

Exploratory research on youth offending: Risk Factors Associated with Youth Offending in East Gojjam Zone, Ethiopia¹

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Abstract: This research examines the risk and protective factors of youth offending conducted in East Gojjam Zone, Amhara Regional state of Ethiopia. Guided by qualitative (constructionist) approach, qualitative exploratory case study strategy is used. Interview and document review were the central data collection technique: in-depth interview was made with youth offenders whereas key informant interview with police officials, community elders and non youth offenders to explore the risk and protective factors of youth offending. Generally sixteen youth offenders and twelve key informants, a total of twenty eight participants were participated. To select participants, non-probability sampling method and purposive sampling technique was employed. Especially, maximum variation purposing sampling was used. To get comprehensive information, elements such as age, gender, and social setting of rural vs. urban were considered to select research participants. The finding of the study shows that there are several multi level personal, peer, familial, school, cultural, community, and political and administrative risk factors contributing to youth offending. Moreover, this study also suggested opportunistic factors that can curb the risk factors and reduce youth offending behaviors which will be presented with another section.

Key words: youth, offending, offender, youth offending, youth offender, risk factor, crime

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INTRODUCTION

Background of the Research

The global population of young people aged 15-24 currently is 1.1 billion and projected to peak at 1.5 billion in 2035, most rapidly in Sub-Saharan Africa. In Africa including Ethiopia, 200 million people fall into the age category of 15-24. These populations are making up 20 percent of the population, 40 percent of the workforce and 60 percent of the unemployed on the continent (Agbor, Taiwo & Smith, 2012).

Moon, Patton & Rao (2011) confirmed that susceptibility to adversity is heightened during youthful age. Of several problem behaviors observed at this age, youth offending is becoming the most pressing issue throughout the world. The youths have consistently been hypothesized to be disproportionately responsible for crime and are more vulnerable to violence than any other age group (Farrington, 2003). It is found that about 10.2 million pre-trial detainees and sentenced prisoners in the world, young populations are over involved (Walmsley, 2013).

For example, statistics in USA released in 2006 revealed that just over a fifth (22%) of young people aged between 10 and 25 had committed at least one of the 20 core offences in the previous 12 months (Ozarow, 2011, p. 10).

Researchers used age-crime curve to describe a characteristic peak found in aggregate crime data when it is plotted against age. Thus, proportion of the population that is involved in offending behavior (in prevalence and frequency) tend to be highest between the age of 15 and 18 (The peaking age), followed by a steep decline to about the mid-20s and a steadier decline thereafter (Farrington, 1986; Mcvie, 2009, pp. 39-40). This general pattern tends to be repeated for both males and females;

but, participation in offending is almost always greater amongst male (Mcvie, 2009, p. 41).

Crime committed by youth is costing the community billions of dollars per year (YJB², 2002), creates a sense of fear and lowers the quality of life for many people (Geason & Wilson, 1988). For instance, in Africa, violence-related injuries are one of the top three killers of young males next to HIV and AIDS and TB (AU, 2011). All over the communities whether affluent or poor, urban, suburban, or rural, all are affected by the effects of youth offending (McClinton, 2004). Furthermore, as the age of transition, researchers indicated that the deficits, deprivations and other risks experienced during youth have debilitating emotional, political, economic and social consequences for those concerned, and their families and communities. UNDP (2014) indicated that when young people fail to realize their full potential, this undermines their future capabilities as adults, thereby weakening whole communities and economies. Especially in many low-income countries with exceptionally youthful populations, this results in a substantial loss of national developmental momentum.

It is clear that effective solutions and prevention measures to any social problems are easy to find when the root causes of such problems are well-known. Thus, several individual and interpersonal risk factors of youth offending have been forwarded. However, Geason and Wilson (1988) pointed that "the escalating rate of offence suggests that traditional approach of prevention, identifying risk factors and taking corrective action, is not working" (p.1). Hence, this research supports the notions of

²YJB: Youth Justice Board in England and Wales which is established in 1998 to advise Ministers how to achieve the statutory aim of the youth justice system -which is to prevent offending by children and young people.

risk and protective factor approach which is introduced by Hawkins, Catalano and Miller in (1992), which I think is optimal to develop successful prevention and intervention program. In view of that, this research addressed both risk and protective factors of youth offending concurrently. But only the former one will be the main focus of this article.

Statement of the problem

The issue of youth offending is one of the pressing problems of the world. Across the nations more intensively in USA, UK, and other developed countries, researches have been conducted on different aspects of youth offending. Official statistics obtained from Ethiopia, especially in the study area, East Gojjam Zone indicates that as of the year 2015 youth populations aged between 15 and 24 constitutes 23% of the total population. The average of five years East Gojjam Zone police annual crime statistics indicates that 49.4% of the total recorded crime is committed by the young people aged between 16 and 30. Moreover, as of the year 2015, the total number of prisoners by the year 2004, 2005 and 2006 were 1642, 1484 and 1653 respectively. Of these population offenders whose age between 15 and 25 were 43.7%, 46.7% and 41.9% respectively. Specifically, at the time of the research, about 45% of the offenders were youth whose age between 15 and 24 which indicates the highest involvement in to offending activities disproportionately.

Taking into account of their demographic contribution and productivity to the nation's economy, Bennell (2007); and Agbor, et al. (2012) provided about the current issues of young people, especially in Africa. Youth offending behavior is found to be the most serious problem that affects the youth, their family and the larger society. Criminologists stated that the prevalence of

criminal involvement is uncommon during early childhood, increases rapidly during early adolescence, reaches a peak during mid to late adolescence, and declines rapidly thereafter. The peaking age to involve in offending behavior is 18 (MoEtt,1993a; Thomberxy, 1996).

However, the researcher has come to see that even though the prevalence of youth offending is as such prevailing, it is less considered in Ethiopia. As far as all possible ways had been used to access resources, let alone East Gojjam, very limited empirical research has been obtained which has been carried out in Ethiopia on such a particular issue of youth offending. Thus, the researcher believed that researches conducted in USA, Europe and other countries used their own people as the participant of their study and therefore, these researches might fail to explain the problem of youths offending in context. Therefore, the aim of the researcher is to fill these knowledge gaps and is motivated to study the main risk factors of youth offending.

Rational Of the Research

Youth offending is becoming serious problem in the world. In Ethiopia, about 25% of the population is found under the age between 15 and 24 as of the year 2015. Unlikely, the involvement of youth in to crime has been increasing. As a result, the researcher strongly believes that addressing the issue of youth offending is contemporary and very crucial demographically as well as economically. The outcome of this research will result to provide new insight and policy direction for the policy maker as well as to the scientific community for further enquires.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this research is to explore risk factors contributing to youth offending

REVIEWED LITERATURES

Youth: the Concept and Definition

There is no commonly accepted definition rather the concept youth has been understood in different ways. Sociologically Curtin (2003) stated that “a life stage comprising a series of transitions from adolescence to adulthood, from dependence to independence, and from being recipients of society’s services to becoming contributors to national, economic, political and cultural life” (p. 74). Whereas, interims of age, distinctively it is defined by different countries, for example, South Africa use 14-35 age range; Uganda 12-30; India 15-35; Nigeria 18-38; WHO 10-24, and Ethiopia, 15 - 29 (FDRE ministry of youth sport and culture, 2004, p. 5), and AU use 15-35 (AU, 2011; Bennell, 2007). International organizations such as, UN and the World Bank use 15-24 years age category (AU, 2011; Bennell, 2007). Considering Curtin’s sociological definition, the researcher viewed youthful age as a period of transition, and aimed to identify factors affecting their successful transition to the adulthood period. Therefore, this study utilized UN and World Bank’s definition of youth.

