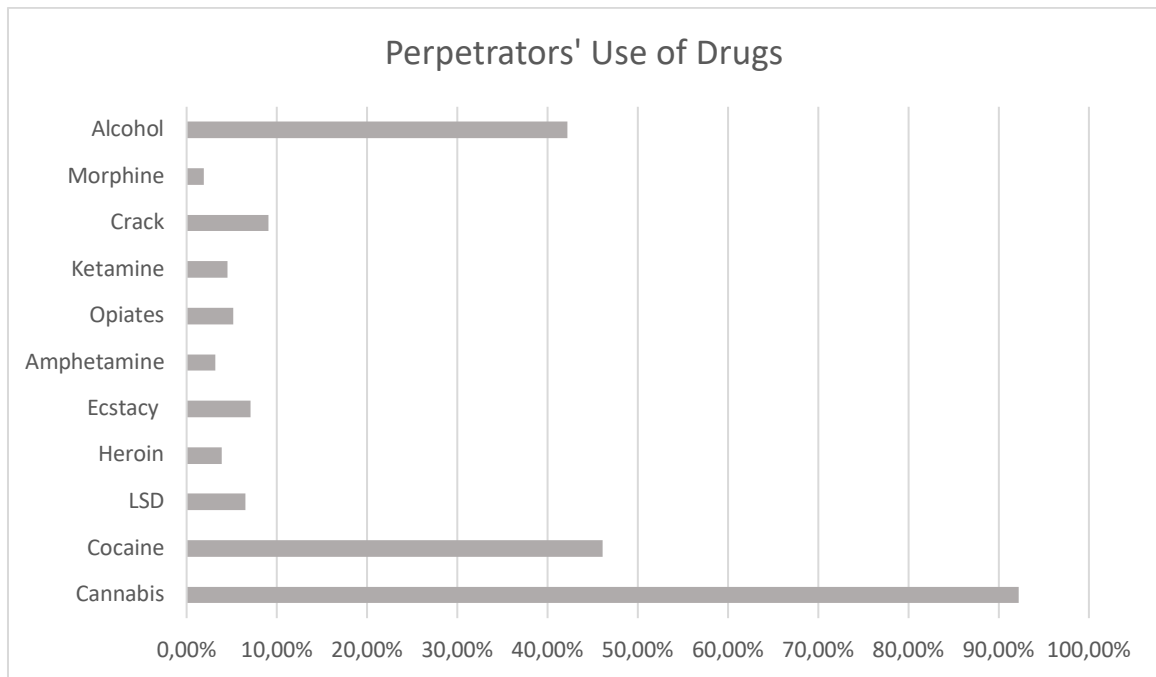
<i>Variables</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Gender	
Male	91,5%
Female	8,5%
Age	
14-19	66,2%
20-25	33,8%
Geographic Area	
Center	11,1%
North	11,5%
South	48,3%
Nationality	
Italians	65,8%
Foreigners	34,2%
Education	
None	9,8%
Elementary	10,3%
Junior High School	74,8%
High School	5,1%
College	0%
Postgraduate studies	0%
Occupation	
School work contract	9%
Employee	26,5%
Student	16,7%
Unemployed	47,9%

Socio-economic Status: 59,8% of the participants reported to have had lived in a home owned by their family before incarceration; 20,5% had difficulty in managing expenses and 22,2% requested loans from friends or family. Obviously, these data are based on the personal perception of their own socio-economic status. This is not a true representation of the real economic situation of the participants (Table 5).

Table 5. Socio-economic Status

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Home ownership	59,8%	40,2%
Rental	36,3%	63,7%
Difficulty in managing expenses	20,5%	79,5%
Loan requests	22,2%	77,8%

Use of drugs and Psychopharmaceutical Drugs: The use of drugs is one of the most diffused risk behaviors among adolescents before incarceration. 65,8% of the sample abused substances, specially cannabis and cocaine (Graphic 7). Regarding the psychopharmaceutical drugs, 16% of the sample used it for psychological issues, such as anxiety, depression and behavioral problems.



Graphic 7. Perpetrators' Use of Drugs before Incarceration

Crimes and Recidivism: 47,4% adolescents and young adults in Youth Detention Centers were involved in property crime such as robbery, theft, extortion and 24,8% in violent crimes namely, aggression and homicide. For reason of privacy 13,7% of the offences were unknown. Regarding the recidivism rate, 50,9% is unknown due to the high percentage of offences not supplied by the Youth Detention Centers.

Table. 6 Types of Crime in Youth Detention Centers

<i>Crimes</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Organized crime	2	9%
Property crime	111	47,4%
Drug dealing	20	8,5%
Violent crime	58	24,8%
Sexual crime	2	9%
Mixed crime	4	1,7%
Other crimes	5	2,1%
Not reported	32	13,7%

Antisocial Behavior: Concerning the tendency to behave illegally or antisocial before incarceration, evaluated by *Deviant behavior questionnaire (DBQ)*, the most diffused behavior among adolescents is aggression and fighting (Table 7).

Table.7 Perpetrators' Illegal or Antisocial Behaviors before Incarceration

<i>Behaviors</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Stealing (in a store)	113	48,3%
Threats-with weapon	69	29,5%
Intent to steal	83	35,5%
Aggression	136	58,1%
Damage to public property	104	44,4%
Vehicular theft	122	52,1%
Cyberspace illegal acts	119	50,9%
Illegal possession of weapons	121	51,7%
Fighting	156	66,7%

Neighborhood Perception: The evaluation by the *Neighborhood Perception Questionnaire (NPQ)* has shown that 54,3% of the participants felt safe in their own neighborhood and 38% of them affirmed that they did not witness a crime; while 29,9% had a low sense of satisfaction about their neighborhood services and support, whereas only 12,8% perceived a sense of sharing and helping from neighbors. Despite the negative feelings about the lack of opportunities and the sense of solitude in their neighborhood, 59,8% of the participants affirmed that they liked living there and 48,3% that they wanted to return there after their release from the Youth Detention Center.

High Risk Situation and Perception of Recidivism

An important aspect analyzed is the personal evaluation of the factors which could increase the risk of recidivism. Data from the checklist *High Risk Situation* showed the main characteristics which influence recidivism according to youths involved in justice. This measure aims to evaluate a hypothetical situation in which people are released from the center. The checklist shows some emotions, situations, thoughts, neighborhood characteristics and attitudes which can increase or decrease the perception of risk according to the sample. This evaluation is based on self-regulation, self-image and consciousness of the crime. High-risk checklist proposes an imaginative and hypothetical exercise in order to evaluate future conduct and to investigate self-criticism and

recognition of personal strengths and fears about the offence. The results are a valid starting point to create social rehabilitation programs. However, it is difficult for youth's JI to think about these themes, because on one hand, they feel that they would not commit another offence, being aware of the consequences; on the other hand, they do not trust the society in which they live. Consequently, after the release from the Center, they are afraid, lonely and resigned about the lack of their future. Yet those who have beliefs in themselves and in their abilities and who have family or friend support are more likely to interact positively with their environment and thus avoiding relapse.

Negative Emotions: The most common negative emotion which could lead to relapse is rage and problem in managing it (Table 8).

Table 8. Negative Emotions and Recidivism

<i>Item</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Rage and problem management	47,9%
Anxiety	15%
Depression	12,4%
Rejection	12,4%
Frustration	14,5%
Unrealistic fears	6%
Blame	10,7%
Solitude	12,8%
Self-pity	3,8%
Shame	9,4%
Resentment against others	11,5%
Grief	11,1%
Sense of inadequacy	4,3%

Positive Emotions: Positive emotions, if out of control that may results in committing other crimes; among these the most common is the excessive security of not committing other crimes (Table 9).

Table 9. Positive Emotions and Recidivism

<i>Item</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Excessive security of not committing more crimes	34,2%
Magnificence and omnipotence	10,3%
Sense of control	41%
Relief from physical and emotional tension	13,2%
Think <<I will not commit other offences>>	12,4%

Thoughts and Behaviors about Crime: Among thoughts and behaviors that could affect relapse the participants identify the item “Thinking <<I will not do it anymore>>” (Table 10).

Table 10. Thoughts and Behaviors about Crime and Recidivism

<i>Item</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
My behavior is correct	23,5%
I cannot do anything else	17,1%
I cannot control my behavior	16,2%
I cannot manage stress	7,7%
I do not know the consequences of my actions	11,5%
I do not trust psychological programs of rehabilitation	9,4%
My life has no meaning	10,3%
I think of crime continuously	9%
I have fantasies, dreams and thoughts about crimes	8,1%
I feel better if I am involved in criminality	2,1%
The consumption of drug and alcohol	11,1%
Wanting to give a false impression to others	5,6%
Thinking that I am different from others	9,4%
Believing I will not commit other crimes	10,7%
“Thinking <<I will not do it anymore>>”	29,9%

Neighborhood’s characteristics: The most diffused characteristics of the neighborhood which could affect the risk of recidivism is the easy access to weapons (Table 11).

Table 11. Neighborhood’s Characteristics and Recidivism

<i>Item</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Presence of potential victims	10,7%
Easy access to weapons	27,8%
Easy access to drugs and alcohol	24,4%
Conflict with partner/friends	7,7%
Interpersonal conflicts	11,1%
Social isolation and solitude	6%
Involvement in criminal actions	20,5%
Contact with other people who had involve in criminality	23,1%
Poor social skills	12,4%

Feeling about Rehabilitation Programs: One of the most common feelings about rehabilitation programs offered after release, is the difficulty to trust and adhere to it. The participants reported that not participating in rehabilitation programs could lead to relapse (Table 12).

Table 12. Rehabilitation Programs and Recidivism

<i>Item</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Not participating in rehabilitation programs	34,6%
Incapability to be honest with the professionals	16,2%
Incapability to be involved in support group	6,8%
Difficulty in trusting others	32,1%
Lack of information about the offence and its consequence	4,3%
Non-awareness of the situations which could result in the commitment of other crimes	9%
Not following the advices given by the professionals	16,2%
No trust in programs	19,2%

Other Situations: Among the other situations, positive or negative, which can increase or decrease the possibility to commit another crime, the participants reported that success at work is the most important factor (Table 13).

Table 13. Other Situations and Recidivism

<i>Item</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Work success	48,3%
Use of leisure time	15,4%
Thinking about the future	40,6%
Controlling the desire to commit other crimes	12,8%
Avoid expressing my own feelings	12%
Incapacity to talk about the desire to commit a crime	4,7%

Perpetrators' Family

Family Structure: Relationship with parents is one of the most important factors in prevention of risky and antisocial behavior. The presence of parents and the support from family can protect adolescents and young adults from risks, such as use of drugs and involvement in criminal activities. The majority of the sample (53,8%) reported that had received a disciplinary kind of education during childhood and this data could represent a risk factor for antisocial development. However, there are two positive factors which characterized the sample: 56,4% of the participants lived with both parents before incarceration and 51,7% of them spent time with parents (Table 14).

Table 14. Family Structure of the Sample

<i>Variable</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
With both parents	132	56,4%
Mother only	57	24,4%
Father only	13	5,6%
With others	32	13,7%
<i>Family structure</i>		
Intact	132	56,4%
Single parent	70	29,9%
Other	32	13,7%

Family and Religious Education: Religion is a strong value which is part of the education and which connects family members with each other. In the sample there is a strong religious value and transmission of beliefs from parents (Table 15).

Table 15. Religious Education in Family

	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Religious parents	175	74,8%
Practicing parents	123	52,6%
Parents who transmit their religious values to their offspring	156	66,7%
Religious offspring	118	50,4%

Sexual Education during Childhood: Sexuality is often an underestimated topic and a taboo for the families. Most of the participants discussed sexuality with relatives and friends (73,9%) instead of with their parents (71,4%). This lack of communication causes some adolescents to be involved in promiscuity, which at times led to sexual transmitted diseases and relationship problems (Table 16).

Table 16. Sexual Education during Childhood

	<i>N</i>	%
Talk with parents about sexuality	67	28,6%
Talk with others about sexuality	173	73,9%
Talk about sexuality in general	34	14,5%

Family Background: Intact families are characterized of married parents, both having Junior High school education (73,2%). The majority of the mothers are unemployed (46,9%) while fathers are employed (34,9%). 31,2% of the fathers were involved in criminal activities and 9,2% of them used drugs (Table 17; Table 18).

