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Introduction: Two Glimpses at the Career Criminal

Eugene Smith was well known among teachers and students for his consistently out of control behavior. Several teachers had already interrupted their class to take Eugene to the principal's office. Unfortunately, none of the punishments that school staff had assigned—such as staying after school, missing recess, going in the hall, standing in the corner, or calling home—seemed to make much difference to this fifth grader. Indeed, Eugene's parents seemed resigned to the belief that Eugene was simply "being a boy" and needed more self-control. A consensus among teachers was that Eugene's parents were partly to blame for his behavioral problems. When they did attend parent-teacher conferences, they were often indignant with teachers, suggesting that the majority of Eugene's troubles were the result of biased teachers who "had it out for Eugene." Eugene's older and younger brothers and sisters possessed the youthful orneriness common among children, especially schoolboys, but presented none of the problems of their increasingly infamous brother. Something was different about Eugene.

Whenever and wherever there was misbehavior, chances were good that Eugene was involved. Taunting and bullying other students, inappropriately touching female students, openly defying teachers and staff with profane language, smoking cigarettes, stealing other students' book bags, destroying school property, and the like were behaviors that Eugene had been committing since he was in kindergarten. Academically and behaviorally, Eugene was always the worst student in class, and he occupied the lowest math and reading groups. Clearly Eugene would not be considered cognitively gifted; however, the bulk of his academic problems seemed to be based on his basic refusal to perform schoolwork or participate in class. He could not stay on task, became frustrated when he had to sit at his desk, had difficulty paying attention, and liked to throw things at other students to disrupt them. Eugene simply hated school.

Always and everywhere, a dark cloud seemed to hover over Eugene Smith's head. It appeared that he did not have the most patient parents, and Eugene's behavior only served to exacerbate their frustration in dealing with him. Eugene's antipathy for school and lack of cognitive skills rendered each day a battle. Teachers and other students alternately empathized with Eugene's situation and expressed contempt for his constant interruptions and lack of consideration for others. The only thing that suited Eugene was misbehavior. Soon, it was the only thing he was known for.

The other children in Eugene's class and those who lived in his neighborhood had developed a tacit strategy in dealing with Eugene: Avoid him if possible. On the rare occasions when he could not be avoided, kids found it best to tolerate and placate him. The slightest provocation could send Eugene into fits, so other children tended to remain quiet, smile, and simply nod their heads to Eugene's latest banter—He was a notorious liar. Eugene made other children very uneasy because his behavior was unpredictable and sometimes frightening. Classmates did not hate Eugene; instead, most felt a profound sense of pity for him. However, all of the kids in school were afraid of him.

It was a crime that shocked the community. Three young men were found shot to death in a convenience store-gas station. Crime scene investigators indicated that two of the victims were store clerks who had been summarily executed after emptying the cash register and store safe. The other victim was a patron who unsuspectingly walked into the store during the commission of the robbery. Surveillance footage produced a clear picture of the assailant's face. Several eyewitnesses also reported that the gunman left the convenience store with a young woman who was identified as another store employee. The suspect abducted the victim and left the scene in her vehicle.

Seventy-three miles away and 90 minutes after the killings, the suspect vehicle was spotted by highway patrol officers. In an attempt to elude the police, the suspect initiated a high-speed chase that involved officers from six local and state police agencies. Approximately 18 minutes later and after reaching speeds in excess of 110 miles per hour, the suspect crashed the vehicle into a concrete median support wall. Not wearing a seatbelt, the suspect catapulted through the windshield of the vehicle and was killed instantly.

It took police and emergency medical personnel several hours to process the accident that occurred on the interstate, causing massive traffic congestion. Around this same time, a woman who was walking her dog in a rural area at the outskirts of town made a grisly discovery. The young woman who had been abducted during the convenience store robbery was found deceased near a thicket. She had been sexually assaulted and shot multiple times in the face and chest at close range.