Youth Offending: Definition and Situation

Broadly criminologist such as Bohm & Haley (2005) advocated crime in two ways: legally and socially. The legal definition shows “an intentional violation of the criminal law or penal code, committed without defense or excuse and penalized by the state” (pp. 24-25). In Ethiopia, the Criminal Code under Proclamation No.414/2004, Article 23 defined crime as follows: “(1) a crime is an act which is prohibited and made punishable by law. An act consists of the commission of what is prohibited or the omission of what is prescribed by law....” The second and broader definition is social definition, which includes “behavior that violates the norms of the society/anti-social behavior” (Bohm

& Haley, 2005, pp. 24-25). Wolfgang, Savitz & Johnston (1970) argued that crime is a legal issue (pp. 15-16). Similarly, this research used only the legal definition.

Conceptually offending and crime has been used interchangeably for similar meaning but offending is found to be well positive. Though there is age variation in different countries contextually, generally criminological researchers identified three groups of offenders: *juvenile, youth and adult offenders*. Wolfgang, Savitz & Johnston, (1970) stated that violation of criminal laws and ordinances are generally considered delinquency when committed by a juvenile (pp. 23-25). However, youth and adult offenders have almost the same legal prescription; in Ethiopia offenders below 18 years have some privileges (e.g. no death penalty). Consequently, in these research youth offending can be defined as violation of criminal laws and ordinances committed by youth and therefore youth offenders are young person who has been convicted for a criminal offense.

Risk Factors of Youth Offending

Risk factors to offending refers those characteristics, variables, hazards or anything that increases the probability that a person will engage in offending behavior (Shader, 2002; Davies, 2011; and Arthur, Hawkins, Pollard, Catalano, Baglioni, 2002). The more risk factors a young person is exposed to, the more likely they are to engage in offending behavior (Spratt, Jenkins & Doob, 2000). The following personal and interpersonal risk factors have been presented;

Age: Jeffrey Arnett (1992) stipulated that adolescence bears a heightened potential for recklessness compared to other developmental periods in all cultures (Selam, Esayas, 2011, p. 8). Whereas Hansen (2002) found that the relationship between crime and age is an indirect one, mediated through other explanatory variables such as moral commitment, having criminal associates, and

other demographic or socio-economic factors. Thus, age is related to crime because it is associated with particular stages in an individual's life cycle which influence attitudes and behavior and act to encourage or discourage criminal involvement (p. 2).

Gender: researchers supported that *males* are much more likely to engage in most crimes than females, particularly serious and life course persistent crimes (Agnew and Brezina 2012; Agnew, 2013, p.7; Harris, et al., 2011, p. 9; and UNODC, 2007, pp. 36-40). Research conducted in United States found that *lower class individuals* have higher rates of serious offending and may be more likely to be life-course persistent offenders (Agnew and Brezina 2012).

Mental Health Foundation (2002) acknowledged that young people involved in the criminal justice system have elevated rates of *mental health problems* when compared to other adolescents (showed that Bishop, 2008, p. 3). However, Richardson (2009) argued that researches supporting the persistent assumption of 'mentally ill are particularly prone to violence' had suffered from significant methodological and conceptual problems. He called this 'criminalization' of the mentally ill to show a significant problem about the relationship between crime and mental illness. He justified that people who need mental health treatment are frequently being put into prison rather than hospital due to poor or inappropriate resources in the mental health sector (p. 2-3).

Moreover, it is examined that *childhood experience of neglect and/or abuse*, young people with one or more substantiated maltreatment records were more likely to have a later offending record than those with no substantiated maltreatment (Mendes, Snow, & Baidawi, 2012, p. 6; Harris, et al., 2011, p. 9; UNODC, 2007, pp. 36-40). Individual's

early aggressive behavior and persistent antisocial behavior also increases the risk for criminal behavior (Arizona Criminal Justice Commission, 2012, p. 19; Fox, 2008, p. 35).

Surafel Gedamu (2008) studied that number of *street youths* are increasing due to poor parenting style, family history of drug abuse and other. He mentioned that street youths highly use drug disproportionately to work out the psychological and related problems they are suffering from. Hence, he associated with crime in that they used many techniques including criminal activities to avail themselves with drug (Surafel Gedamu, 2008, p. 74).

On the other direction Shader (2002); Piko, Fitzpatrick, Wright (2005); YJB (2005) mentioned that the criminal behavior of the peer, their approval of delinquent behavior, and attachment or allegiance to peers have all been associated with youth's offending behavior. Youth who associate with peers who engage in problem behaviors are much more likely to engage in the same problem behaviors. This is one of the most consistent predictors of youth problem behaviors identified through research. Even when young people come from well-managed families and do not experience other risk factors, just hanging out with those who engage in problem behaviors increases their risks (World Bank, 2007; Arizona Criminal Justice Commission, 2014, p. 20; Fox, 2008, p. 36). Moreover, Harris, et al. (2011); and Arizona Criminal Justice Commission (2014) besides stated about gang involvement. Youth who belong to gangs or who have friends that belong to gangs are at risk for antisocial behavior and drug use. Gang membership has been linked to violence, shooting, destruction of public property, and involvement in other illegal behaviors including distribution of drugs.

Newson (1989) described that children whose *parents are harsh, cruel, highly inconsistent, passive or neglecting* are

at increased risk of criminality as adolescents. Lack of clear expectations for behavior, failure of parents to monitor their children (knowing where they are and who they are with), and excessively severe or inconsistent punishment are associated with criminal behavior (Arizona Criminal Justice Commission, 2014, 2012; Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986). Researches linked *experience of physical abuse* as a child, with an increased risk of becoming a violent offender. Because they quickly learn that bad behavior is a functional way of gaining their parents' attention and later start to involve in criminal behavior from an early age (Patterson and Yoerger, 1997; World Bank, 2007; Patterson et al, 1998; Harris, et al., 2011, p. 9).

Wilson (1980); Riley and Shaw (1985); Farrington (1986a and 1986b); and Patterson, et al., (1998) noted that *poor supervision by parents* lead for criminality, especially to 'early onset' of offending that is, in turn linked to recidivism and persistence in crime. Moreover, parental conflict, and parental aggression, including harsh, punitive discipline were also the strongest predictors of later convictions for violent offenses (McCord et al., 2001). Other research has linked being raised in a *single-parent family*, increased criminal behavior (McCord, Widom, and Crowell, 2001). Being a single parent is associated with the existence of low parental supervision which exposes children to crime.

Frequent researched revealed that *family conflict* as a major risk factor (Utting et al, 1993; Graham and Bowling, 1995). Whether the family is headed by two biological parents, a single parent, or some other primary caregiver, children raised in families high in conflict appear to be at risk for all of the problem behaviors including crime (Arizona Criminal Justice Commission, 2012; Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986). However, a US study found

that offending was not only common among men raised in 'broken homes' without affectionate mothers, but also in 'intact' families that had been marked by conflict between the parents. It was much less frequent among men who had grown up in intact families where there was no conflict and in lone parent families where they had enjoyed affectionate relationships with their mothers (McCord, 1982; Farrington, 1992a).