Table 17. Mother's Educational and Professional background

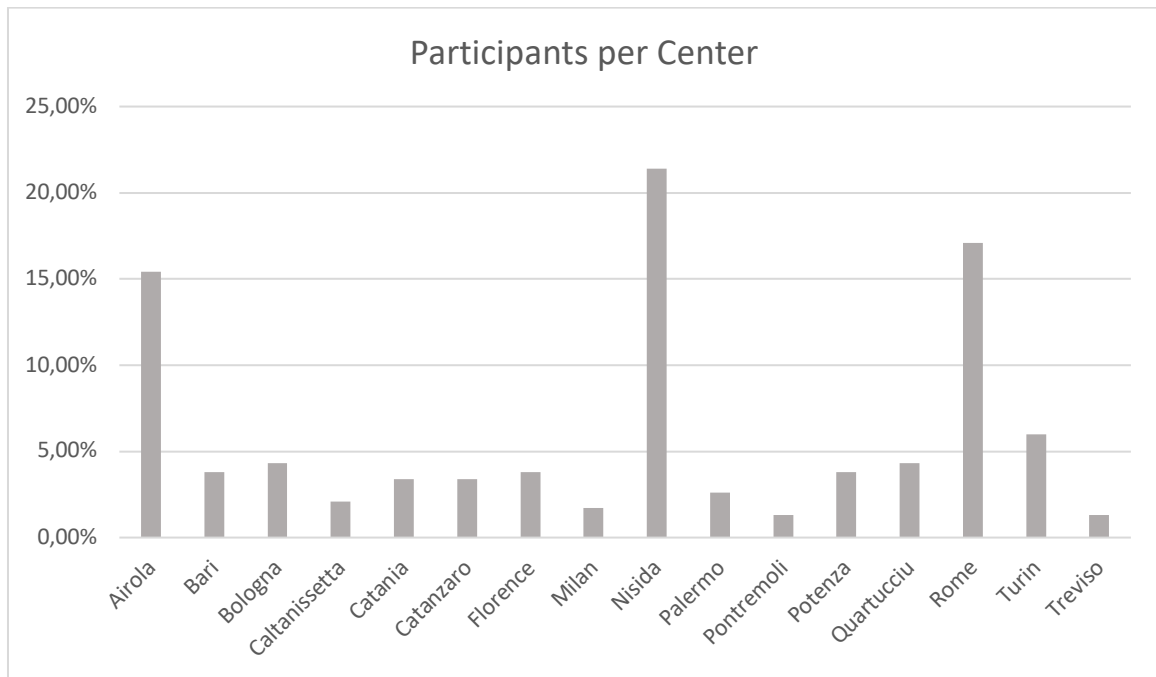
<i>Mother</i>				
Education	Occupation	Health problems	Justice involvement	Use of a substance
Junior High School (37,5%)	Unemployed (46,9%)	20,4%	7,7%	1,3%

Table 18. Father's Educational and Professional background

<i>Father</i>				
Education	Occupation	Health problems	Justice involvement	Use of a substance
Junior High School (33,5%)	Employed (34,9%)	19,1%	31,2%	9,2%

Youth Detention Centers

The percentage reported in this paragraph does not show all the juveniles in the Centers but only those who decided to adhere to the study (Graphic 8).



Graphic 8. Perpetrators' distribution for each Youth Detention Centers

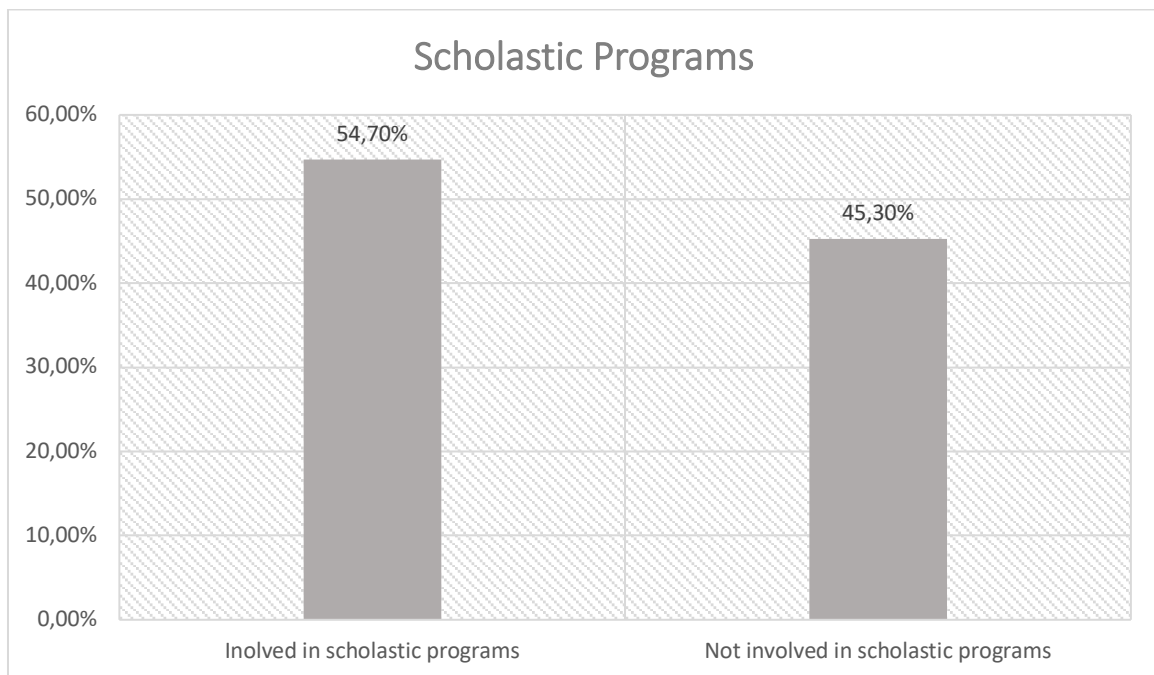
A higher percentage of participants was found in Airola, Nisia and Rome. The majority of the sample come from the South of Italy and the distribution of the perpetrators is in agreement with their provenience. Also, there is a high percentage of foreigners in Bari and Florence Youth Detention Centers (Table 19).

Table 19. Perpetrators' distribution per Provenience

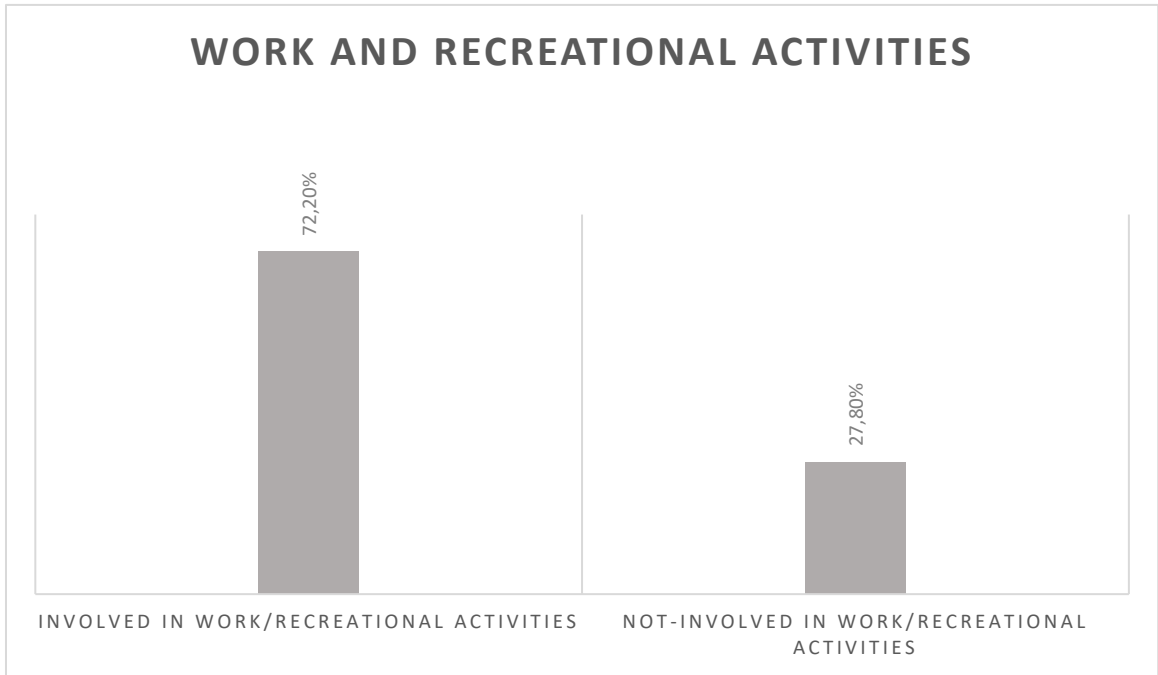
<i>Youth Detention Centers and Participants Provenience</i>			
<i>Acireale</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
-	-	80%	20%
<i>Airola</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
-	2,8%	88,9%	8,3%
<i>Bari</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
-	-	33,3%	66,7%
<i>Bologna</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
60%	-	20%	20%
<i>Caltanissetta</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
-	20%	60%	20%
<i>Catania</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
-	12,5%	75%	12,5%
<i>Catanzaro</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
12,5%	-	50%	37,5%
<i>Florence</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
22,2%	11,1%	-	67,7%
<i>Milan</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
100%	-	-	-
<i>Nisida</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
-	8%	80%	12%-
<i>Palermo</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
-	-	67,7%	33,3%
<i>Pontremoli</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
67,7%	-	-	33,3%

<i>Potenza</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
11,1%	-	33,3%	55,6%
<i>Quartucciu</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
10%	-	60%	30%
<i>Rome</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
2,5%	45%	2,5%	50%
<i>Turin</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
50%	-	7,1%	42,9%
<i>Treviso</i>			
North participants	Center participants	South participants	Foreigners participants
67,7%	-	-	33,3%

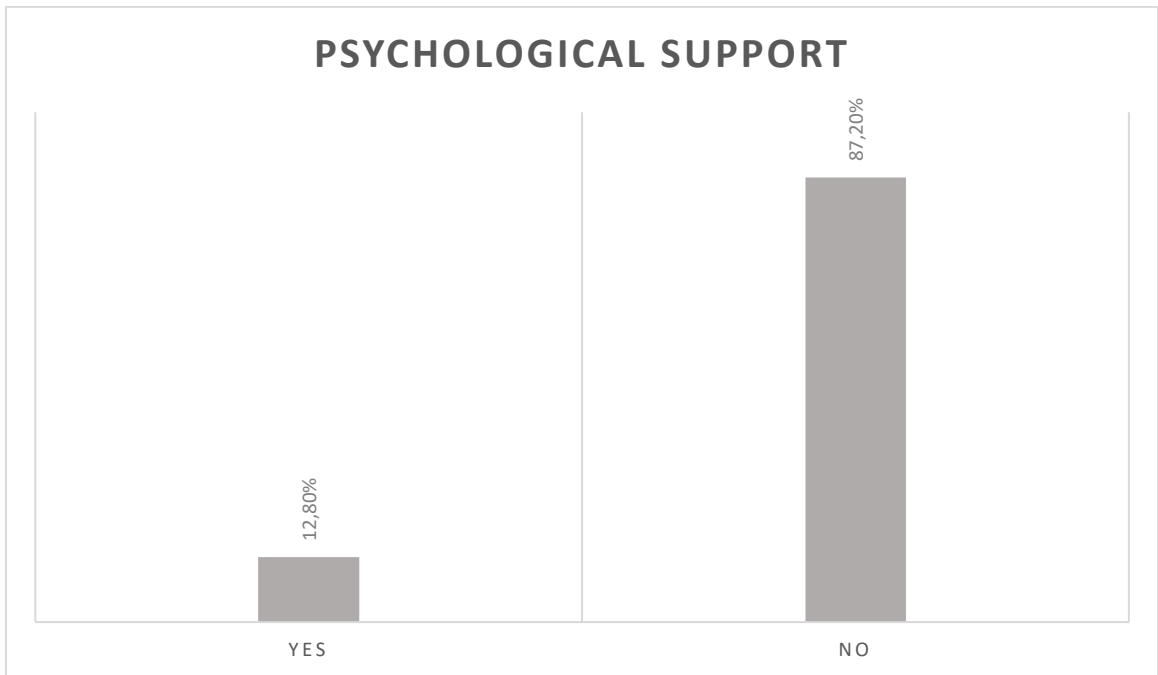
Education, Work and Psychological Support in Youth Detention Centers: Regarding the condition in the Centers, 54,7% of the participants are involved in scholastic programs and 72,2% of them are involved in work or recreative activities, both positive data; while only 12,8% of the sample received a psychological support in the Center (Graphic 9; Graphic 10; Graphic 11).