When the day of carnage was over, authorities discovered the identity of the perpetrator, Michael Allen Garland. Garland, a 43-year-old machinist, was on parole after serving a six-year sentence for burglary, grand theft, and cocaine possession convictions. With no fixed address, Garland frequently stayed at his mother's house, with friends, or in transient hotels. The Garland case received inordinate press attention and even made the national news. The families of four young victims and the community at-large attempted to come to grips with the senseless violence. The state department of corrections and parole board came under scrutiny for approving the release of an

offender like Michael Garland and not appropriately monitoring him while on parole. These more immediate issues dominated the headlines and were the focus of print and television reporters. Often omitted or buried in the back pages of news reports was the full extent of Garland's social and criminal history. Garland had a 29-year criminal record dating to the age of 14, when he was first institutionalized in the state boys' reformatory for several armed robbery convictions. Overall, Garland served more than a dozen prison sentences, most of them concurrently, in four states. A lifelong alcoholic and cocaine addict, Garland's arrest and conviction history included an array of offenses, such as larceny, auto theft, credit card fraud, burglary, drug possession, aggravated assault, and numerous probation and parole violations. His longest stint in prison was 11 years stemming from convictions in 1981 for armed burglary, armed robbery, assault with intent to kill, sexual abuse (reduced from armed rape), and felon in possession of a firearm. Never married, Garland had two children resulting from two common-law marriages. His formal education ended after eighth grade, but Garland acquired a machinist certificate in a prison vocational program and was episodically employed throughout his adult life.

The Life of Crime

These vignettes should sound familiar, for it is common for people to be exposed to career criminals through two general types of experiences. The first occurs during the elementary school years of childhood and relates to the unsavory bully who wantonly terrorizes property, pets, adults, and other children in the neighborhood. This bully, almost always a male, is the person whom your mother always warned you about. He is the type of person who preys upon the other kids in school, demands their lunch money, steals their clothes, and takes their basketball and kicks it afar. He does not do these things because he wants to play or necessarily even fit in, but because he simply wants to ruin others' play time. The bully seems angry about most things, is quick to lose his temper, and acts impulsively in all contexts, seemingly without a second thought. He also tends to do poorly in class, skip school, alienate himself from other children to the point where only other bullies will associate with him, and be well known for his delinquency. The

bully usually has a stressful and often disadvantaged home life where one or both parents are absent, neglectful, generally uninvolved, and usually intoxicated.

The bully is the first kid in elementary school to use tobacco, drink alcohol, take drugs, and engage in sexual contact. He is also the first child to openly use verbal and physical defiance and resistance toward adult figures such as parents and teachers. Everyone who has contact with the bully, such as principals, teachers, parents, and other kids, offers the same general prognostication of his life trajectory: He will make a "career" of bad choices and bad behavior and probably end up, sooner or later, dead or in prison. Indeed, by middle school, the bully is known by the police and recurrently comes into contact with the juvenile court. By 9th or 10th grade, the bully becomes a memory for he drops out of school, is institutionalized, or otherwise seems to disappear from conventional life. In fact, he does disappear into the subterranean criminal lifestyle. At this point, most people forever lose contact with the fledgling career criminal.

The second exposure to career criminals is vicarious and occurs later, usually in adulthood. This exposure is media driven, whereby citizens read about the criminal exploits of an incorrigible offender in the newspaper, watch the dramatic events of a high-speed police chase unfold on television, surf news on a criminal justice-related website, or hear the day's crime events on radio. Probably without realizing it or fully appreciating the implications of their experiences, many bear witness to the development path of the career criminal. The childhood memories of the school bully showcase a delinquent career prospectively. The vicarious media images capture the event that may serve as the culmination or termination of an offending career.