Families headed by a *separated or divorced parent* – are correlated in longitudinal surveys, with an increased risk of engaging in offending activities. However factors including the quality of parental supervision and discipline, family income, the conflict that surrounds the breakdown of a parental relationship, and the quality of the child's relationship with one or both parents had influence on it (Utting et al, 1993; Graham and Bowling, 1995; Shader, 2002). Omboto, Ondiek, Odera&Ayugi (2013) studied among the 55 randomly sampled youth and found that 7 had parents who had separated, 6 youths' mothers had died, 14 were fatherless (fathers either died or were unknown to them having been born out of wedlock), while 8 had no parents at all; were either total orphans or never knew both their parents having been abandoned when young (p. 19)

Studies showed that children are more likely to become delinquent if one or both *parents have been involved in crime*, or if they have an older sibling who is, or was, criminal (Farrington, 1995; Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986; Arizona Criminal Justice Commission, 2012). In the Cambridge study, just 5% of the South London families were responsible for half the criminal convictions of all family members. Over 60% of boys whose fathers had been convicted were eventually convicted themselves (Farrington et al, 1996). However, having a convicted parent was also significantly associated with persistent offending at the

age of 19 and subsequent criminal activity as an adult (YJB, 2005; Hawkins et al, 1995).

Situational analysis research made on youths and adolescents at Addis Ababa city established that, youths from low income households are found to be vulnerable for crime (Addis Ababa youth and sport bureau, 2009 as cited in Abraham Genet, 2010, p. 9). Individuals *from low income families* are more likely to become involved in crime than those from more affluent backgrounds (Utting et al, 1993; World Bank, 2007). Cambridge study of working-class boys found that a combination of *low family income, poor housing conditions and large family size consistently* identified an increased risk of self-reported offending, criminal convictions and both juvenile and adult offending (Farrington, 1992b; 1992c). Furthermore, chronic offending was even more strongly associated with low family income (West, 1982; West and Farrington, 1973).

It is generally examined that unemployment is associated with higher levels of personal theft. Increases in wealth are associated with lower levels of violent crime and higher levels of property crime. Wealthier household are much more likely to experience property crime, while poorer households are more at risk to be victims of all violent crime (UNODC, 2007, p.61).

In addition, poor academic performance, disruptive and aggressive behavior including bullying, lack of commitment to school (including truancy and dropping out of school), school disorganization, frequent school transitions, and lack of discipline and organization within the school are examined to be some school related risk factors of offending behaviors (O'Mahony, 2009, pp. 100-101; Hawkin, et al., 2000; Harris, et al., 2011).

Enquiries have shown that *intellectual ability* and criminal behavior have an inverse relationship. Academic failure increases a

student's risk of criminal behavior, teen pregnancy, school dropout, and violence (Gottfredson, 1981; Hundleby & Mercer, 1987; Fox, 2008, p. 31). Students who are not committed to school are at increased risk of substance abuse, misbehavior, school dropout, and violence. If a student is committed to his education, he is less likely to display problem behaviors (Fox, 2008, p. 21). A report by HM Chief Inspectorate of Prisons (1998) investigated that of 10570 young people under the age of 22 in the custody of the prison services in England in 1997, around two thirds of these youths had no formal qualifications, many had regularly truanted from school and over 50% had been excluded (or left voluntarily) before the age of 16 (Hansen, 2002, p. 3). Lochner (1999) also added as high school graduation reduced the probability of being arrested by around 60% and incarceration by between 85- 95% (Hansen, 2002, p. 3).

They justified that whilst youngsters are at school; they are being kept off the streets, and separate them from their more delinquent peers and enforce some level of discipline upon them. At the same time they are encouraged by the idea of meritocracy to have aspirations, to create goals which, by working hard at school, they will be able to achieve. This encourages individuals to develop a stake in their own future and in society more generally. Moreover, education allows children to develop skills and acquire knowledge and training which will affect their future success in life. If children want to maximize their future success, and secure successful jobs with good wages as a result of their educational success, they will be less likely to offend as youngsters and adult.

Apart from the student's academic failure, researchers also reviewed that *school policies* like grade retention, suspension and expulsion, and school tracking of juvenile delinquency have negative consequences for at-risk youth (McCord, Widom, and Crowell,

2001). For example, suspension and expulsion do not appear to reduce undesirable behavior, and both are linked to increased delinquent behavior. In addition, Heal's (1978) cross-sectional study of primary and secondary schools in England found that large schools with formal and severe punishment structures in place had more incidents of students misbehaving (Shader, 2002, p. 6).

Since individuals function within a broader social environment, scholars mentioned community factors. For example, Loeber et al. (1998) found that young people who live in *economically deprived* areas characterized by extreme poverty, poor living conditions, and high unemployment are more likely to engage in crime and violence. For example, substantial portion of the decline in property crime rates during the 1990s in USA is attributable to the decline in the unemployment rate. Unemployment is an important determinant of crime, specifically property crime rates (Raphael, Winter-Ebmer, 2001, p. 281). There is a systematic positive relationship between most crime and male unemployment (Carmichael & Ward, 2001; Melick '03, 2003, p. 35; Lee, 2009, p. 22).

Omboto, Ondiek, Odera&Ayugi (2013) addressed that most of the youth are in crime because of poverty, which drove them into criminal acts for survival. A study conducted at Kenyan prison institution revealed that over 70%; more than 40 out of 55 of the inmates were poor or came from poor family backgrounds based on where they lived, property ownership and the types of offences committed. For instance, some boys indicate that they had run from home to beg for survival in the streets because they lacked basic needs. In those streets they latter committed crimes to survive, they were involved in petty offences like stealing goods or properties (p. 18).

Wadsworth (1979) investigated that convictions for violence and other serious offending were most common among sons of the *least skilled and educated manual workers*. Intuitively, it seems likely that some young people become involved in crime to obtain money and material goods that they could not otherwise afford. Farrington et al (1986) mentioned that young men aged 15 to 18 years in the Cambridge study were convicted at a higher rate when they were unemployed than when they had jobs. However, Caspi and Moffitt (1993) discribed that unemployment tended to exacerbate existing anti-social tendencies rather than turning law-abiding young people into criminals (Shader, 2002).

High community disorganization and low neighborhood attachment: The less attached community members are to each other, the more difficult it will be to have clear goals within the community. Mobilizing community members against crime is difficult and these communities become highly disorganized places where crime happen (Sampson et al., 1981, and McCord, et al., 2001). *Transitions and mobility:* When youth move from one school to another or from one community to another, it increases their risk of problem behavior. The more often people move, the greater the risk of problem behaviors. Some families are able to buffer the risk when they can build relationships in the new community. However, some families do not have the resources to deal with frequent moves and will experience problems such as substance abuse, crime, and school dropout (Shaw & McKay, 1969 as cited in Fox, 2008, p. 22). Other researches also shows that *when laws and community standards are favorable toward drug use, crime, firearms, handguns or even if they are just unclear*, youth are at higher risk. When firearms are present in a residence, friends, family members, and acquaintances are at increased risk when

compared to strangers or intruders. Moreover, when a firearm is present during the commission of a crime a fatality is more likely to occur (Arizona Criminal Justice Commission, 2012).