Graphic 9. Juveniles involved in Scholastic Programs in Youth Detention Centers



Graphic 10. Juveniles involved in Work or Recreational activities in Youth Detention Centers



Graphic 11. Psychological Support in Youth Detention Centers

Participants of Milan, Florence and Bari showed a high percentage of involvement in educational and professional programs, while participants of Treviso reported that they did not work nor go to

school (Table 20; table 21). Another aspect diffused among the Centers is the lack of psychological support and treatment.

Table 20. Educational activities in Youth Detention Centers

<i>Youth Detention Centers</i>	<i>Participants involved in Educational Programs</i>	<i>%</i>
Acireale	3	30%
Airola	21	58,3%
Bari	7	78,8%
Bologna	5	50%
Caltanissetta	3	60%
Catania	2	25%
Catanzaro	2	25%
Florence	9	100%
Milan	4	100%
Nisida	27	54%
Palermo	3	50%
Pontremoli	2	66,7%
Potenza	6	66,7%
Quartucciu	1	10%
Rome	25	62,5%
Turin	6	42,9%
Treviso	-	

Table 21. Professional and Recreational activities in Youth Detention Centers

<i>Youth Detention Centers</i>	<i>Participants involved in Professional or Recreational Programs</i>	<i>%</i>
Acireale	8	80%
Airola	15	41,7%
Bari	8	88,9%
Bologna	6	60%

Caltanissetta	4	80%
Catania	4	50%
Catanzaro	7	87,5%
Florence	9	100%
Milan	3	75%
Nisida	40	80%
Palermo	4	66,7%
Pontremoli	2	66,7%
Potenza	9	100%
Quartucciu	9	90%
Rome	27	67,5%
Turin	12	85,7%
Treviso	-	-

Table 22. Types of Professional and Recreational activities per Youth Detention Centers

<i>Youth Detention Centers</i>	<i>Types of Professional and Recreational activities</i>
Acireale	Restaurants, gardening, masonry
Airola	Restaurants, barber activity, masonry
Bari	Ceramics, restaurants, sports, cleaning
Bologna	Artistic drawing, restaurants, cleaning
Caltanissetta	Restaurants, gardening, masonry
Catania	Restaurants, gardening, masonry
Catanzaro	Restaurants, cleaning, masonry
Florence	Music, art drawing and theater labs, restaurants, cleaning, masonry, sport activities, gym, gardening
Milan	Gym
Nisida	Maintenance, cleaning, masonry, crib art, ceramics, restaurants, gardening
Palermo	Locksmith activity, masonry, gardening

Pontremoli	theater lab
Potenza	Cleaning, masonry and volunteer activities
Quartucciu	Carpentry, gardening, cleaning
Rome	Librarian, tailoring, sport activities, masonry, cleaning
Turin	Restaurants, electrician, cleaning, art labs, typography
Treviso	-

Discussion. In conducting the study, 234 questionnaires were administered to the participants in the Italian Youth Detention Centers. The sample was composed of males and females, adolescents and young adults. Looking at background a poor level of education was seen. The majority of the sample had only Junior High School education, no occupation and no work, before their involvement in the criminal justice system. These two factors could negatively influence their behavior. Another risk factor is the use of drug: 65,8% of the sample abuse of substance, specially cannabis and cocaine and 16% used psychopharmaceutical drugs in order to manage psychological issues, such as anxiety, depression and behavioral problems. The use of substances is a data which needs to be monitored to prevent participants from using it as a coping strategy when facing in stressful situations. Regarding the psychological support, no one among the sample had ever received a psychological treatment. This was because a lack of need was exhibited or because of the high resistance of the youths to face their difficulties.

Adolescents have problem with disclosure relating to adults and they often hide themselves behind “masks”, which are needed to "survive" in group or family contexts.

Regarding antisocial behaviors before incarceration, the most diffused among adolescents were aggression and fight. This shown a high tendency to be violent and aggressive. Moreover, adolescents and young adults in Youth Detention Centers were involved in property crime (47,4%) and violent crimes (24,8%). 13,7% of the offences had not been declared by the Centers for reasons of privacy; also, recidivism rate was not evaluated because 50,9% of this was not declared also by the Youth Detention Centers.

Adolescents and young adults involved in justice feel that the only way to achieve their goals and build their own identity is to be involved in criminal activities. Furthermore, it is difficult for them leave the situation of plight because of the involvement of the family system and due to the education received, which is based on the culture of crime. Those adolescents perceived the

Detention Center as a rite of passage. Detention Center and involvement in criminal justice system are introduction of becoming an adolescent and part of their own growth.

Another interesting data is the personal perception of the neighborhood from the *Neighborhood Perception Questionnaire (NPQ)*, that shows a scission between the real condition from which the participants come and their perception of it; 54,3% of the sample feels safe in the neighborhood; while the sense of satisfaction about the service offered (29,9%) as the sense of sharing and helping from neighbors is low (12,8%). Despite the negative feelings about the lack of opportunities and the sense of solitude in their neighborhood, the participants affirm that they like living there (59,8%) and that they want to continue to live in the same neighborhood after release from Youth Detention Center (48,3%).

Analyzing the family context and the talk about sex, most of the participants prefer to have this discussion with relatives and friends (73,9%) than with their parents (71,4%). The adolescent, if not guided about sexuality he may run the risk of having sexual conduct problems. An unawareness of one's body and sexual development can greatly affect the affirmation of one's identity and one's personal perception. Furthermore, 53,8% of the sample had received severe education during childhood; but there are also two positive factors: 56,4% of the participants lived with both parents before incarceration and used to spent time with them (51,7%). Another educational element is the transmission of religious values. The analysis shows a strong religious belief transmitted to children. Indeed, in the sample, parents believe, profess and transmit religious values to their children. This data is not to be underestimated, although religion in itself is not the specific focus of our interest, it represents the educational focus of many families, as a protective factor in risky and antisocial behaviors. In fact, those who present a religious belief transmitted from their parents are more likely to manage stressful situations. Thus, religion could be considered a protective factor which positively influences family communication and relationship with parents.

Concerning the family background, 56,4% of the sample have an intact family including both parents; unemployment rate is high, especially among mothers; 73,2% of parents are married and the majority have Junior High School education, both mothers and fathers; 31,2% of the fathers were involved in criminal activities and the 9,2% were drug users. Thus, the background is characterized from some risk factors connected with lower employment and education and risky conducts, especially among fathers.

Another important aspect is the personal perception of the high-risk situations in relapse. The High-Risk Situation checklist revealed the characteristics that could lead an adolescent who is involved in crime to relapse, based on a personal evaluation. Among negative emotions which

could influence a relapse, emerges the rage and problem in managing it (47,9%) while the positive emotions are the excessive security to not commit other offences (34,2%). Positive emotion means the “positive” evaluation of an emotion can be translated into a criminal or potentially risky action. For example, if an adolescent thinks he is sure to not committing a crime, this feeling could lead him to underestimate risks and to commit impulsive actions. This positive emotion coincides with the thoughts and behaviors that could affect recidivism, identified on the item “Thinking <<I will not do it anymore>>” (29,9%). Regarding the context, the most diffused characteristic of the neighborhood which could affect the risk of recidivism is the easy access to weapons (27,8%) linked to the criminal environment. This result is interesting because the sample shows a lower percentage of perception of the neighborhood as a dangerous place but at the same time declares that the most environmental risk factor is the presence of weapon. This contradiction shows an incongruence among the real environmental condition and the perception, based on the mechanism of the desensitization. In conclusion, one of the most diffused feelings about the rehabilitation programs is the difficulty of trust; indeed, the participants think that they will not participate to rehabilitation programs (34,6%) and that this behavior could have a negative impact on their relapse. Among the other situations, positive or negative, which can increase or decrease the possibility to commit another crime the participants report that success at work is the most important factor of influence (48,3%).

Finally, concerning the exploration of the Youth Detention Centers, the majority of the JI youths come from the South of Italy and the distribution of the perpetrator’s is in agreement with their provenience. Moreover, in the sample there is a high percentage of foreigners in Bari and Florence Youth Detention Centers. Half of the participants is involved in educational programs and more than half in work and recreational activities, such as maintenance, cleaning, masonry, art labs, ceramics, restaurants, gardening, especially in Nisida and Florence; while just a few of them received a psychological support in the Centers. For this reason, the majority of these adolescent expresses difficulty in managing stress situations and in social reintegration after release. Their environment often lacks opportunities and is criminogenic, both risky factors in recidivism. Indeed, the lack of after-released projects is one of the most dangerous and problematic issues to take into account in order to evaluate the risk of relapse in young people.

Limits. One of the limits which characterized this study is the lack of association between the type of crime and the characteristics of the person, because the inequality of the numbers in the typology of crimes and for privacy reasons. A reflection is needed concerning the decision to not compare the Centers and to evaluate life condition in each of them.

Conclusion. The present study aimed to provide a general picture and a description of the main characteristics associated to the juvenile criminality. Also, it evaluated the condition of the youths in the Youth Detention Centers.

The research highlighted some environmental, relational and individual characteristics. In fact, the family, the education received and living in an unsafe or poor environment could influence adolescents' behavior and lead to relapse. Cultural and social models, peer groups and family system can influence aggressive and transgressive behaviors, becoming a risk factors in criminal development. Other risk factors are family with relationship problems and criminal records, risky environment, lack of communication and poor support.

The education and the rules are derived from parental teachings and also from the identification with parental and social models. The norms of a context are internalized and influence the behavior from childhood until adulthood. For this reason, the principal aim is to respond adequately to the different facets of adolescent transgression, in order to prevent antisocial behaviors, psychopathology and criminality.

3.4.2 Study 2

How Do Family Influence Antisocial Behavior in Juveniles?

Introduction. Adolescents often show a transgressive behavior which is borderline between rebellion and antisocial conduct. Different types of aggression exist and not all of them become criminality, but some of these are a way to externalize a plight or a difficulty. The most discussed variables of influence in adolescent's antisocial conduct is the family relationship and the family structure, which seem to have a negative or positive impact on the behavior of the adolescent. For instance, a good communication and perceived support in family could prevent negative outcome in behavior (Massarwi, & Khoury-Kassabri, 2017). Also, attachment and the presence of both parents is a protective factor in antisocial conduct (Hong, Sterzing, & Woo, 2017). Starting from these data, this study is focused on the role of family factors in influencing antisocial conduct during adolescence.

Objectives. This study aims to investigate the role of family in the development of risky, aggressive and antisocial behavior during adolescence. In particular it has three specific objectives: 1) analyze the link between the style of attachment, the type of communication in family and the aggressiveness, comprehensive of physical, verbal and cognitive aggression, such as the feeling of rage and hostility; 2) compare the antisocial behavior in three levels (low, medium, high) with the attachment styles, the propensity to aggressive conduct (physical, verbal and cognitive) and the family structure (intact, single parent and significant others); 3) describe a model of influence that takes into account the main variables of family influence to understand their role in the development of antisocial behavior.

Sample. 2.366 adolescents have been involved (57,8% females) with an average age of 16.35 years old ($DS = 1.49$; range 13-18) from the high schools of Lazio, Campania, Sicily and Emilia-Romagna. 26,1% of the sample come from the Center of Italy, 11,8% from the North and 61,1% from the South; 3,8% of the sample is composed of foreign students.

Measurements. Socio-demographic Questionnaire; Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS); Attachment Style Questionnaire (ASQ); Family Communication Scale (FCS); Aggression Questionnaire (AG); Deviant behavior questionnaire (DBQ).

Statistical Analysis. The descriptive analysis examines the background of the participants and highlights the social, family and contextual characteristics. Also, correlation is used between family attachment, communication and aggressive behaviors. One-way ANOVA investigates the difference in the levels of antisocial behavior divided into three groups (low, medium, high) in relation with the attachment styles, the propensity to engage in aggressive conduct and the family

structure. Finally, a model is elaborated with Path Analysis, which related some family characteristics, such as communication, structure, perceived support and parental justice-involvement with antisocial behavior.

Results. Data show the following main results:

Adolescents' Socio-demographic Characteristics

From the descriptive statistics reported in Table 23, 57,8% of the sample is composed of female participants; 42,2% males; 61,1% of the sample comes from Southern Italy and 96,2% Italians. Regarding the family structure, a greater percentage of intact families emerges (83,5%); composed of parents with a Junior High School education and who are engaged in work activities.