In some societies, the career criminal has proven to be an intriguing folk item. In different eras in nations such as the United States, England, Canada, and Australia, chronic and violent offenders have occasionally achieved some semblance of fame and have even become minor celebrities. Most citizens are familiar with the term and have even employed the it colloquially (e.g., "The Smith family sure has their hands full. Little Eugene is a career criminal in training."). What many people do not realize, however, is that the concept of the career criminal is one of grave importance and considerable criminological and legal meaning. More than a century of scientific research has indicated that the lion's share of crime

that occurs in a society is committed by less than 10% of the population, the group commonly referred to as career criminals. More dramatic, upwards of 70% to 100% of the most severe forms of criminal behavior—predatory acts such as murder, rape, abduction, armed robbery, armed burglary or home invasions, and aggravated assault—are produced by this same 10%. Career criminals begin committing antisocial behavior before entering grade school and are versatile in that they engage in an array of destructive behaviors, offend at exceedingly high rates, and are less likely to quit committing crime as they age.

The policy implications of career criminals cannot be underestimated. Because they account for so much of the incidence of crime, the crime rate could effectively be cut in half by effectively controlling less than 10% of the offenders. Once more, a variety of other social ills, such as substance abuse, alcoholism, illegitimacy, unemployment, and government largesse could also be significantly reduced by successfully containing the worst offenders. Career criminals denote the opportunity for policy makers and the criminal justice system to rid a large proportion of many social problems in one fell swoop. Unfortunately, efforts to prospectively identify or predict which offenders are likely to become career criminals have largely met with failure. For all of our criminological knowledge, we cannot confidently target the worst offenders without also misidentifying and inappropriately punishing offenders who do not pose the greatest risks. Thus, policies that seek to address and reduce the career criminal problem are rife with ethical and practical dilemmas.

Because crime is primarily the output of a small number of offenders, societal efforts to control crime should almost entirely focus on them. If societies were to devote their considerable resources toward preventing and neutralizing career criminals, they would experience dramatic reductions in crime per se, the fear of crime, and the assorted costs and collateral consequences of crime. Unfortunately, for a host of reasons that this book explores, a genuinely vigilante effort to prevent and control them has not yet been attempted, at least in the United States.

Chapter 2 explicates the social and behavioral science literature on career criminals and provides an overview of what is known about them. Historical examinations of career criminals, traditional methods of socially controlling them, and cross-cultural evidence of their misconduct are explored. Early criminological efforts such as biographical case studies and offender typologies are discussed and examined for their strengths

and weaknesses. The contemporary criminal career marked by the publication in 1972 of Marvin Wolfgang and his colleagues' Philadelphia birth cohort study and its landmark findings are presented along with other important studies. More than any other piece of research, this landmark study established the empirical evidence that career criminals play a vital role in contributing to the total incidence of crime. An assortment of specific information is provided to frequently asked questions about the "worst" offenders: How many career criminals are there? What types of crimes do they commit? What are the parameters of their careers? Can they be effectively prevented or treated? Are career criminals and psychopaths the same phenomenon? What are the costs and consequences of career criminals? and Are American career criminals similar to chronic and violent offenders in places such as England, Germany, Colombia, Holland, Australia, China, Puerto Rico, Sweden, Denmark, New Zealand, and Finland?

Empirical questions often give rise to theoretical ones. What circumstances give rise to career criminals? Are they born? Are they made? Are they caused by some combination of forces of nature and nurture? These etiological questions are explored with two theoretical chapters, one devoted to a developmental, nurture perspective and the other devoted to a propensity-based, nature perspective. Chapter 3 explores the etiology of career criminals from the developmental perspective. This theoretical doctrine proffers that habitual criminals are the cumulative outcome of a variety of overlapping, age-graded, developmental processes. Thus, they dispute the notion that career criminality is the outcome of some amorphous, primordial condition. The chapter presents some of the major theories in the developmental camp and synthesizes their essential ideas. Additionally, the chapter demonstrates the usefulness of developmental theories by linking them to theoretically grounded prevention programs with proven track records of reducing problem behaviors among persons likely to be career criminals. These are viable, pragmatic policies that could meaningfully prevent future career offenders. For example, experimentally designed studies have shown that severely antisocial or quasi-psychopathic children have experienced significant reductions in antisocial behaviors with concomitant increases in conventional behaviors after treatment and intervention from medical and social service providers. This chapter, then, is focused on "front-end" policies that stress prevention, treatment, and amenability for meaningful change in the lives of severely antisocial persons.