Adults' unconstructive attitude towards the youths: Delgado (2006) clearly stipulated that adults often do not consider the potential of youths as current and future leaders, opinion maker, and stakeholders, and they, therefore, lack respect towards youth. Youths, unfortunately, are more often considered to be a group at risk than a resource. Youth's strength is not recognized by the community at large and their desire to participate in decision making is overlooked. He pointed that this attitude would create discomfort and may insist them to develop problem behaviors like crime (as cited in Abraham Genet, 2010, p. 3).

At macro level, researchersexamined that youth offending is not just a question of rational choice by young people, it is also the result of a *lack of structural opportunities* for young people, in terms of education, employment, housing, adequate income and constructive leisure opportunities which is rarely considered by politicians and policymakers (Barry & Mcneill, 2009, p. 11). Young people see themselves as largely conformist. They may be disaffected, but that is more to do with their inability to infiltrate the perceived 'closed shop' of adult society because of their status as 'young people'. Such status results in marginalisation, stigmatisation and discrimination by those (adults) in authority. Arguably, for some of them offending is a means of denying that status and relieving the pressure of non-integration (p. 10).

Theoretical Framework

Crime is a comprehensive term covering a wide range of offenses. As a result no single theory is universally accepted by experts. Rather many theories have been forwarded to explain particular aspects of

crime. Thus based on the objectives of the research plus the focus of the field of social work, the researcher used ecological system theory. According to UrieBronfenbrenner (1917 – 2005), ecological systems theory, “is an approach to study of human development that consists of the scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation, throughout the life course, between an active, growing human being, and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by the relations between these settings, and by the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded” (Bronfenbrenner, 1989).

He strongly suggested that in order to understand human development; onemust consider the entire ecological system in which growth occurs (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, pp. 37-38). Hence, EST³ is a paradigm which encompasses multi-disciplinary theories across multiple levels of functioning (e.g., individual, peer, family, school, community); views the communities from a broad, interdisciplinary perspective that encompasses bio-ecological and macro-economic concerns, but gives greater attention to the social, psychological, institutional, and cultural contexts of people-environment relations (Stokols, Lejano, Hipp, 2013; and Bronfenbrenner's, 1979).

Ecological system theory looks at an individual's development and behavior within the system of the interactions between an individual, immediate environment (family, school, and peers) and larger social environment (community, society, culture), as well as interactions among different levels of the environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Moon, Patton, and Rao, 2011, P. 3-4; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; and McGoldrick, 2005), which is the main concern of this

³ EST-Ecological system theory

research, observing youths' problem behavior such as offending in context.

Bronfenbrenner (1979; 1994; and 1989) suggested five levels of ecological components as a useful framework in understanding how individual or family processes are influenced by hierarchical environmental systems in which they function. These are;

Microsystems: *Is an individual's immediate environment contains the structures with which the individual has direct contact, eg., family, school, peer group, church..... At this level relationships have impact in two directions called bi-directional influences*

Meso-systems: *Is the relationship between microsystems, e.g., the relations between home and school, school and workplace, etc.*

Exo-systems: *Is the relations between a Microsystem and a system in which the individual is not directly involved, e.g., for a child, the relation between the home and the parent's workplace; for a parent, the relation between the school and the neighborhood peer group.* **Macro-systems:** *Consists of the overarching pattern like culture or subculture, belief systems etc and*

Chronosystems: *Is the way in which environmental effects develop over time, e.g. changes over the life course in family structure like divorce affect the individual's growth and development, socioeconomic status, employment, place of residence, or the degree of hecticness and ability in everyday life (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, pp. 39-41).*

According to Bronfenbrenner, all these five systems have rules, norms, and at the same time roles that shape development of human beings (NACCE, 2015). Some recent social work models added the physical environment as a separate dimension because it is assumed that failure to include the physical environment has most notably

hampered social work's ability to respond to persons with disabilities (Hutchison, 1999).

EST based analysis places an individual at the center of micro-, meso-, exo-, macro-, and chrono-system levels. Within each of these ecological settings, individuals are exposed to risk factors that increase the likelihood of negative outcomes and protective factors that decrease such outcomes. This includes: individual-level psychological factors, interactions with peers, family and teachers, community structural characteristics, and historical factors (Shaffer, 2014). EST recommends any efforts to promote organizational or community resilience should be based on an understanding of the dynamic reciprocal transactions that occur among diverse environmental and personal factors, rather than on analyses that focus more narrowly on specific environmental, biological, or behavioral causal factors (Stokols, et al., 2013).

RESEARCH METHOD

Type of the research: The fact that there are limited inquiries, exploratory research is chosen to generate new insight regarding youth offending. Neuman (2007); Kreuger and Newman (2006); Crow and Semmens (2006) noted that exploratory research is best to be used when we need to explore a new topic or issue to learn about it and if the issue is new or researchers had written little on it.

Research approach: Philosophically this research is relied on qualitative (constructivist) approach which basically presumed that reality is subjective. The researcher assumed that the research subjects or participants have unique and contextual idea about the issue. Crow and Semmens (2006) forwarded that constructivist approach is focused on studying a phenomenon as it occurs in its natural state. The focus for the

research is on extracting the meaning of action.

Research method: qualitative research method is used to fully understand the offenders' explanations of crime, which scholars assumed that it takes into account the complex and multivariate nature of individuals and social influences and supplement statistical models and conclusions with experiential data in studying the real world of offenders and crime. Moreover, qualitative research is culturally specific and produces contextually rich data (Mack, et al., 2005). Accordingly, this approach is chosen to explore risk and protective factors of youth offending in detail from the view point of research participants.

Research strategy: based on its scientific merits *exploratory case study strategy* is used. Creswell (2003) stated that *strategies of inquiry*⁴ are used to provide specific direction for procedures in a research design. Since the aim of the research is to explore and provide new insight over the issue of youth offending more specifically Stake's *instrumental*⁵ type of case study is used. According to Stake (1995) in an instrumental type of case study a particular case is studied to provide insight into an issue or to refine a theory, studies often are investigated in depth, and all aspects and activities are detailed, but not simply to

elaborate the case. In this research the issue is youth offending with particular emphasis to risk and protective factors.

The rationale to use exploratory case study research strategy was due to the existing discrepancy of scientific inquiry about youth offending. Yin (2004) articulated that exploratory type of case study research is best applied when a research aims to produce a first-hand understanding of people and events and used for the exploratory phase of an investigation to answer "What" questions in developing pertinent hypotheses and propositions for further inquiry which was the foremost concern of this research. Case study is also appropriate to understand complex social phenomena in-depth and to get complete picture of a unique, special or interesting story of the study case/s using variety of data sources (Yin, 1989; Stake, 1994; Baxter & Jack, 2008; and Neale, Thapa, Boyce, 2006). Thus, the researcher used all the benefits to explore new, in-depth, holistic and contextual information from multi sources of youth offender/ing.

Data Collection Techniques and Instruments: The researcher used interview (to gather primary data) and document review (to collect secondary and supportive documents) as the main data collection techniques. Yin (2004) recommended that documentation, records, interviews, direct observations, are the most common sources of evidence in doing case studies. In this research, focus group discussion was not used for three main reasons: first bureaucratically conducting focus group discussion among youth offenders was not conducive. Moreover, the researcher assumed that conducting focus group discussion about the issue of offending may not be appropriate technique in line with the approach of the study rather than making intensive private face to face interview.

Interview guides prepared for the youth offenders and key informants, and

⁴ Strategies associated with qualitative approach are: Ethnographies, grounded theory, case study, phenomenological and narrative research. See Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (2nd ed). Thousand Oaks, California, USA: SAGE publication. pp. 14-15

⁵ See Stake, R. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications. About types of case study: Intrinsic, Instrumental and collective case study.

secondary data collection checklist were used as an instrument of data collection.