Table 23. Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Sample

<i>Socio-demographic characteristics</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Gender	
Male	42,2%
Female	57,8%
Provenance	
Central Italy	26,1%
Northern Italy	11,8%
Southern Italy	61,1%
Ethno-cultural background	
Italian	96,2%
Foreign	3,8%
Family structure	
Intact	83,5%
Single parent	14,8%
Others	1,7%
Parent' education	
Junior High School:	
Mother	1,4%
Father	1,1%
High School:	
Mother	74,1%
Father	75,2%
College:	
Mother	24,5%
Father	23,8%
Parent' occupation	
Employed:	
Mother	67,2%
Father	88,9%
Unemployed:	
Mother	32,8%
Father	11,1%

Family Factors, Aggression and Tendency to Antisocial Behavior

Regarding the objective to analyze the attachment between children and parents, family and aggressive behavior, Table 24 shows a positive correlation between a style of safe attachment and a good communication with the father and mother ($p < .01$); while the style insecure-avoiding and insecure-worried negatively correlates with family communication ($p < .01$). Furthermore, the aggressive behavior correlates negatively with communication in the family and positively with the insecure-avoiding and insecure-worried attachment ($p < .01$); while there are no differences regarding communication with the father and mother. The only exception in the differences between father communication subscale and mother communication subscale, is the subscale of verbal aggression. Thus, this correlates negatively with the father communication subscale.

<i>Variables</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>
1. Father-child communication	-									
2. Mother-child communication	.457	-								
3. Confidence	.334	.371	-							
4. Discomfort with closeness	-.318	-.267	-.321	-						
5. Relationships as secondary	-.095	-.178	.040	.371	-					
6. Need for approval	-.248	-.236	-.117	-.465	.406	-				
7. Preoccupation with relationships	-.220	-.149	-.011	.490	.278	.651	-			
8. Physical aggression	-.112	-.191	.013	.126	.293	.101	.111	-		
9. Verbal aggression	-.087	-.029	.159	.215	.105	.045	.204	.388	-	
10. Anger	-.272	-.258	-.064	.308	.180	.247	.328	.537	.546	-
11. Hostility	-.327	-.293	-.236	.478	.222	.438	.503	.318	.433	.593

Table 24. Pearson's Correlation between the scales of Family communication, Attachment and Aggression

$r > .45$ ($p < .05$) $r > .08$ ($p < .01$)

Regarding the objective to compare the tendency of antisocial behavior, that is divided into three levels (low, medium, high), to the attachment styles, to the propensity to aggressive conduct and to the family structure, Table 25 shows that physical aggression, anger and hostility are higher in the high antisocial group ($F = 311.09$; $p < .01$); while there are no significant differences between groups about verbal aggression. Concerning the style of attachment, it is clear that the secure and insecure-worried attachment characterizes the group with low and medium level of antisocial participants; while insecure-avoidant attachment characterizes the group with high levels ($F = 17.91$; $p < .01$). Those who have low antisocial level show a higher score on the scale of family communication with the father ($F = 11.47$; $p < .01$) and with the mother ($F = 23.23$; $p < .01$), compared to the other two groups. Finally, the group with low antisocial level has an intact family

($\chi^2 = 39.02$; $p < .01$); while groups with medium and high antisocial level present mostly single parent families ($\chi^2 = 29.36$; $p < .01$) or significant other families ($\chi^2 = 30.26$; $p < .01$).

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Low tendency to antisocial behavior</i>		<i>Medium tendency to antisocial behavior</i>		<i>High tendency to antisocial behavior</i>		<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Physical aggression	20.10	6.71	27.91	7.19	31.77	7.04	311.09	< .01
Verbal aggression	13.27	2.84	14.51	2.79	14.21	3.27	35.17	< .01
Anger	19.12	5.30	22.22	4.88	23.48	4.99	80.47	< .01
Hostility	23.55	6.19	24.99	6.02	25.09	6.15	10.96	< .01
Confidence	31.13	6.79	31.38	6.98	29.30	7.30	2.96	< .05
Discomfort with closeness	37.56	8.26	37.71	8.18	36.89	8.56	.32	n.s
Relationships as secondary	18.86	6.88	20.78	7.06	21.68	7.52	17.91	< .01
Need for approval	23.28	7.21	23.43	7.48	23.09	7.20	.11	n.s
Preoccupation with relationships	30.17	7.46	30.04	7.71	28.30	7.66	2.28	n.s
Father-child communication	75.49	15.71	71.90	15.62	70.78	13.72	11.47	< .01
Mother-child communication	83.38	16.37	71.90	15.77	75.65	13.98	23.23	< .01
<i>Family' structure</i>	N (%)		N (%)		N (%)			χ^2
Intact	1583	85%	343	80.3%	49	64.5%	39.02	< .01
Single parent	258	14%	71	17%	21	28%	29.36	< .01
Others	22	1.2%	13	3%	6	8%	30.26	< .01

Table 25. Mean and standard deviation of Antisocial behavior, Aggression, Family communication, Attachment and Family structure

$p < .05$; $p < .01$

Family Effects on Antisocial Behavior: A model of Influence

From the path analysis, a model of influence is created in order to illustrate the interaction between family variables and antisocial behavior during adolescence. The relationships between the variables in the model explain that 60% of the variance is associated to juvenile antisocial behavior. Three of the four family variables are significantly associated to the antisocial conduct. Specifically, family's structure and parental' justice-involvement have positive relation with antisocial behavior ($\beta = .095$; $p < .01$) ($\beta = .109$; $p < .01$); while perceived family's support has no significative relation and family's communication has a negative relation with antisocial behavior ($\beta = -.142$; $p < .01$). Moreover, data show a significative association between variables; indeed, family's support and communication have a positive and significative interaction ($\beta = .039$; $p < .01$) and also family's structure and parental' justice involvement ($\beta = .112$; $p < .01$) (Figure 3).

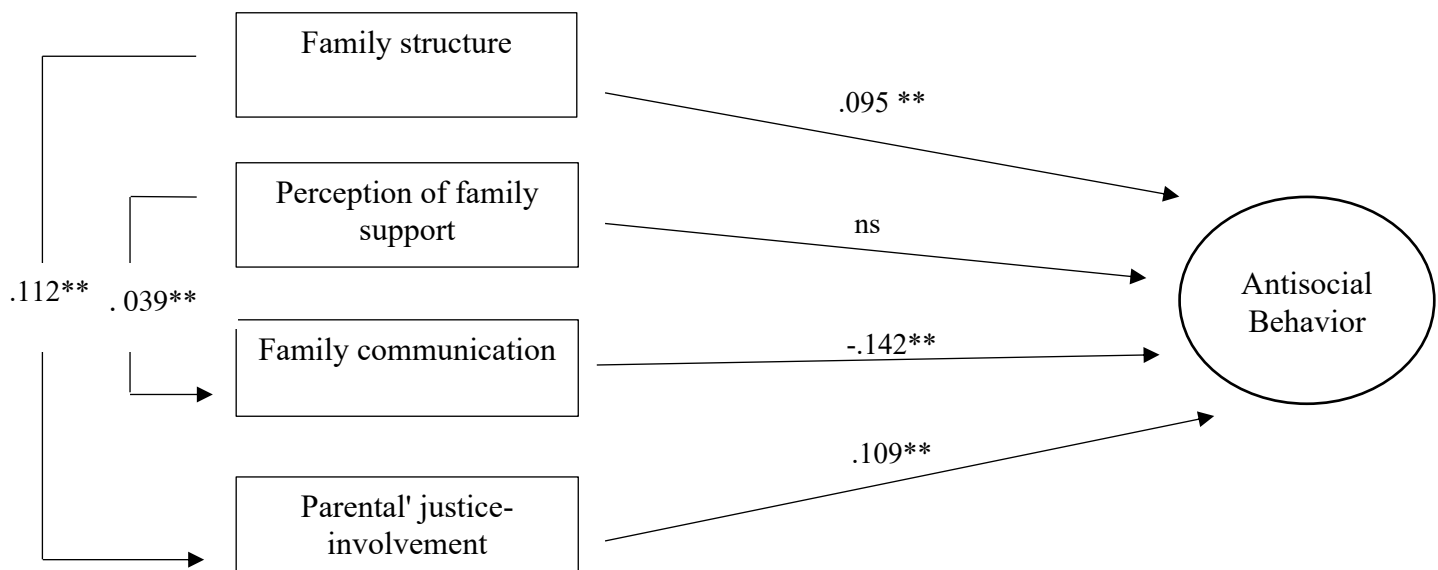


Figure 3. Model of Influence, Family Effects and Antisocial Behavior

Discussion. The aim of this study was to assess the indirect influence of family variables in juvenile antisocial behavior; basing on the assumption that there is a multifactorial interaction among adolescent behavior and family factors, a concept supported by the main developmental theories. In order to evaluate this influence 2.366 adolescents (57,8% females) had been involved with an average age of 16.35 years old (DS = 1.49; range 13-18) from the high schools of Lazio, Campania, Sicily and Emilia-Romagna. From the results obtained in this study, the following conclusions may be drawn, which are consistent with the literature and previous empirical findings.

First, from the descriptive statistics 61,1% of the sample comes from Southern Italy and 96,2% is Italian. Also, one of the most influencing factors of family system is the structure. A greater percentage of the participants have an intact family (83.5%) and parents with a high school diploma and are engaged in work related activities; both protective factors for adolescent's development. The correlation between attachment, family communication and aggressive behavior, shows a positive association between a style of secure attachment and a good communication with both parents ($p < .01$); while the style of insecure-avoiding and insecure-worried attachment correlates negatively with family communication ($p < .01$). Consequently, the aggressive behavior correlates negatively with communication in the family and positively with the insecure-avoiding and insecure-worried attachment ($p < .01$); while there are no differences regarding communication with parents. There is only one exception between the communication with father and with mother: the subscale of verbal aggression. This subscale correlates negatively with the father communication subscale. Therefore, those who have a good family communication with both father and mother, and who experience a secure attachment are less likely to be aggressive. It is well known that the scarce emotional availability experienced during childhood and adolescence could lead to aggression (Cummings, Taylor, Merrilees, Goeke-Morey, & Shirlow, 2016).

Secondly, in comparing the tendency of antisocial behavior, which is divided into three levels (low, medium, high), with the attachment styles, the propensity to aggressive conduct and the family structure, one-way ANOVA shows that physical aggression, anger and hostility are higher in the high antisocial group ($F = 311.09$; $p < .01$); while there are no significant differences between groups in the verbal aggression subscale. Again, the verbal aggression subscale can be considered as an outsider data, compared to other scales, reinforcing the interpretation that people who have good communication, safe attachment and low antisocial tendency are more likely to have a high score in verbal aggression. Also, it shows that people who report high antisocial behavior, have insecure attachment and poor communication, do not report verbal aggressive behavior. This finding is coherent with the first one. To be more specific, regarding attachment and its interaction with level of antisocial tendency, it is clear that the secure attachment characterizes the group of participants composed by low and medium level; and also insecure-worried attachment is characterized by the same link. Insecure-avoidant attachment characterizes the group with high levels of antisocial behavior ($F = 17.91$; $p < .01$). A lot of studies have examined the role of attachment in aggression and antisocial behavior (Roberto, Carlyle, Goodall & Castle, 2009; Gallarin & Alonso-Arbiol, 2012), specifying the link between insecure-avoidant attachment and antisocial tendency (Fagot & Kavanagh, 1990; Marinus & Van Zendoorn, 1997).

Moreover, communication is related to aggression and the comparison among these groups confirms that those who have low antisocial conduct level show a higher score on the scale of family communication both, of the father ($F = 11.47$; $p < .01$), and of the mother ($F = 23.23$; $p < .01$), compared to the other two groups. Good communication in family is one of the most protective factors that positively influences youth's behavior. Adolescents who feel the need to talk and share their own feelings are more likely to avoid risky and antisocial conducts, which are often a way to manage stress situations or solve problems (Thoyibah, Nurjannah & Sumarni, 2017). Often adolescents prefer to share experiences and problems with peers. This is because they perceive their parents as not being open or because of poor communication in family. This could become dangerous. When adolescents have a perception that their family is open and communicative, they feel more comfortable in sharing emotions and problems with them and still maintain the relationship with their peers. They now have more support and two point of views.

Third, regarding family' structure, there is a significant difference between groups, as shown by the chi-square test: the group with low antisocial tendency level mainly has a family of both parents ($\chi^2 = 39.02$; $p < .01$); while groups with medium and high present single-parent families ($\chi^2 = 29.36$; $p < .01$) or significant others families ($\chi^2 = 30.26$; $p < .01$). These results are confirmed by the literature (Sullivan, 2006) which report the role of the family' structure in antisocial behavior and show that those who are more prone to aggression come from single-parent families.