Chapter 4 reviews the competing theoretical stance, which suggests that criminal propensity explains the various forms of antisocial behavior characteristic of career criminals. In varying degrees, propensity theorists acknowledge that much of the source of criminal propensity is genetic; however, these pathological traits interact and are often aggravated by environmental social conditions. Propensity theories broach some of the most controversial ideas in criminology because they speak directly to the issue of human nature. With their explicit focus on and documentation of the bad acts of career offenders, propensity theories raise the specter that dangerous criminals are, in whole or in part, evil. After reviewing the important propensity theories, the chapter also contains a synthesis of the debate between Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi, creators of one of the major propensity perspectives, self-control theory, and their colleagues who advocate the longitudinal, career approach. Although their exchanges mostly pertain to methodological, analytical, and disciplinary issues, the debate centers on the more central issue of the very constitution of various types of offenders. The chapter concludes by postulating that some of the dissent between developmental and propensity theorists is borne from their differential investigation of two classes of offenders, career criminals and others. Moreover, a latent source of disagreement among criminologists relates explicitly to their ideological perception of criminals themselves and whether they are deserving of sympathy or vengeance.

Chapter 5 explores the more controversial aspects of career criminals and how these political fissures may contribute to the ineffective control of the nation's worst offenders. The central controversy stems from the difficulty in identifying which persons, even among groups of chronic delinquents, for example, will become career criminals. Indeed, most prediction instruments perform no better than chance, and many overpredict career criminality, that is, they falsely predict that nonchronic offenders will become chronic offenders. On scientific terms, criminologists are skeptical and leery of criminal justice policies that purport to predict future criminal conduct. The ethical quandaries about prediction and the continued inability of criminologists to devise accurate prediction instruments that can prospectively identify habitual offenders renders prevention even more crucial (discussed in Chapter 3).

Chapter 5 also explores how news media entities chronicle crime but frequently do not make an explicit connection to the contributions of career criminals. Moreover, some media accounts of career offenders are sympathetic in nature because career criminals themselves commonly had an extremely disadvantaged childhood. Additionally, the media can portray well-intentioned criminal justice policies such as recidivist or habitual offender statutes as draconian, costly, and unjust. This creates inconsistent images of the career criminal and complicates policy discussions to control crime. Two additional academic points, ideological in nature, also complicate our understanding of career criminals. Although peripheral to mainstream criminology, some scholars equivocate the empirical evidence of career criminals and instead proclaim that the nation's worst criminals are "social constructions," or figments of the imagination (and agenda) of conservative policy makers. Thus, there is a general notion that the most violent offenders are more hype than reality. Second, although the havoc wrought by career criminals has been well documented, some scholars seem to lack the fortitude to make the difficult but necessary judgments about controlling them. For example, the use of "get-tough" crime control policies such as three-strikes laws were generally maligned and hypothesized to have calamitous effects on the criminal justice system. However, subsequent research has shown that forecasts of the harm of the get-tough approach were erroneous.

Chapter 6 explores "back-end" policies that the police, courts, and corrections can and should do to effectively control career criminals. Many of these efforts are already in place and have produced modestly favorable results. For example, many agencies around the country have instituted serious or habitual offender comprehensive action programs (SHOCAP) policies to combat young habitual criminals, created specialized units to proactively target career recidivists, and enacted special prosecutorial bureaus to target the most chronic offenders. Furthermore, the chapter reviews four critical legal issues that relate to career criminals: (a) the constitutionality of habitual offender statutes, (b) the proportionality of three-strikes legislation, (c) dangerousness and its prediction, and (d) the civil commitment of predatory sex offenders have been debated in the nation's courts.