In-depth interview: the researcher used face-to-face in-depth interview with youth offenders to generate detail information. The researcher created good rapport, prepared soft drink as per their interest and made intensive interview with each sixteen interviewees. The entire interview was conducted by the researcher himself. Colton and Covert (2007) called this 'self-report method,' interviewees are asked to reply information directly to their own detail. Scientifically, Natasha, et al. (2011) supported that in-depth interview is optimal for collecting data on individuals' personal histories, perspectives, and experiences, particularly when sensitive topics are being explored, for example in this case crime.

Key informant interview: Police officials, community dwellers, non offender youths, correctional center officials and female, children and youth affair offices were asked using this technique to get different insights about the offenders, the offending and the environmental context. Colton and Covert (2007) called this *observation method*-information about an individual is obtained by someone external.

Semi structured interview guiding questions were prepared. In line with the qualitative nature of the research, it was assumed that open-ended questions give the opportunity to respond in their own word and generate ideas that are meaningful and culturally salient. In the middle of conversation probing questions had been used to encourage them to elaborate their answers, clarify and get more understanding. Maxwell (1996) recommended that the researcher should use "probing" questions to gain additional information about context (in Higgins, 2009).

Document Review

Police crime record and correctional center's annual report were used to augment

the information collected from primary sources. Moreover, published and unpublished materials like books, articles, thesis, dissertation, seminars, reports and institutional documents has been used to get better understanding of the methodology, theory and the issue under study. Neuman (2007) mentioned that from existing statistics a researcher locates previously collected information, often in the form of government reports or previously conducted surveys, then reorganizes or combines the information in new ways to address a research question.

Research subjects: Youth offenders are the subject of the study. As the case study research, youth offending is the issue/case that this research has explored. To easily access the research subjects, DebreMarkos correctional centers is used, located in East Gojjam Zone of Amhara regional state in Ethiopia. As far as the research topic is concerned the research participants were only youth offenders aged between 15 and 24 whereas juveniles and adult offenders, and detainees were not included in the study.

Sampling Method and technique:

The researcher used non-probability sampling method, specifically, purposive sampling technique. This is because the research participants of the youth offenders and key informant interviewees were selected purposely to get pertinent information regarding the topic of the research. Teddlie and Yu (2007) noted that purposive sampling technique refers selecting units based on specific purposes associated with answering a research questions. The characteristics of the research participants, like gender, age and social setting (rural vs. urban) of the offenders were considered to select the research participants to get holistic information. An organization called Laerd Dissertation (2012) named this "maximum variation sampling," also known as heterogeneous sampling. It is stated that maximum variation sampling is one of the

types of purposive sampling⁶ used to capture a wide range of perspectives and used to gain greater insights into a phenomenon by looking at it from all angles.

Sampling size and procedure: Based on the saturation of the information and taking the average of different researchers' experience, sixteen youth offenders were interviewed. Alston and Bowles (2003) mentioned that in qualitative research sample is chosen to assist the researcher to understand the phenomena under study. Mack, et al. (2005) provided that purposive sample sizes are often determined on the basis of theoretical saturation. Moreover, 12 key informant interviewees: four Woreda police officers from crime investigation and community policing department; one correctional center officer, two community dwellers, three Woreda and Zonal Female Children and Youth Affairs Officer and two non offender youths were interviewed to support the study participants' idea.

After getting permission, officials from correctional administration assigned me a police to follow up and access the needed information and facilitation. However, considering the impacts of letting the police to get youth offenders, two actively performing youth offenders were chosen. Then they were introduced about the aim of the research, the needed research participants and other issues as well. Accordingly, they provided to me all the needed research participants in such a way though some of recommendation were rejected based on the criteria.

Inclusion criteria: Age and crime records were the main inclusion criteria to select youth offenders. Only youths whose age between 15 and 24 and who had sentenced for their criminal act were included. Detainee youths were not incorporated in the research because they are no longer criminals unless they are found to be guilty of crime. In addition, to select key informant interviewees, issues like their understanding, experience, and responsibility related to the issue were taken in to consideration.

Data Analysis technique: The research used thematic analysis technique. Based on the research questions, transcribed data has been reduced in to themes and analyzed accordingly. According to Dawson (2007) thematic analysis is used if the research is inductive; the themes emerge from the data and are not imposed upon it by the researcher. Moreover, Yin (2003) called this *explanation building technique* of analysis in case study. Since the research is exploratory type, though the research participants' (youth offenders) response is considered to develop themes, information gathered from different unit of observation is also analyzed to explain and get full information of the research topic. Baxter & Jack (2008) mentioned that in case study, data from multiple sources are then converged in the analysis process. Each data source is one piece of the "puzzle," with each piece contribute to the researcher's understanding of the whole phenomenon and promote a greater understanding of the case.

Data arrangement and writing assignment was made together with data collection process concurrently to reduce data omission and missing of important information. Natasha, et al. (2011) suggested that purposive sampling is most successful when data review and analysis are done in conjunction with data collection. Information obtained from the research participants'

⁶Types of purposive sampling: maximum variation sampling, homogeneous sampling, typical case sampling, extreme (or deviant) case sampling, critical case sampling, total population sampling and expert sampling. See LaerdDessertation. (2012). Available at: <http://dissertation.laerd.com/purposive-sampling.php#explained>

including key informants was first compiled properly with their language. Subsequently, it was translated from Amharic to English language. In line with the research questions, transcribed meanings had been condensed in to basic themes. Figures and other secondary documents were also analysed supportively as well.

Ensuring trustworthiness: The following activities have been used as an input to keep the trustworthiness of the research: the researcher's determination to genuinely present realistic information of the interviewee's opinion and their meaning to the problem; keeping scientific procedures of the research process (e.g., the interview was made by the researcher himself); prolonged engagement; validation of the instruments by school instructors; and using triangulation method in source of information (primary and secondary), and unit of observation (youth offenders and key informants from different sectors). Crow and Semmens (2006); Hussein (2009) mentioned that triangulation- using the combination of two or more theoretical perspectives and data sources to study the same phenomenon, is one of the validity measures in research.

Ethical issues: As far as the profession of social work is concerned ethical issues have been recognized from the researcher, the funding agency, and the subject of the research including especial respects given for children below the age 18. *The researcher* strongly opposes and consciences of scientific misconduct which includes the act of research fraud and plagiarism, not to use fakes or invents data that are not really collected, falsely reports, or bias. Appropriate accreditation was made to use secondary sources and report the finding of the research. Kreuger and Newman (2006) showed that ethics begin and end with the researcher. A researcher's personal moral code is the best defense against unethical behavior.

This research project is conducted as a partial fulfillment of master's degree; therefore, there was no any misconduct between *the funding agency*, the research and the researcher. The researcher did not expose any imposition rather it was made based on the scientific merit.

Regarding ethical issues of the research participants, initially the research participants were informed about the objectives of the research, how their information is going to be secret and anonymous, their provisions and rights including to ask if any unclear statement, withdrawing or refusing to answer all or part of the questions if they do not feel comfortable. As provided in the appendix, to ensure their consent, each participant was asked to sign on the informed consent form as they agreed to participate. Known research writer Kreuger and Newman (2006) mentioned that the fundamental ethical principle of social work research is: never coerce anyone into participating; participation must be voluntary. It is not enough to get permission from subjects; they need to know what they are being asked to participate in so that they can make an informed decision, which the researcher did as expected.