Finally, the model of influence illustrates the interaction between family variables and antisocial behavior in adolescents, highlighting a strong percentage of variance, 60% associated to juvenile antisocial conduct. The model shows a positive relationship between family' structure and antisocial behavior ($\beta = .095$; $p < .01$) and also between parental' justice-involvement and antisocial behavior ($\beta = .109$; $p < .01$). As supported by literature, single parent family or significative other families could have a strong negative effect on adolescent behavior, derived from the sense of absence and loneliness that can engage youths in risky or criminal activities. They could search a sense of recognition and belonging in deviant groups or organizations and without other adults as model do not recognize the situation as being dangerous. Moreover, as a consequence, parental 'justice-involvement has a significative interaction with family 'structure ($\beta = .112$; $p < .01$). On one hand, if a parent is involved in criminal activities this may influence the adolescent to be also involved; on the other hand, the absence of one parent because of a criminal action has an impact on the family in many ways. Family communication is negatively related to antisocial behavior ($\beta = -.142$; $p < .01$) as reported before, a good communication with parents has a positive effect on adolescent behavior; while the only variable which was not related

to antisocial conduct is the perceived family 'support. This variable shows a positive and significant interaction with family' communication ($\beta = .039$; $p < .01$), suggesting that the perceived support from family do not influence juvenile antisocial behavior as the other family variables. One explanation could be that the perception is a cognitive concept, while the other factors are more practical and concrete and perceived as stronger. For instance, the intimacy with parents and family close relationship has a greater influence than the perception. This aspect influences the weight of this variable in the model.

Limits. This study has several limitations that may be overcome by further researches. First, the sample is composed of 3,8% of foreign students and the remainder Italians, with the majority from the South of Italy. This characteristic could influence the results, because the sample is not homogeneous from a cultural point of view. Second, the lack of number of participants with different proveniences impede to compare the sample according to this. The last reflection is about gender differences not taking into account in the model of influence. Males and females express antisocial behavior differently are perceived differently by the family. This limitation could be a suggestion for further researches on the subject.

Conclusion. *How do family influence antisocial behavior in juveniles?* This study aimed to investigate the influence of family variables in the development of antisocial conduct during adolescence; involving a sample of students of both gender from Italian High Schools.

Specifically, in order to answer to the question of the study the following variables were taken into account: family's support, family's communication and structure, attachment style, aggression, divided into physical, verbal, anger and hostility and the tendency to perform antisocial or illegal acts. The tendency to behave antisocially or illegally was divided in levels to evaluate the link with other variables and to analyze the differences and similarities among groups: low, medium and high antisocial tendency.

Consistent with what is suggested by the literature, the results show that family variables influence adolescent' behavior. Single-parent family, poor communication, insecure attachment, characterize those who report a higher tendency to antisocial behavior.

These results have practical implications in prevention and risk management programs for youths. One, to plan interventions in family and at school with the aim to encourage communication and relational skills. Two, to increase the awareness of adults on the behavior of their children. It is important to consider this study as a starting point in understanding the complex phenomenon of adolescent antisocial conduct.

3.4.3 Study 3

Risk and Protective Factors in Antisocial Development: A Comparison among Italian Youth's Justice Involved and Students

Introduction. Antisocial behavior during adolescence could be influenced by more than one factors. The most studied factors were family background and communication, attachment style, the environment and other characteristics, such as thoughts and feeling about criminal conduct. The antisocial tendency is such a widespread characteristic in adolescent that it is shared by the majority of the population. In Italy it is estimated that seven out of ten adolescents commit criminal offenses (Marcelli & Braconnier, 2010). The most diffuse antisocial and illegal conducts are theft during a school trip or damage public place in a group of peers. These behaviors could lead some adolescents to be involved in criminal justice system and to experience the detention. Not all the adolescents behave in a transgressive or antisocial way and not all youth's justice involved (JI) have the same characteristics. For this reason, it is important evaluate the antisocial conduct in agreement with individual, family and environmental factors.

Objectives. This study is focus on risk and protective factors in antisocial behavior and compares two groups of adolescents, students of high school and youths in Youth Detention Centers, in order to evaluate if there are differences and common characteristics in family, environment and antisocial behavior. Data collected might be useful to promote prevention and intervention programs in Youth Detention Centers and in high schools taking in to account the main results.

Sample. 182 adolescents are been involved and divided in two groups, youth's justice-involved and students, both composed by 84 males and 7 females ($M=16,68$; $SD=1,201$).

Measures. Socio-demographic Questionnaire, Aggression Questionnaire (Buss & Perry, 1992), Attachment Style Questionnaire (Feeney, Noller & Hanrahan, 1994), Family Communication Scale (Ardone, D'Atena, 1991), Deviant behavior Questionnaire (DBQ), Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS), Hight-Risk Situation Checklist Moral Disengagement Scale- short version (MDS), Neighborhood Perception Questionnaire (NPQ).

Statistical Analysis. The statistical software SPSS 22 was used to evaluate the sample and the following analysis were used: descriptive statistics, correlations, t-test, MANOVA, to analyze and compare the two groups.

Results. Data show the following results:

Adolescents and Young Adult's Justice-involved

First of all, it is important explain why compare youths JI with students; starting from the identification of the main characteristics of this sample and underling the difference between adolescents and young adults JI. As is noted, in Italy a person could stay in Youth Detention Center from 14 until 25 years old. Therefore, in the center is possible divided the population in two groups: adolescent (14-19) and young adults (20-25). Even if they present similar background and behavior, there are some differences linked to the specific period of life that they are experiencing. Thus, before to discuss the main results from the comparison between adolescents JI and students, it could be interesting present the profile of adolescents and young adults JI based on some individual and family variables take into account in the first and in the second study. Data from the first study, on 234 youths JI, shows some interesting difference between adolescents and young adults in correlation between attachment, moral disengagement, family communication and aggressive behavior.

The main interesting results in the sample of adolescents are the positive correlation among moral disengagement and secure attachment ($p < .01$) and the positive correlation among verbal aggression, communication with father and secure attachment ($p < .05$; $p < .01$). Moreover, moral disengagement has a negative linking with mother communication ($p < .05$) and positive correlation with avoidant and preoccupied attachment and with all the subscales of aggressive behavior ($p < .01$). Also, insecure attachment correlates negatively with father communication ($p < .05$). The same variables in the sample of young adults are more linear; for instance, secure attachment correlates positively with all the subscales of communication ($p < .01$); insecure attachment correlates positively with moral disengagement ($p < .01$); the subscales of aggressive behavior correlates positively with insecure attachment ($p < .05$; $p < .01$) and with moral disengagement ($p < .01$). Moreover, physical aggression has a negative correlation with mother communication ($p < .05$) (Table 26; Table 27).

Table 26. Correlation between Family communication, Attachment style, Moral disengagement and Aggressive behavior in JI Adolescents' Sample.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Father-child communication	-										
2. Mother-child communication	.427	-									
3. Moral Disengagement	-.024	-.218*	-								
4. Confidence	.208*	.178*	.222**	-							
5. Discomfort with closeness	.007	.050	.244**	.139	-						
6. Relationships as secondary	.069	-.144	.523**	-.120	.480	-					
7. Need for approval	-.206*	-.162	.257**	.141	.284	.367	-				
8. Preoccupation with relationships	.027	.027	.221**	.270	.513	.395	.610	-			
9. Physical Aggression	.027	-.147	.493**	.116	.225**	.302**	-.025	.130	-		
10. Verbal Aggression	.200*	.021	.299**	.255**	.251**	.250**	-.042	.217**	.616	-	
11. Anger	-.061	-.133	.382**	.152	.285**	.305**	.105	.279**	.668	.534	-
12. Hostility	-.095	-.131	.317**	.067	.418**	.351**	.280**	.397**	.458	.445	.627

p<.05* p<.01**

Table 27. Correlation between Family communication, Attachment style, Moral disengagement and Aggressive behavior in JI Young Adults' Sample.

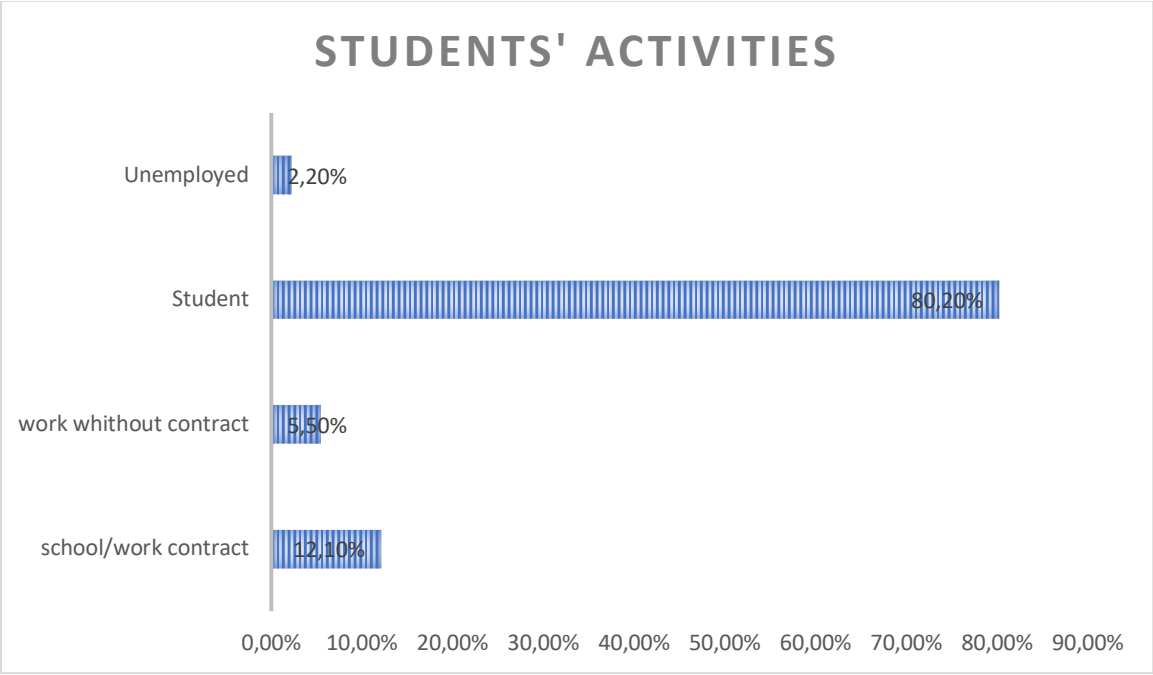
Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Father-child communication	-										
2. Mother-child communication	.600	-									
3. Moral Disengagement	-.088	-.206	-								
4. Confidence	.367**	.450**	.113	-							
5. Discomfort with closeness	.004	.096	.092	.192	-						
6. Relationships as secondary	.010	-.109	.351**	.080	.205	-					
7. Need for approval	-.093	-.097	.299**	.129	.272	.335	-				
8. Preoccupation with relationships	.000	-.028	.214	.368	.327	.244	.659	-			
9. Physical Aggression	-.233	-.260*	.526**	-.163	.232*	.126	.150	.048	-		
10. Verbal Aggression	-.064	-.029	.425**	.170	.399**	.297*	.187	.256*	.599	-	
11. Anger	-.164	-.263**	.451**	.031	.252*	.243*	.366**	.350**	.319	.343	-
12. Hostility	-.096	-.136	-.494**	-.044	.443**	.439**	.450**	.453**	.468	.571	.570

p<.05* p<.01**

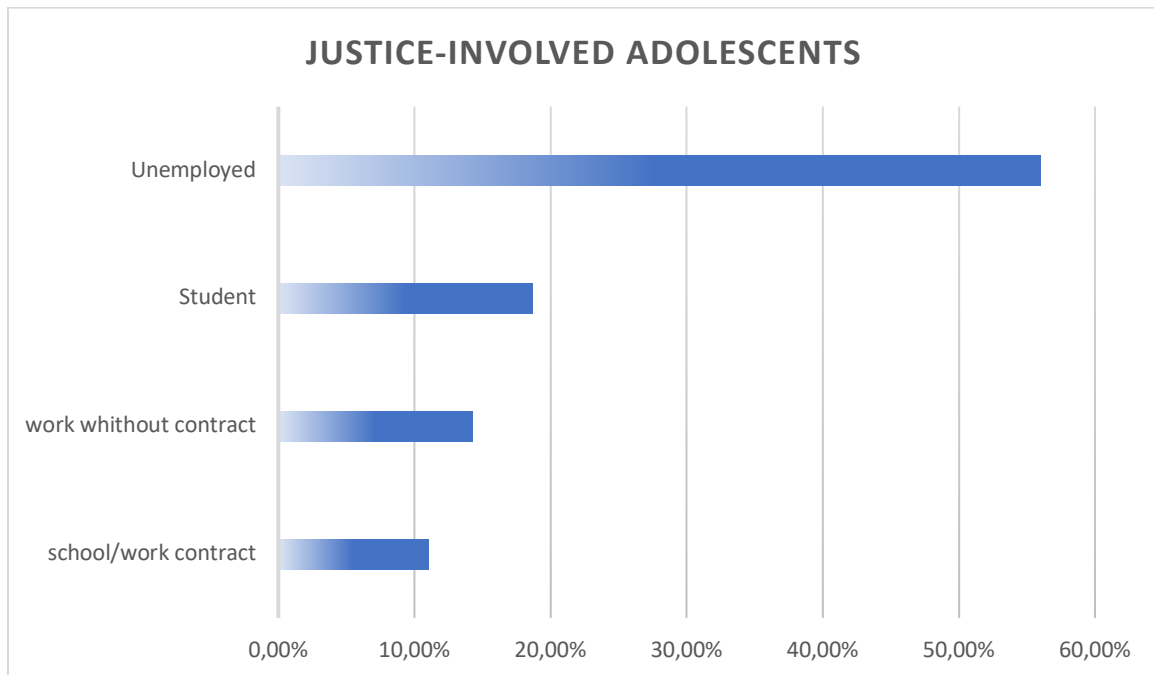
These results shown interesting differences between adolescents and young adult involved in the criminal justice system. From these data it is possible to interpret the main results of Study 3, which focused only in adolescents' sample.