The debate between due process constitutionalists and crime control advocates has frequently centered on the most effective and democratic ways to identify and control career criminals. Some of the problems with the correctional system are highlighted vis-à-vis the inability to stop career criminals. The actual administration of criminal justice softens the punishment capacity of many well-intentioned policies. For example, many prison sentences are automatically reduced by 50% or more by

good time, inmates sentenced to life imprisonment are routinely paroled, and the ultimate sanction, capital punishment, is used too infrequently to effectively neutralize career criminals. Finally, this chapter explores how the increased use of capital punishment could reduce and deter crime with an empirical illustration using a sample of habitual offenders. The chapter concludes with information from The Sentencing Project and a discussion of the dire problem of factually innocent offenders being sentenced to death and how the desire to stop chronic offenders may contribute to this.

Chapter 7 summarizes the book and presents two general sets of policy recommendations. First, the treatment effects of early-life prevention programs are nothing less than remarkable, yet prevention has historically been marginalized by criminology. The prevention of career criminals is possible with modest investments in the lives of families and children most at-risk for career criminality. Such a move requires an acknowledgment and political compromise from conservatives, who are usually ideologically opposed to social welfare. Second, whereas prevention clearly works, attempts to rehabilitate or treat adult career criminals have yielded little fruit. Just as we must commit to the humanistic policy of prevention, we must be equally strident in our commitment to meting the appropriate punishments to career criminals. This necessitates incapacitation and condemnation. Here, liberals must desist from extending any solicitude to the most violent among us. Without this political compromise and the attendant commitment to prevention and retributive justice, career criminals will continue to remain a social problem.

To date, most texts devoted to career criminals (and criminal careers generally) have been written with primarily one audience in mind, themselves. Undoubtedly, criminologists have provided a great service to the scientific community; indeed, it is they who have produced the knowledge base that appears herein. Unfortunately, these works have often failed to earnestly explore the more interesting political and philosophical issues pertaining to career criminals. Consequently, they missed an opportunity to demonstrate the salience of career criminals to members of our society. In this sense, my intention is to produce a book on career criminals that sheds the tacit academic code of political correctness and delves into some admittedly difficult substantive issues. My wish is that this approach engages faculty, students, and citizens alike and provides an opportunity for discussion, regardless of their occupational or ideological perspective.

The rationale behind such an approach is directly attributable to my previous work experience as a criminal justice practitioner, interviewing and interacting with thousands of criminal offenders. From 1995 to 2000, I was employed as a pretrial service officer or bond commissioner in Boulder County, Colorado. As a judicial officer, I interviewed arrestees to gather social and criminal history information for bond purposes. More than half of my work tenure was spent working the "graveyard" shift from approximately 10 p.m. to 8 a.m. During this experience, I commonly interacted with criminal defendants when they were admittedly in their worst condition, bewildered by their arrest and, often, extremely intoxicated. Obviously, the modal defendant was not a career criminal; indeed, the most common interviews were with persons arrested for failure to appear warrants for traffic violations, driving under the influence (DUI), and domestic violence.

Other interviews, those with career criminals, were qualitatively distinct from the majority of criminal defendants. Interpersonally, they took three forms. First, some career criminals, particularly if they had recently ingested narcotics and/or alcohol, were so combative and belligerent that they simply could not be interviewed. Instead, several sheriff deputies escorted them to an isolation cell in the disciplinary module of the jail. Having witnessed many of these visceral incidents, I can sadly offer that a handful of criminals were always in this condition.

Second, some career criminals interacted in a manner consistent with Cloward and Ohlin's retreatist subculture. These offenders' lives were ones of complete resignation and withdrawal from society, often via pathological addiction to alcohol and bizarre drugs such as paint or glue. Pronounced mental illness, particularly paranoid schizophrenia, was common among this group. Unlike the rancorous interaction of the first type, resigned career criminals would either nullify the bond interview altogether by sitting in silence with a vacant stare or simply and politely decline to participate.

The third type was, if nothing else, the most entertaining and, at times, even comical. These career criminals were completely oblivious to anything that transpired in their life, including recurrent interactions with the criminal justice system. Nothing seemed to concern them. An extremely talkative bunch, these offenders would often attempt to use their considerable verbal skills and audacity to influence the determination of bond. They brushed off all responsibility and had an excuse and exculpatory justification, believable only in their minds, for each arrest on their record.