Moreover, especial consideration was given for research participants whose age between 15 and 18. Since getting their parents was difficult, the researcher asked permission the institution by showing the research objectives, and question prepared to them. Moreover, children themselves were also asked as well. According to Kreuger and Newman (2006), it is unethical to involve incompetent people (e.g., children) in research unless a legal guardian grants written permission and the researcher follows all ethical principles against harm to subjects.

Participants' privacy and confidentiality: in view of the sensitivity of the topic, precautions were given to protect

research participants' privacy particularly not to invade their privacy at the time of interview through probing into their detail personal behaviors. The researcher used pseudonyms in writing the report. To make the information confidential, all the information was held in a secured place and fired it after the completion.

FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

Background of the Study Area

Amhara Regional State is one of the nine regional states located in the north western and north central part of Ethiopia. The state shares common borders with four regional states: Tigray in the north, Afar in the East, Oromiya in the south and BenishangulGumuz in the south west. In addition, internationally it is bordered by the republic of Sudan in the west (FDRE Ethiopian government portal, 2012). The total population of state is about 19,625,999 (4, 128, 083 -youths aged between 15 and 24 which constitute 21.03 %) (East Gojjam Zone Bureau of finance and economic development, 2013).

Specifically, East Gojjam Zone is one of the 11 zones of Amhara regional stat, bordered on the south by Oromiya region, on the west by West Gojjam zone, on the north by Southern Gonder and on the east by Northern Wollo. East Gojjam Zone contains

Profile of Research Participants

The profiles of the research participants of youth offenders show that; interims of gender, thirteen were male whereas three research participants were female. Supportively the number youth prisoners in terms of gender is mentioned as

Number of prisoners as of Percentage
the year 2014

Total youth prisoners	221	
Male	193	91.1%
Female	19	8.9%

17 Woredas and 4 city administrations (East Gojjam Zone tourism directive, 2014). The total population of east Gojjam Zone is about 2, 496,325. Of this population youth whose age between 15 and 24 were 569, 374, constituting 23.89 % of the total population (exceeding the region's 21.03 %). Youths who live in rural area accounts 78.1% of the total youth population (East Gojjam Zone Economic development directive, 2015).

DebreMarkos Correctional centeris found in DebreMarkos town which is the capital city of East Gojjam Zone of Amhara regional stat, located approximately 300 km north-west of Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia and 267 km south-west of Bahir Dar, the capital of the Amhara regional state(Debre Marko's communication office, 2017). There are three correctional centers found in the zone: DebreMarkos, Bichena and Motta. Of which Debre Marko's correctional center was the focus of the research which constitute offenders from nine Woredas: DebreMarkos city administration, Debre Elias, Gozamin, Machakel, Anded, Awabel, Basoliben, Bibugn and SinanWoreda. Official data from the correctional center shows that as of the year 2007 E.C/2015 there were 1591 total prisoners and detainees. Of which 221 were youth offenders and detainees.

(Source: Debre Marko Correctional center, 2014).

Regarding their educational status, at the time of the offense only one interviewee had diploma which was the highest. Two interviewees have completed 10th grade while three interviewees completed 8th grade and the rest six completed grade 5th and below that. Moreover two research participants didn't attend formal education. Their response indicated that at the time of the offense, only one of the participants had been attending her education, but the rest were dropped out of school few years or months

ago. About their place of origin and place of living, five interviewees were migrants from rural areas, four urban residents and the rest seven interviewees were from rural. Regarding their occupation, five of the interviewees were unemployed, three interviewees were self employed while four interviewees employed in private organization. The rest three were working agricultural activity together with their family and only one interview was a student. Their marital status indicated that three participants were married while the rest were single.

About physical and mental health situation, one interviewee was physically impaired (both hands), two interviewees had some mental and psychological problem and one interviewee has got semi-visual impairment. Concerning the family's profile, only six interviewees' both parent were alive, four interviewees' had only Single parent (either mother or father), three interviewees' both parent are died and the rest three interviewees' parents were divorced.

Regarding the type of offense, three interviewees were accused for homicide and two for rape. Two interviewee were accused for attempt homicide whereas one interviewee for physical attack. Moreover, one interviewee for forgery and the rest seven interviewees were accused for beating and robbery/theft related offense.

Police crime record of the year 2013/14 indicates that the top most frequently committed crimes by the young people are beating and physical attack, petty offense and theft. One interviewee sentenced 35 years, five interviewees 16 -10 years and one interviewee for 5 years and 6 months. The remaining eight interviewees were sentenced three years and less (3 years- 4 months). In terms of their previous crime record, eight of the interviewees had one or more previous crime record. About six repeated offenders, their criminal offense had

a similarity with the previous and the current accusation.

Risk Factors to Youth Offending

Six basic themes are identified from the research participants and informants pertaining to the risk factors. These include: personal, peer, family, school, cultural/community, as well as legal and administrative factors. As of the research approach, categories have prominently been relied on the response of the subject of the research, youth offenders. However, key informant interviewees' thought regarding the issue is used to substantiate the main thesis.

Personal Risk Factors

Mental and psychological problems, emotional and/or aggressive behavior, the feeling of brave and masculinity associated with their age, economic problems including unemployment, and substance abuse mainly alcohol and chat and youth's impropriety were the most acknowledged personal risk factors.

Mental and psychological problems: some of the research participants indicated that the offense had relation with their mental health problem. They said that they didn't even remember the event. For example, Selamnesh described that;

I used to live together with my husband's relative. We didn't have any disagreement before. Personally, I had mental health problem that makes me crazy every so often. ...In that day, she (the victim) told me that, I was trying to fire her However, I was not conscious.

Some others added that the use of alcohol was the immediate cause to their mental health problem and/or worsened the offense. Demelash confirmed as he has violent behavior even in the correctional center against the prisoners. He associated his behavior with his partial mental illness as follows;

...I have problem of mental illness. I get crazy especially when I drink alcohol. In fact previously we had conflict with the victims but in that particular day I had committed the offense because I was intoxicated and was almost unconscious.

Emotional and/or aggressive behavior: The research participants answered that their emotional and aggressive behavior has contributed to commit the offense. Some others whereas said that, this behavior by itself could not affect rather it was associated with other factors like alcohol. For instance, Solomon confirmed as he has very aggressive behavior, and use

alcohol, chat, cigarette and other substances. And disclosed as these made him to decide recklessly and commit offense. Likewise, Abebech and Demelash have such behavior. Key informants such as police officers confirmed that conflict on a daily basis is the most frequent crime committed by the youth. They associated youth's emotional and aggressive behavior with their developmental stage what they literally called fire age. For example, SajjinAynadis talked that youths are mostly hot/emotional and aggressive so that they commit crime inadvertently without rationalizing the consequences.

Feeling of braveness and masculinity: for the question of the reason why youth/s commits crime? Many of the interviewees such as police officers, community dwellers and youth offender themselves associated with the age of adolescence which they think has created a sense of courageousness and caused them to commit offense. To see further the age and crime proportion, the following figure obtained from DebreMarkos correctional center is presented.