**Students' and Youth's Justice-involved
Background**

Comparing educational background, 91,2% of the students have low middle school; while 54,9% of the youths JI have elementary school diploma before incarceration. For the students the activity of study is prevalent and 12,1% of them has a schoolwork contract; while JI adolescents are more likely to be unemployed and to be involved in work without contract (Graphic 12; Graphic 13).



Graphic 12. After School activities of the Students



Graphic 13. After School activities of the Juveniles' Justice-involved

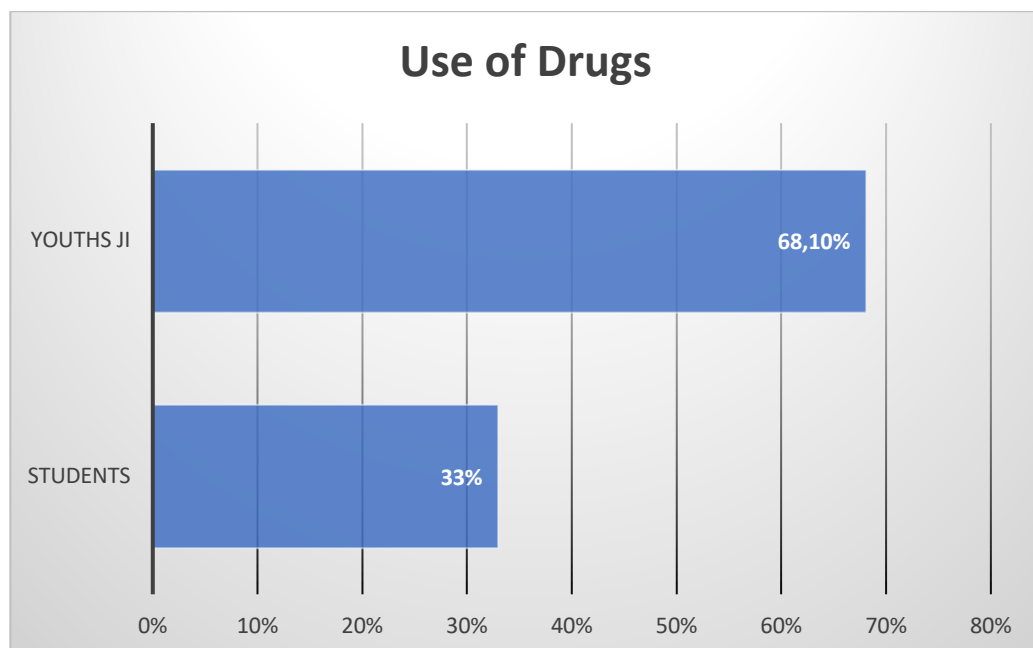
Regarding the provenience, both groups are homogeneous, 72,5% of youths JI and 68,1% of the students come from the South of Italy. Data from the *Neighborhood Perception Questionnaire (NPQ)* show that there is a significant difference between groups in the time spend at home and out: JI adolescents report to spend more time going out than staying at home rather than the student's group ($t=-6.21$; $p<.01$). Also, JI adolescents perceive the background more criminogenic than the second group (-8.33 ; $p<.01$) and a higher lack of cohesion and help from the neighbors (3.04 ; $p<.05$). Students report to be more bored than youths JI ($t=2.73$; $p<.05$) and less satisfied of their own neighborhood ($t=-4.62$; $p<.01$). Youths JI would like to continue to live in their neighborhood after release from the Center while students not. ($t=-5.16$; $p<.01$). Finally, youths JI report more graffiti and abandoned building in their own neighborhood than students (-5.32 ; $p<.01$) (Table 28).

Table 28. Perception of the Neighborhood among Groups

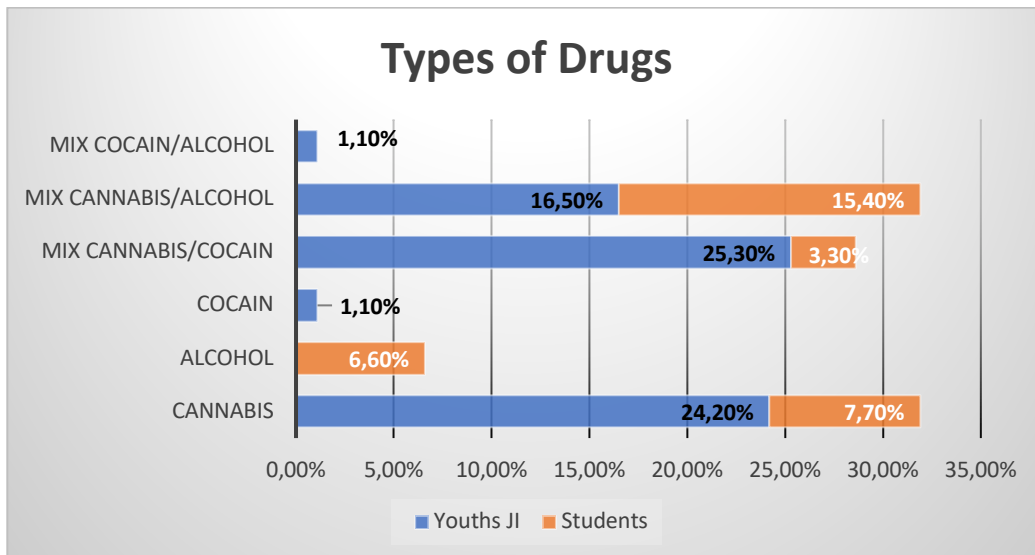
NPQ	Students N=91		Youths JI N=91		t	p
	M	DS	M	SD		
I have a lot of friends	3.24	.821	3.45	.860	-1.67	ns
I often go out	2.81	.759	3.49	.721	-6.21	p<.01
I often stay at home	2.43	.747	1.92	.897	4.12	p<.01
I feel safe	3.22	.904	3.45	.806	-1.81	ns
I am often bored	2,34	.859	1,95	1,07	2,73	p<.05
I often witness crimes	1.29	.719	2.57	1.28	-8.33	p<.01
When I am afraid, I can ask for help	2.24	1.01	1.77	1.07	3,04	p<.05
I am satisfied about the services	2.25	.889	2.31	1.09	-.372	ns
I like my neighborhood	2.84	1.02	3.48	.861	-4.62	p<.01
I would like to live here in the future	2.30	1.02	3.16	1.23	-5.16	p<.01
There are graffiti and dilapidated buildings	2.08	.969	2.89	1.09	-5.32	p<.01

Use of Drugs

One of the most important risk factors during adolescence is the use of drug in which emerges a difference between groups; 68,1% of youths JI used drugs before incarceration, versus 33% of the student's group (Graphic 14). Both groups used cannabis, cocaine and alcohol. In particular, 15,4% of the students used a mix of cannabis and alcohol; while JI group used more a mix of cannabis and cocaine (Graphic 15) and 12,1% also psychiatric drugs before incarceration.



Graphic 14. Use of Drugs among Groups



Graphic 15. Types of Drugs among Groups

Psychophysical Health

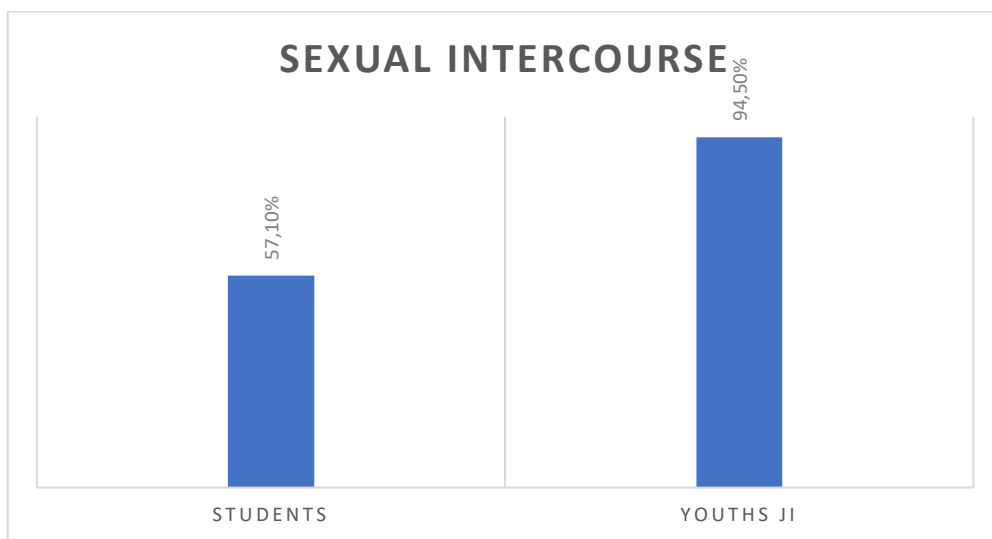
Concerning psychological support, 49,5% of youths JI report to had receive psychological support before incarceration and 14,3% received psychological treatment in the Center; while 5,5% of the student's group receive psychological support. The two groups are different also in motivation associated to psychological issue (Table 29). Moreover, students are less likely to be involved in recovery (42,9%) rather than youths JI (58,1%).

Table 29. Psychological Issues among Groups

<i>Psychological Issues</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Students</i>		
Bipolarism	1	1,1%
Familiar problem	1	1,1%
<i>Youths JI</i>		
Abortion	1	1,1%
Anxiety	1	1,1%
Use of cannabis	1	1,1%
Mourning	1	1,1%
Family problems	2	2,2%
Relational problems	2	2,2%
Stress	1	1,1%

Affective and Sexual Development

Evaluating the first sexual intercourse in both groups emerges that youths JI are more likely to be involve in sexual acts than students (Graphic 16). Moreover, students have an average age of the first sexual intercourse at 14 years old (SD=2,00; range 11-17); while youths JI at 12 years old (SD=1,08; range 9-17). Furthermore, both groups report to have heterosexual orientation, but youth JI adolescents show also a higher percentage of homosexual orientation than students (Table 30). Also, the two sample are similar in kind of education received, even if youth JI received more severe education than students. Instead, there is a significative difference among groups about sex talk in family during childhood and adolescents. Students report a higher percentage of sex talk in family, not just with parents, during childhood and adolescence (N = 47; 78,3%) than youths JI (N=13; 21,7%) ($\chi^2 = 28.74$; $p < .01$); also, leisure time spend with parents is higher among students (N=66;58,4%) than in the youth JI group (N=47;41,6%) ($\chi^2 = 8.42$; $p < .05$) (Table 31).



Graphic 16. Sexual Intercourses among Groups

Table 30. Sexual Orientation among Groups

<i>Sexual Orientation</i>	<i>Students</i>		<i>Youths JI</i>	
		<i>N</i>		<i>Percentage</i>
Exclusively heterosexual	95,6%		93,4%	
Predominantly heterosexual, only incidentally homosexual	1,1%		4,4%	
Predominantly heterosexual, but more than incidentally homosexual	-		-	
Equally heterosexual and homosexual	1,1%		-	
Predominantly homosexual, but more than incidentally heterosexual	-		2,2%	
Predominantly homosexual, only incidentally heterosexual	2,2%		-	
Exclusively homosexual	-		-	
No socio-sexual contacts or reactions	-		-	

Table 31. Sexuality, Education and Affectivity among Groups

<i>Sexuality, Education and Affectivity</i>	<i>Students</i>		<i>Youths JI</i>		χ^2	<i>p</i>
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>		
Severe education during childhood	32	43,2	42	56,8	2.27	ns
Sex talk with parents	33	50,8	32	49,2	.024	ns
Sex talk in family	47	78.3	13	21.7	28.74	p<.01
Sex talk with peers	63	47	71	53	1.81	ns
Lesure time with parents	66	58.4	47	41.6	8.42	p<.05

Family Background

Regarding family structure there is a significant difference between groups, youths JI report to have less intact family than the student group and to live more with their mother than the student group ($\chi^2 = 34.42$; $p < .01$) (Table 32).