Although clearly not pleased to be in jail and likely headed back to prison, these offenders were not generally disturbed by the criminal justice system. These qualities are well known to those who study and interact with habitual criminals; indeed, the glibness, egocentricity, pathological lying, refusal to assume responsibility, and attempts to manipulate are prototypical traits of psychopathy. Many of these qualities personify the theoretical ideas in Chapters 3 and 4.

Box 1.1 Career Criminal Profile

Name(s) Used

Alejandro Chapa

Alejandro Chapa-Gutierrez

James Teebler

Jaime Chapa

Chapa

Alejandro Gutierrez Chapa

Alex Chapa Jaime Gutierrez
Alex Gutierrez Jaime Martinez

Alex Santos-Martinez Jaime Martinez-Gutierrez

Jimmy Santos Jaime Alejandro Alexander Martinez James Alexander

Physical

Race: W Sex: M Height: 507 Weight: 165

Hair/Eyes: BLK/BRO

Skin: Med

Date(s) of Birth

062559	072559	082559	092559
122559	012559	062560	062561
062562	062563	062564	062565
062566	062567	062568	062569

Place(s) of Birth

Chihuahua, Mexico TX NM AZ CO OK

Scars/Marks

SC L Arm/SC R Arm/SC Face/SC R Leg/SC L Leg/SC Chest/SC Abdomen/TAT Face/TAT Neck/TAT L Arm (Multiple)/TAT R Arm (Multiple)/TAT Back (Multiple)/TAT R Chest/TAT L Hand

Fingerprint Class

PM PI 15 PM 13 PM PM 15 PI 13 WU WU RS WU RS WU WU LS WU LS

1—Arrested or received 1974/10/10

Agency-Juarez Mexico Police Department

Charge 1: Burglary 1 Charge 2: Burglary 1 Charge 3: Poss Burg Tools Charge 4: Ill Poss Firearm

Court: Dismissed

2-Arrested or received 1974/11/02

Agency: Juarez Mexico Police Department

Charge 1: Burglary 1 Charge 2: Burglary 2 Charge 3: Burglary 2

Charge 4: Ill Poss Firearm Charge 5: Robbery by Force Charge 6: Resist Arrest

Court: Charges 1-4 Dismissed

Charge 5: Guilty Plea

Charge 6: Guilty Plea

Sentence: Charges 5-6 Reformatory

Indeterminate to 4 Yrs

3-Arrested or received 1974/12/04

Agency: Northern Mexico Reformatory

Sentence: Indeterminate to 4 Yrs

(Continued)

Box 1.1 (Continued)

4-Arrested or received 1976/01/01

Agency: Sheriff's Office, El Paso, Texas

Charge 1: Rob w/Firearm Charge 2: Rob w/Firearm Charge 3: Aggrav Menacing Court: No Disposition

5-Arrested or received 1976/04/26

Agency: Oklahoma City Police Department

Charge 1: DUI

Charge 2: Unauth Use Vehicle Charge 3: No Operator Insurance Charge 4: Drive w/o Valid DL

Charge 5: Fugitive Other Jurisdiction

Court: Charges 1-4 Dismissed

Charge 5: Fugitive (Rob w/Firearm x2/Aggrav Menacing)

Extradition to El Paso, Texas

6-Arrested or received 1976/05/30

Agency: Sheriff's Office, El Paso, Texas

Charge 1: Rob w/Firearm Charge 2: Rob w/Firearm Charge 3: Aggrav Menacing

Charge 4: Flight to Avoid Prosecution

Court: Guilt Plea to All Charges Sentence: 13 Yrs Texas DOC

7—Arrested or received 1976/07/01

Agency: Texas DOC Sentence: 13 Yrs

8-Arrested or received 1982/01/15

Agency: Texas Dept. Parole and Probation Charge 1: Release Conditional Parole 5 Yrs