Table 3: Number of prisoners for three consecutive years in Debre Marko's Correctional Center

Years	Offenders		
	Total offenders	Youth offenders	Percentage of youth offenders
2004	1642	717	43.7%
2005	1484	693	46.7%
2006	1653	693	41.9%

(Source: DebreMarkos correctional center, 2004, 2005, 2006 annual report)

As mentioned in the figure, the total number of prisoners by the year 2004, 2005 and 2006 were 1642, 1484 and 1653 respectively. Of these population offenders whose age between 15 and 25 were 43.7%, 46.7% and 41.9% respectively. For comparison East Gojjam Zone population size by age, youth population (15-24) accounts 23% of the total population however youth offenders constitute about 43% percentage of the total offenders.

To come to the response of research participants, Temesgen for example replied the reason why he committed the crime; ".....the main causes was the age of adolescence," he called in Amharic "yegurimisinagizie." He elaborated that at the age of adolescent, the feeling of courage and braveness increase more. Temesgen quoted "youth don't need to give up rather than keeping the sense of standoff." He stressed that especially the absence of supervision from family at the age of adolescent increased the problem.

Other research participant responded that at the age of adolescent they feel that they can do anything and win out especially the male one. As Mengistu mentioned that culturally it is not usual for females to insult or make counterattack against males. He committed the offense not due to the seriousness of her bad words but due to the uncommonness of females' counter attack to male. He elaborated as follows;

While we were keeping livestock, one of our neighbors' 16 years old daughters come to collect wood. Usually we used nick name to call her associated with her appearance. In that

day, when we call her nick name, she insulted us. We were angry for her negative response and, we beat her together.

Mengistu in his talk stressed and literally said; “youths look only their feeling, they do not mind others” This statement shared was by most of the key informants such as: Dawit and Tiruneh, non offender youths confirmed that youth’s criminal behavior is caused by their stubbornness associated with their age. They described that youths mostly feel as they are strong and braver than anyone else and want to show their strengths and win out.

Imprudence behavior of the youth: when he was asked why he committed the offense of theft, Gettache who was accused of theft literally said in Amharic, ‘*biligina*’ to refer impropriety. He justified that his expectation to get money easily without examining the consequence was illegal and misbehavior. Shiferaw supplemented Getachew’s response and mentioned that currently youths including me wish to have better life rather than hard working. This ideal thinking force youths to secure their desires using illegal means. Key informants such as Ato Beyene and Ato Molla supported this idea and forwarded how youths are becoming hopeless and less industrious. They further explained that currently youths are becoming more dependent on their family or the community and the government rather than going through each ups and down to work. Moreover, Ato Addisu, from Debre Marko’s police office also added that even though it is insignificant there are youths who are intentionally involved in to theft to generate income.

Substance abuse: principally alcohol and chat: Many interviewees and informants from rural or urban repetitively mentioned that alcohol was the main risk factor that immediately caused to commit the offense. To show some illustration, Teferi, Selomon and Kasahun’s process of the offense was directly caused with excessive use of alcohol. Teferi articulated that the immediate cause to the offense was using alcohol. He said; “We were drinking alcohol and over intoxicated. I think it was around 11-12 pm intentionally we got conflict with three individuals Consequently we beat them and took all the money they had...” He further admitted that even though they had intoxicated, they did the offense for economic benefits as well. Since they had been addicted to chat, cigarette, hashish, and alcohol, they mentioned that they wouldn’t satisfy their interest from their family rather they were getting money illegally through theft. Indicating as drug addiction as the main cause of youth offending, Teferi elaborated about his addiction; “.....I had been using different mechanisms including theft to get money to relive my addiction. Once an individual is addicted; he/she could not even think and care for other things, become hopeless and absent of concrete objectives of life.”

Like that of Teferi, Selemon responded that, “In the beginning I was getting money from my family sometimes for false reasons. However, when my addiction became strong and being consistent, I was forced to use illegal ways of getting money...” Kasahun added a unique aspect of the influences of alcohol on crime. They (together with his friend) had best friend who was a retailer in a mobile shop and from whom they used to borrow when they hadn’t money for drink by giving their mobile as collateral. In addition he also indicated that sometimes they used to sell mobile phone and other stolen materials to him.

Zerihun responded that when he drank alcohol, thought he might not hurt or kill somebody, at least he used to insult or use awful words. Then he said, the victim would remember and one day if not in that day, possibly would revenge.” Zerihun besides mentioned the other dimension as sometimes individuals including him use alcohol purposely to get confidence and motivation for predetermined type of conflict. Selamnesh and Shiferaw hadn’t used alcohol but forwarded their idea about alcohol and crime. Selamnesh stated that; “..... we see always

that conflict happens in a ceremonies or market days or in a certain association days frequently in the afternoon. This is not coincidence rather due to the fact that when they drink alcohol, either earlier cases would be traced or new conflict is established.....”

To this, key informants mentioned that alcohol is the main risk factor aggravating youths’ involvement in to crime. AtoBeyene, from the rural communityboldly said thatour community would be peaceful if ‘areke,’ locally produced alcohol,had not been available or prohibited not to be used. He was stating emotionally how alcohol has been influencing youths not only to commit crime but also create hostility in the family. He pointed that especially youths who live in the nearby urban or rural kebele town, are more vulnerable. Besides, police officials’ such as inspector Aynadis and SajinZewdu confirmed that alcohol has been becoming the pressing issue causing for various types of crime. They thought that even though it didn’t reduce crime considerably, they had made a time restriction on rural kebeles not to use alcohol after 12 o’clock local time especially on the market days.

Economic problem; the finding of this research shows that youths’ economic situation was also another main contributing factor. Mengistu, Hiwot, Getinet, Tilahun and Getachewpersistently mentioned that they committed crime for economic reasons. For instance, Getachew stated that he left his family two years ago and had lived in urban area.When he wanted to go back to his family he didn’t have enough money for transport. For that reason, he had started to work as a daily laborer. At the time he found a friend who later insisted him to get money easily through theft. Unfortunately he was caught in his first of to take DVD from the neighbors.

Getachew indicated that youths have been manipulated by other criminals due to their economic problem. He was easily caught by the community and given to the police. However, he said the community as well as the police didn’t get his friend because he had experience, and even knew the way how to scam at the time of emergency. Similarly another interviewee named Tilahun, talked that he came from rural area and his means of income is daily labor, and/or caring materials from place to place. He responded how he was accused for forgery of birr notes as follows;

I did know nothing. An individual called and asked me to buy him a mobile card. Since he gave me five birr, I simply agreed. Unfortunately, the shopkeeper was conscious and identified the money as it was forged. Immediately she reported to the police and accused me. However, since he was aware, the police didn’t get the concerned person.

In addition, Getinet who is physical impaired narrated that he has got physical disability and he is discriminated and lack appropriate treatment from the family (especially from his father), peers and the community in his residential area. Due to that he wanted to leave his family. Thus, his unplanned migration to urban area was ended with being a street youth. He narrated that;

... After becoming a street youth, I didn’t have any alternative than being a robbery because I couldn’t maintain otherwise. My basic needs plus involuntarily adopted addictions of drugs in the street heighten my engagement in criminal activities..... as usual, in that day we asked the owner of Baflo Hotel to give us crumb (he called in Amharic ‘ooffa’) but they didn’t. As a result we took material secretly from the hotel for which I accused of theft.