Table 32. Family Structure among Groups

	<i>Family Structure</i>			
	Both parents	Mother only	Father only	Others
Student	92,3%	5,5%	1,1%	1,1%
Youths JI	51,6%	34,1%	4,4%	9,9%

Furthermore, in student group both parents have high school diploma (42,9% mothers and 38,5% fathers) while in youths JI group adolescents have both parent with middle school diploma (42,9% mothers and 25,3% fathers); in student groups both parents work as employee with a contract (31,9% mothers 36,3% fathers) while for the youths JI 20,9% of the father are employee without contract; while mother are unemployed (44%).

Regarding deviant families, youths JI report significantly higher percentages of parents with a criminal record or arrests ($N = 56$; 61.5%) than the student group ($N = 5$; 5.5%) ($\chi^2 = 64.13$; $p < .01$). From the analysis of the socio-economic status of the two groups do not emerge any difference; indeed, both reports to have a property house and no problem to pay utilities and other expense.

Antisocial Behavior

Compared to the antisocial behavior, youths JI showed a tendency to brawl in public place before the incarceration (73.6%) while the student group downloads music online (79, 1%) (Table 33).

Table 33. *Illegal or Antisocial Behaviors among Groups*

<i>Behaviors</i>	<i>Students</i>		<i>Youth JI</i>	
	<i>N= 91</i>		<i>N= 91</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Stealing (in a store)	28	30,8	45	49,5
Threats-with weapon	1	1,1	30	33
Intent to steal	13	14,3	39	42,9
Aggression	49	53,8	61	67
Damage to public property	21	23,1	44	48,4
Vehicular theft	8	8,8	53	58,2
Cyberspace illegal acts	72	79,1	42	46,2
Possession of weapons	15	16,5	50	54,9
Fighting	27	29,7	67	73,6

High Risk Situation and Relapse

Comparing the two groups according the personal perception of the situation which could involve in illegal activities or lead to a relapse by High Risk Situation checklist, both, students and youths JI report anger and problems in manage it as *negative emotion*, sense of control as *positive emotions*, not participate to rehabilitation programs as feelings and behavior which could influence social rehabilitation and work success as *other general situations*. The two categories in which two groups are different are *thoughts about crimes*, indeed students report “my behavior is correct” as a through which influence antisocial conduct while Youth JI report “Thinking <<I will not do it anymore>>”. Finally, *Neighborhood characteristics* are perceived differently, instead students perceived the presence of potential victims as a risk while youths JI consider the easy access to weapons riskier to relapse or commit a crime (Table 34).

Table 34. Personal Evaluation of High-risk Situations in Relapse among Groups

Category	Students		Youths II	
	Item	%	Item	%
Negative emotions	Rage and problem management	41,8	Rage and problem management	52,7
Positive emotions	Sense of control	48,4	Sense of control	40,7
Thoughts about crimes	My behavior is correct	49,5	“Thinking <<I will not do it anymore>>”	28
Neighborhood’s characteristics	Presence of potential victims	30,8	Easy access to weapons	41,8
Rehabilitation programs	Not participate to rehabilitation programs	44	Not participate to rehabilitation programs	31,9
Other situations	Work success	51,6	Work success	42,9

Finally, prior to conducting the MANOVA a series of Pearson’s correlations were performed between all the dependent variables in order to test the MANOVA assumption that those have correlated each other (Table 35). A pattern of correlation was observed amongst the dependent variables, suggesting the appropriateness of a MANOVA. Additionally, the Box’s M value of 173,629 was associated with a p value of .001 which was interpreted as significant. Thus, a one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to test the hypothesis that there would be one or more mean differences between the two groups, students and youths II and the variables correlated: attachment style, family communication, aggression behavior, social perceived support. A statistically significant MANOVA effect was obtained, Pillais’ Trace = .33, $F(5,32) p < .01$. the multivariate effect size was estimated at .333 which means that 33.3% of the variance in the dependent variables was accounted by the belonging of a groups. Moreover, from the test of between subjects’ effects which tested all dependent variables showing a significative difference between groups. Specifically, youths II perceive more support from others ($p < .05$), show more verbal, physical aggression and anger ($p < .01$) and have an avoidant attachment

($p < .05$); while students perceive more support by friends ($p < .05$) and a preoccupied attachment ($p < .05$) as report in Table 36.

Table 35. Pearson's Correlations between Family communication, Perceived Support, Attachment style and Aggressive Behavior

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Father-child communication	-												
2. Mother-child communication	.578**	-											
3. Support from others	.250**	.391**	-										
4. Support from friends	.104	.170*	.458**	-									
5. Support from family	.386**	.535**	.608**	.407**	-								
6. Discomfort with closeness	-.107	-.045	.127	-.061	.076	-							
7. Relationships as secondary	.005	-.168*	.055	-.060	.055	.489**	-						
8. Need for approval	-.371**	-.238**	.003	.097	.024	.355**	.380**	-					
9. Preoccupation with relationships	-.124	-.029	.181*	.127	.173*	.477**	.382**	.701**	-				
10. Confidence	.287**	.289**	.365**	.401**	.341**	.121	.177*	.153*	.349**	-			
11. Verbal Aggression	.091	.036	.259**	.064	.301**	.316**	.318**	.034	.263**	.240**	-		
12. Anger	-.058	-.139	.105	.038	.105	.327**	.313**	.108	.308**	.190*	.649**	-	
13. Hostility	-.215**	-.229**	-.003	-.014	-.014	.408**	.306**	.305**	.366**	-.006	.518**	.605**	-
14. Physical Aggression	.004	-.159*	.034	.009	.043	.288**	.391**	-.034	.174*	.137	.680**	.713**	.441**

$p < .05$; $p < .01$

Table 36. One-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with Family Communication, Perceived Support, Attachment style and Aggressive Behavior as a dependent variable

Variables	F	p	M	Students		Youths JI	
				DS	M	DS	M
Father-child communication	2.23	ns	78.07	12.51	81.43	16.27	
Mother-child communication	3.74	ns	82.91	14.29	87.21	13.99	
Support from others	6.21	$p < .05$	5.46	1.57	6.03	1.23	
Support from friends	5.59	$p < .05$	5.35	1.46	4.78	1.59	
Support from family	1.54	ns	5.76	1.40	6.02	1.20	
Confidence	.916	ns	33.32	6.34	32.32	7.02	
Discomfort with closeness	7.23	$p < .05$	36.14	6.11	39.28	8.82	
Relationships as secondary	3.82	ns	20.17	7.91	23.17	8.14	
Need for approval	10.28	$p < .05$	23.84	6.89	20.12	7.96	
Preoccupation with relationships	.853	ns	29.72	8.47	28.50	8.29	
Physical Aggression	18.66	$p < .01$	24.02	7.95	30.04	9.32	
Verbal Aggression	16.76	$p < .01$	13.46	2.48	15.26	3.14	
Anger	15.29	$p < .01$	19.27	4.77	22.56	5.98	
Hostility	.949	ns	23.79	5.94	24.69	5.90	

Discussion: The aim of this study was to assess the main risk and protective factors linked to the antisocial conduct in adolescents involve in criminal justice system and not. This study was focused on social variables, such as the educational background, socio-economic status, the perception of the neighborhood; individual variables, like antisocial tendency to commit illegal or aggressive acts, the perceived social support from parents; and family variables, such as the attachment style, communication, family's structure and background and parent involvement in criminal justice system. In order to compare these two groups, 182 adolescents were involved, 91 students from high school and 91 from Youth Detention Centers, the same number of males and females were selected. The questionnaires were fulfilled by the participant according to the specific context. Youth's JI answered referring to the period before incarceration, while high school students evaluate the present situation. Regarding High Risk Situation Checklist was asked to the students to choose the option which could bring them to commit a crime and to the youths JI to choose the option which might involve them in another crime or in the same crime.

The decision to compare students to youths JI derive also from the results of the first study, which involved 234 youths JI, divided in adolescents JI (range 14-19) and young adults JI (range 21-25) which shows some interesting differences linked to the specific stage of the development. Specifically, the sample of adolescents shows a positive correlation between moral disengagement and secure attachment ($p < .01$) verbal aggression, communication with father and secure attachment ($p < .05$; $p < .01$). Moreover, moral disengagement has a negative linking with mother communication ($p < .05$) and positive correlation with avoidant and preoccupied attachment and with all the subscales of aggressive behavior ($p < .01$). Also, insecure attachment correlates negatively with father communication ($p < .05$). Thus, in adolescents JI sample emerge a difference on the impact of the communication with parents, distinguish by father and mother; indeed, the communication with the father correlates positively with verbal aggression while the communication with the mother correlates negatively with moral disengagement and aggressivity. Also, in adolescents JI sample secure attachment has a positive correlation with moral disengagement and insecure-preoccupied attachment, specifically Need of Approval subscale, negatively correlates with father communication.

Data on verbal aggression linked with father communication could be interpreted focusing on the single item which composed the subscale. Starting from the assumption that safe attachment correlates to an open and intimate communication in family, adolescents feel free to express thoughts and share feelings with others. Indeed, most of the item of this subscale could be interpreted according this point of view, therefore more safe you feel in your relationship whit parents and openness in communication, more you could be verbal aggressive, in the meaning that

you can express your own opinion and your being or not agreeing with others. For instance, three of the four items which composed verbal aggressive subscale evaluate the tendency to say what one thinks and to assert one's opinion: "I tell my friends openly when I disagree with them"; "When people annoy me, I may tell them what I think of them"; and "I often find myself disagreeing with people" only one item explicitly evaluates verbal aggressiveness "My friends say that I'm somewhat argumentative". Specifically, the positive correlation with father communication could be linked to the common attribution of masculinity and cultural bias of safety and pride represented by the figure of the man who takes decision and commits strong action, as the offence. So, if you are strong enough to communicate with your father you could be more verbally aggressive, according to the items of the subscale. This interpretation is not supported by statistical data, nor has it been studied in depth in this study; therefore, it could be the focus in further studies. Regarding the role of the mother, adolescents JI have intrusive and embroiled relationships with her, characterized by a strong bond and tendency to parenting and to taking care of their mother, who is the only trusted person. This relationship is often emphasized by the absence of the father or by interpersonal violence in the parents' couple. Indeed, 31,6% of the adolescents JI report to have father involved in criminal justice. Sometimes father is present but not psychologically, showing laxness, distance, abusive behavior against the mother and the children and become an idealized and feared figure. Concerning the correlation between moral disengagement and secure and insecure attachment, this data could be interpreted as ideological level; indeed, the construct of moral disengagement starts from the cognition that more security you feel more you are being able to do what you want. Adolescents JI seem to associate trust and security with freedom, acting out and anarchy, so more they feel secure, more they feel free. These data are peculiar of adolescents JI, indeed, the same variables in the sample of young adults JI are more linear. In adults' sample secure attachment correlates positively with all the subscales of communication ($p < .01$); insecure attachment correlates positively with moral disengagement ($p < .01$); the subscales of aggressive behavior correlate positively with insecure attachment ($p < .05$; $p < .01$) and with moral disengagement ($p < .01$). Moreover, physical aggression has a negative correlation with mother communication ($p < .05$).

Starting from these considerations about the characteristics of adolescents JI we compared a 91 adolescents JI with 91 students by high school in Italian context. First of all, we analyzed the educational background finding that 91,2% of the students have low middle school; while 54,9% of the youths JI have a lower school diploma before incarceration and the others follow school programs in the Center. Moreover, the adolescents not JI study as a prevalent activity and 12,1% has a schoolwork contract; while JI adolescents are more likely to be unemployed and to be

involved in work without contract. The lack of education and of activities after school could be a risk factors for adolescents, who are more like to be involved in criminal peer group or delinquency. Regarding the social background, the provenience of both groups is homogeneous: 72,5% of youths JI and 68,1% of the students come from the South of Italy.