9—Arrested or received 1983/03/15

Agency: Sheriff's Office, Denver, Colorado

Charge 1: Domestic Violence

Charge 2: Aslt 3

Charge 3: Aslt 3

Charge 4: Child Abuse 2

Charge 5: Resist Arrest

Charge 6: Obstruct Police

Court: No Disposition

10—Arrested or received 1983/10/10

Agency: Denver Police Department

Charge 1: Domestic Violence

Charge 2: Poss Schedule II (Cocaine)

Charge 3: Poss Drug Paraph

Charge 4: Resist Arrest

Charge 5: Obstruct Police

Charge 6: Aslt on Police Off

Charge 7: Ex-felon Possess Weap

Court: Charge 1 Dismissed

Charge 2: Guilty Plea

Charge 3: Dismissed

Charge 4: Dismissed

Charge 5: Dismissed

Charge 6: Guilty Plea, Aslt 3

Charge 7: Guilty Plea, ccw

Sentence: 180 Dys Jail, Alc tx, \$487 Fines

11—Arrested or received 1984/11/02

Agency: Sheriff's Office, Adams County, Colorado

Charge 1: DUI

Charge 2: No Operator Insurance

Charge 3: Drive w/o Valid DL

Charge 4: Criminal Impersonation/Fraud

Charge 5: Ex-felon Possess Weap

(Continued)

Box 1.1 (Continued)

Court: Guilty at Trial

Charges 1-5

Sentence: 3 Yrs Co DOC

12—Arrested or received 1986/06/05

Agency: Phoenix Police Department

Charge 1: Burglary 1

Charge 2: Agg Robbery

Charge 3: Kidnap—No Ransom

Charge 4: Grand Theft

Charge 5: Burglary 2

Charge 6: Burglary 1

Charge 7: Agg Robbery

Charge 8: Kidnap—No Ransom

Charge 9: Agg Robbery

Charge 10: Burglary 1

Charge 11: Murder 2

Charge 12: Agg Robbery

Charge 13: Kidnap—No Ransom

Charge 14: Burglary 1

Charge 15: Rape 1

Charge 16: Agg Robbery

Charge 17: Burglary 2

Charge 18: Burglary 2

Charge 19: Grand Theft

Charge 20: Grand Theft

Charge 21: Fel Poss Firearm

Charge 22: Fel Poss Firearm

Charge 23: Fel Poss Firearm

Court: Guilty Plea

Murder 2

Burglary 1

Agg Robbery (x3)

Kidnap—No Ransom

Remain Charges Dismissed

Sentence: AZ DOC 60 Yrs State Prison

13-Arrested or received 2002/11/11

Agency: Arizona Dept. of Corrections

Charge 1: Release Conditional Parole—Lifetime Charge 2: Registry Violent Sexual Predator

14-Arrested or received 2002/12/31

Agency: Phoenix Dept. of Corrections

Charge 1: DUI

Court: No Disposition

SOURCE: National Crime Information Center, FBI Identification Record.

NOTE: This is a fictional profile; any similarity to a career criminal, living or

dead, is purely coincidence.

A novel feature of this book is the inclusion of fictional criminal records that illustrate the offending patterns of career criminals. Although these people are not real, they are an amalgamation of 5 years of experience working with real offenders. Several important criminological points can be gleaned from the offender profile. The multiple aliases and other identifiers characterize an offender who uses deception when dealing with law enforcement and, more generally, an individual who is prone to excessive lying. The recorded criminal behavior is extensive and spans nearly 30 years. It contains an assortment of antisocial behaviors encompassing violent crimes, property crimes, drug offenses, traffic violations, and various incidents of noncompliance with the criminal justice system. The record illustrates the discontinuity and funnel-like effects of the criminal justice system: Many arrest charges are dismissed, rejected for filing, or discarded during plea arrangements with the prosecution. Although the offender is clearly no stranger to criminal punishment, there is little "truth-in-sentencing," and most incarcerations are short-lived. Finally, there appears to be no rhyme or reason to the offender's record, conduct appears to escalate then deescalate, and arrests appear intermittently. Such a feckless life illustrates the difficulty in predicting or forecasting what a chronic offender will do next. This profile typifies the modal career criminal that is described in considerable detail in Chapter 2.