Data from the *Neighborhood perception questionnaire (NPQ)* show a significant different between groups in the time spend at home and out; JI adolescents report to spend more time going out than staying at home rather than the students group ($t=-6.21$; $p<.01$), they perceive the background more criminogenic (-8.33 ; $p<.01$) and lack of cohesion from the neighbors (3.04 ; $p<.05$) and report more graffiti and dilapidated building in their own neighborhood than students (-5.32 ; $p<.01$). Thus, adolescents JI have more possibilities to be engage in criminal activities because the criminogenic environment and also have less professional and educational opportunities. Despite this situation they would like to continue to live in their neighborhood after release from the Center, while students not ($t=-5.16$; $p<.01$). Also, the students report to be more bored than youths JI ($t=2.73$; $p<.05$) and less satisfied their own neighborhood ($t=-4.62$; $p<.01$). These data show the importance of the perception that is different from the real condition of the life context. Youths JI have the habit to live in criminal surroundings and in poor condition and perceive themselves belong to their neighborhood, more than students who have a perception of boring and dissatisfaction and prefer to live their environment. Other important risk factor to consider is the use of drugs; 68,1% of youths JI used drugs before incarceration, while 33% of the student's group use it, regards the kind of drugs, both groups use cannabis, cocaine and alcohol. In particular, 15,4% of the students use a mix of cannabis and alcohol; while JI group used a mix of cannabis and cocaine and 12,1% also psychiatric drugs before incarceration. Concerning the psychological support, 49,5% of youths' JI report to had receive psychological support before incarceration and 14,3% received psychological treatment in the Center; while 5,5% of the student's group received psychological support. One the one hand this data could be interpreted as positive, because means that exist a care system who deals with adolescents needs; on the other hand, also means that youths' JI had more psychological distress. In this study it was not evaluate the association between psychological distress and tendency to commit a crime, thus is not possible to advance hypothesis on this result. Moreover, students are less likely to be involved in recovery (42,9%) rather than youths JI (58,1%). Another important aspect is the adolescent's affective and sexual development, a fundamental issue often overlooked by the family and by the social context. The awareness of the adolescents of their body and sexual development greatly affects the affirmation of the identity. Evaluating the first sexual intercourse in both groups emerges that youths' JI are more likely to be involve in sexual acts than student. Moreover, students have an

average age of the first sexual relationship of 14 years old (SD=2,00; range 11-17); while youths JI of 12 years old (SD=1,08; range 9-17). This result could be connected to poor control from parents and high-risk neighborhood. Furthermore, both groups report to have heterosexual orientation, but youths' JI show a higher percentage of homosexual orientation than students, uninspected data. According the common think youths' JI are less likely to admit homosexual orientation because they are educated according the masculinity culture. There is also a significative difference among groups about sex talk in family during childhood and adolescence. Students report a higher percentage of sex talk in family, not just with parents, during childhood and adolescence (N = 47; 78,3%) than youths JI (N=13; 21,7%) ($\chi^2 = 28.74$; $p < .01$) and in general sexuality is a taboo more among youths' JI than students.

The second explorative analysis was done on family background, evaluating the structure we found a significant difference between groups. Youths' JI report to have less intact family than the student group and to live more with their mother than the student group ($\chi^2 = 34.42$; $p < .01$). This result may confirm the strong relationship between youths' JI and their mothers; indeed, they experience more the absence of the father than the students. Furthermore, in the student group both parents have high school diploma (42,9% mothers and 38,5% fathers) while in youths' JI group, adolescents have both parent with middle school diploma (42,9% mothers and 25,3% fathers). Also, in students' group both parents work as employee with a contract (31,9% mothers 36,3% fathers) while for the youths' JI 20,9% of the father are employee without contract; while mother are unemployed (44%). Moreover, youths' JI report significantly higher percentages of parents with a criminal record or arrests (N = 56; 61.5%) than the students' group (N = 5; 5.5%) ($\chi^2 = 64.13$; $p < .01$). Finally, from the analysis of the socio-economic status of the two groups do not emerge any difference; indeed, both reports to have a property house and no problem to pay utilities and other expense. According these data youths' JI have a family background poorer from educational and professional point of view; it is no possible establish a causal connection between these factors and youth's criminal involvement, but they cloud have a mediator interaction in the antisocial conduct.

Third evaluation was on individual factors and comparing the antisocial behavior among groups. Youths' JI showed a tendency to brawl in public place before the incarceration (73.6%) while the students' group to downloads music online (79,1%). Thus, it emerged more aggressiveness in JI adolescents than among students. Another important aspect which impact on recidivism, is the personal evaluation of the possibility of committing a crime. The *High-Risk Situation checklist* revealed the characteristics that could lead a teenager to commit a crime, based

on his personal evaluation. To the group of students was asked which features could lead to committing a crime; while to the group of youths' JI was asked what would lead them to reoffence. Comparing the two groups, both reported anger and problems in manage it as a negative emotion, showing the awareness of the feeling of inability to manage stressful situations.

Among the second category, positive emotions that would lead to committing a crime, both groups identified the sense of control. Positive emotion means the "positive" evaluation of an emotion that can however translate into a criminal or potentially risky action. The sense of control is a typical feature of adolescence, the moment in which the fear and the sense of omnipotence converge, which often block or amplify impulsive actions. Regarding the question "what would negatively affect your adherence to a rehabilitation project?" both groups assert "not actively participating". This answer could derive from a lack of awareness about the importance of support and prevention on some issues, such as substance use, illegal behavior and risky conduct. The two categories in which the groups are different are Thoughts about crimes, indeed students report "my behavior is correct" as a through which influence antisocial conduct while youths' JI report "Thinking <<I will not do it anymore>>". Both answers reflect the adolescents believes about the perception of the action as correct. This thought could become dangerous if broke the normative roles and involve victims. Finally, among the neighborhood characteristics, students perceived the presence of potential victims as a risk to commit a crime, while youths' JI consider the easy access to weapons riskier to relapse. Regarding other situations or events which could positively or negatively affect the possibility of committing or not an offense, both groups attribute an extremely important value to having a successful job. These results could be useful to promote interventions of rehabilitation for youths' JI and prevention for students based on their own perception about criminality.

To conclude, a statistically significant MANOVA was made, taken into account attachment style, family communication, social perceived support and aggressive behavior. The analysis shows difference among groups: youths' JI perceive more support from others ($p < .05$) and show more verbal, physical aggression and anger ($p < .01$); while students perceive more support by friends ($p < .05$) and show an insecure-preoccupied attachment ($p < .05$); while no significant difference was found in family communication, which seem to have the same role in both groups. *Limits.* One of the most important limitation of this study is related to the number of the sample. 91 youths JI and 91 students are been involved, not evaluating the difference between gender. Even if the descriptive analysis shown differences among groups, the multifactorial analysis underlines just some significant variables which could illustrate the relationship between factors

and the incidence of these on the criminal conduct. Will be useful for further research on the field expand the sample and pay more attention to the mediator influence of some of the variables used.

Conclusion. According to the main goals of this study, results showed some risky factors common in youths' JJ, such as criminogenic and poor educational and professional opportunities in the neighborhoods; use of drugs, poor school frequency, single-parents family, parents justice-involved, with low educational level and unemployed, poor affective and sexual education. The study highlighted some environmental, relational and individual characteristics. In fact, the family, the education received, living in an environment that is not stimulating, unsafe or poor, could lead to crime and to relapse after release. Other risk factors are related to the interpersonal problems, risky environment and poor communication. This study was focused not only on contextual and individual variables, but also on relapse prevention factors. In fact, there are many unknown characteristics about the concerns and beliefs connected to the crime and the lack of trust in therapeutic and rehabilitative interventions. Results have practical implications such as, prevention and treatment programs in order to promote well-being in adolescents at risk.

CONCLUSIONS

To summarizing the key findings of this dissertation, it is possible to affirm that criminality in juveniles is based on the multifactorial interaction of risk and protective factors. Most of the previous studies were single factor oriented, while the current work aims to emphasize the interaction among elements which are risky or protective according to the situation. For instance, substance abuse could be associated with criminal conduct, mediated by the family system, including the social and individual background of the adolescents. Thus, the study of the deviant development means evaluating all the factors which play a role in the life of the adolescents and also the associated factors. These have an indirect impact on family and social system, according to the ecological and developmental perspective.

In order to realize the main goal of this dissertation, which is to evaluate risk and protective factors in criminal development of youths, the research work was divided in three studies, which focused on different aims and objectives.

The first study involved the Italian Youth Detention Centers authorized by The Ministry of Justice. The sample was composed of 234 adolescents and young adults, both genders, aged 14-25 years old. The purpose of the study was to identify the main characteristics of the youth's justice involved and analyze the general life condition in the Centers. Data from the evaluation of the background of these juveniles, before the justice involvement, showed a poor educational and professional opportunities, high criminality and environmental neglect in the neighborhood; use and abuse of drugs and use of violence. Furthermore, analyzing the personal perception of the high-risk factors associated with the relapse, juveniles reported: anger, the excessive security of not committing other crimes, the believe that they do to not relapse anymore, easy access to weapon in their own neighborhood and the unwillingness to participate in reintegration projects. Finally, they reported success at work as a protective factor in order to promote the desistance from crime. The risk factor in family system were the lack of communication, the insecure attachment, use of drugs and involvement of parents in criminal justice.

In regard to the Youth Detention Centers, Nisida is the one with the highest numerical concentration. The majority of the sample was males and from the South of Italy. The Centers in general guarantee educational, professional and recreational programs, especially in Florence, Rome and Nisida but, social and psychological rehabilitation were not taken into account.

The second study was focused on the influence of the family factors in the antisocial conduct of the adolescents, involving 2.366 youths of both genders, aged between 13 to 18 years old, from high schools. From the analysis of the relation among the family variables and the

antisocial behavior, a strong association between a good communication in family and a secure attachment was found; also, the tendency to behave aggressively was related to an insecure attachment and to a lack of communication in family. Moreover, comparing the antisocial level in three groups: low, medium and high, the latter was associated with physical and cognitive aggression, single parent family system, poor communication and insecure attachment. From these results a model of influence was built, showing how the family influences the adolescent's tendency to antisocial behavior in terms of communication and attachment, and internalized family models dictated by the presence of one or both reclusive parents.

In the last study, two groups were compared, 91 students and 91 youth's justice involved, both genders aged from 14 to 19 years old. The aim of this study was to evaluate the main similarities and differences among groups in order to investigate the factors which play a role in criminal development of youths. From the background analysis emerged the presence of risk factors mostly in the group of youth's justices involved, such as drug abuse, low level of education and criminogenic environment. Other characteristics common mostly in the justices involved group were the lack of communication and support from the family, single parent family structure and the involvement of one of more family's members in the criminal justice system. Besides, the justices involved adolescents reported a high tendency to use violence and to commit illegal actions before incarceration, compared to students, who reported to download music online as criminal activity. Farther, an interesting similarity was found among groups in regard to the high-risk factors related to recidivism in youth's justice involved and related to commit an offence in students' group. According to the results, both groups reported the same risk factors: anger, excessive sense of control, not participating in reintegration programs and the same protective factors: success in finding a job. These groups differed in their perception of the characteristics that negatively impact the neighborhood and, in their thoughts relating to crime. Finally, the main differences found among the groups were the style of attachment, which is avoidant in the justices involved group and preoccupied in students' group. The level of physical and cognitive aggression -but not the verbal one- is higher in justices involved group; while the social perceived support from family and friends is higher in students' group.

These findings support social, behavioral and criminological theories about the development of the criminal conduct during adolescence. Also, these results have clinical and social implications and could be useful to promote interventions and preventions programs based on the interconnection and on the synergy between family, individual and environmental factors. Indeed, a noted finding in regard to the relapse prevention for juvenile offenders and drug users

suggests the importance of the involvement of family system, friends and community during the social rehabilitation process.

According to this consideration, a focus on family and community level is needed in order to promote well-being in both adolescents in general and youth's justices involved. An example reported in this dissertation is the family-based approach therapy, which is the most used and effective treatment to promote rehabilitation and reintegration of young people after they are released from the Center. Family-based therapies described in this work—Multidimensional Family Therapy (MDFT), Brief Strategic Family Therapy (BSFT), Ecologically Based Family Therapy (EBFT), Functional Family Therapy (FFT), and Multisystemic Therapy (MST)—show a higher effectiveness, lower rate of dropout and higher levels of attendance than in TAU. These therapies focused on the involvement of the individual, his family, and the community and aim to guide the identity transformation, in order to change the criminal label, strengthen personal skills and social bonds.

In conclusion, it is not necessary to find a definitive model of interaction among individual, family and environmental factors on crime, in order to promote social rehabilitation, but, it is important to pay great attention on the impact that these factors have on the development of the youths, taking into account the variability of the situations according to the studied variables.

In this line, the development of evidence-based health promotion initiatives might be a goal for future researches, with the aim to involve schools and communities to prevent risky behaviors and to decrease the relapse in young people involved in the criminal justice.

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