Likewise Hiwot and Mengistu said that “youths’ economic problem is the foremost cause to commit crime, they strongly noted that no one need to take the property of other unless he/she is under risk of lack of food or other basic needs.As described by informants such as SajinZewdu, Addissu, Esubalew and inspector Aynadis, thought there are few professional and

organized robberies, most of the youth offenders in urban as well as rural areas are committed for economic reasons, especially for food. They elucidated that youths commit crime of theft for example in the market days especially, they snatched money, mobile, pocketbook and other silly materials from the market retailers and individual's shopping bag just for their daily living, for food.

Peer Influence

Affiliation to youths with anti-social behavior: As it was acknowledged by research participants, their affiliation to friend/s who had offending and anti-social behaviors forced them to learn/adopt their friend's offending behavior. On the subject of this, Getachew's crime history clearly indicated that while he was working as a wage labor he met a friend who was a robber and insisted him to engage in theft. Getachew said that previously he was innocent man. He regretted his bad deeds as "If I hadn't got that person, I wouldn't be imprisoned." Similarly, Teferi and Getnet had the same crime history. Getnet indicated that he was innocent in his community but later after he became street youth; he started to adopt addictive and other criminal behaviors from his friend in the street. Moreover, Teferi illustrated as follows;

.... all of my friend were murderer, uneducated and/or cut their education, unemployed and are addicted with alcohol, chat, cigarette, and hashish. My life had been significantly changed after joining my friends. Initially, I was innocent individual, no chat, cigarette, and other addictive behavior. However, since they insisted me to practice, through time I had started to use cigarette, chat, gambling and other offenses as well

Youth's subjugation to the group: in the above preceding paragraph participants stated about how previously innocent youth learn offending behavior from their friends. Besides, others mentioned how they were suppressed by the group's idea. As long as they are in group, whoever originated the idea, previously innocent or other group members were forced to get in to different type of offense because of the newly established idea of the group. For instance, Temesgen responded that; "once an individual join the group, though one need to look conflicting issues passively, other members of the group do not tolerate rather they force him to respond aggressively." He elaborated that if any wrong deed/s made by/to either of the group members, it will be the issue of the whole group.

Similarly Demelash supported that he did various offences together with his friends which were initiated by either of the group members but were functional by all group members. He elaborated as follows;

..... I had friends whose life was full of crime and violent activity. One day we were so intoxicated and raped a girl at night in group which was initiated by one of our friends. When we gathered together, they always talked about how to do illegal activities.

Selomon, Kasahun, and Mengistu have almost the same crime history. They discussed that they were accused for theft and beating which was committed in group at night. Some of them have been imprisoned in group. They mentioned that they were drinking in group at night then when they become intoxicated, either of their group members had get conflict with other groups but it was the issue of the whole group members. Mengistu described that; the offense in the beginning was initiated by his friend. But later he was the only one who was accused for rape.

More than the learned aspects of offending behavior, Mengistu portrayed that friendship in rural area has special value. In his community, the nature or powerfulness of the group members sometimes become an issue to create a sense of fear on the counter parts. He said; "If an individual is grouped with powerful (physically) members, then he will be feared and no one

try to get conflict with him.” Voluntarily or involuntarily, it is obvious that in this computational process youths could be influenced and to take on in criminal activities as far as each member concern for the group.

Key informants for example, AtoAddissu augmented as the youths are highly influenced by their friend. Yet again AtoAddissu boldly discussed that the influence of peer in aggravating youth's taking part in different offenses is determined by family's control. He said that unless and otherwise the parent control their children with whom they play with and get friendship, youths can easily be affected. If he/she stay with drug users and recurrent offenders, it is certain that after several days of exposure, he/she engage him/her self to that. There were innocent individuals whom we knew but now they have been involved in offending activities due to their friend's pressure.

Family Risk Factors

Poor parental supervision: as identified by the interviewees, poor parental supervision especially *Weak parental supervision* had greater impact to the offense. Getinet, 16 years old, migrant, physically impaired and accused for theft responded that lack of appropriate treatment and supervision from his father was the root cause to move out and exposed for such offense. He mentioned that,

My father was entirely negligent of his children. He didn't care of me where and when to go. As a result when my mother died; I came to the city. Currently, my father didn't know where I am living including my imprisonment.....

On the other side, Teferi said that parent's strict controlling system was the root cause for the offense. He argued that their tough controlling system without appropriate advice and guiding restricted him not to speak freely, and mostly need to be with his friend than the family. He responded;

... My family used to punish me harshly, I feared them, was not free to communicate and want more to be with my friends. Through time I have started using alcohol and drug at the age of 14. Initially I was getting money from my family for false reasons. Later since my addiction was over and my family was aware, I couldn't afford to buy. As a result, I started to get money illegally to relive my addiction.

In the same way, Solomon added about strict control of the parent and thought that he started stealing money from his father. He said;

My parents are very strict. They didn't give me money, even cents for any purpose rather they did what I want in kind. When I was a child, I used to steal cents from my father's pocket to play marble (“biy”). Later on together with my friends I had started gambling, drink alcohol and engaged in theft as well.

Getinet, Teferi, Solomon and Temesgen shared this point and suggested that absence of appropriate guidance either due to strictness or negligence of the family create gap not to have free communication between the parent and the youths which may let the youths to deviate not only from the family but also from their community because they want to secure their interest by themselves.

From probing questions the interviewees raised important concern regarding family's parenting system. They said that parent become either strict or negligence but mostly they did forget to show the alternatives ways how to behave constructively.

Divorce: interviewees such as Mengistu, Shiferaw and Kassahun were from divorced family. They indicated that parent's disintegration had influenced. Most notably, Kassahun talked

that the turning point of the offense was his parent's divorce. He said after divorce, his parent argued over him to decide with whom he should live. He elaborated that;

..... my parent got divorce. When they get conflict over me to decide with whom I should live, in the process I have quitted my education. After that my life has got problem, I started to make use of cigarette and chat; and had imprisoned seven months for the offense of arson. Again I was also accused of theft.

Kasshun stated that after he quit his education, at the time, despite the fact that his mother didn't has the capacity to afford, he was supposed to live with his mother because he hates his father's behavior. He also associated the offense with economic challenges he faced while he was living with his mother. Likewise, Shiferaw and Mengistu's response also support this view.

The death of either one or both parent: The profile of the research participants indicates that, Abebech, Zerihun and Demelash are from absent parent, both mother and father died; Hiwot was from single parent whose father is died; and the rest three, Mekonen, Temesgen, and Getinet were from single parent whose mother is died. Their explanation shows that the death of either both or single parent has an impact. Temesgenfor example responded that since his mother died and father had got broken his arms due to car accident, he made the offense intentionally to support and enhance the existing economic crisis of his family because he was the only individual who was supposed to help. Moreover, Getinet articulated that the main reason for his evacuation, becoming street youth and commit the offense was the death of his mother.

Similarly, Hiwot had faced the same situation. She migrated from her place of birth due to the death of her father. She elaborated it as follows;

.....my father died long years ago. Later on, my mother married another husband who has five children from his ex- wife. Then I was not happy to live with my mother and father-in-low together with five brother and sisters-in- lows. For that reason, I had decided to live with my grandparents. Again since I was forced to work beyond my capacity, I didn't want to live there too. ... I come to Debre Marko's town and got job as house maid.Afterward my boss (the owner of the house) accused me for theft.....

Key informants such as inspector Esubalew, AtoAddissu, and AtoZewdu based on their crime investigation experience augment that, criminals are categorized in to two: individual who have family and haven't. They pointed that disproportionally those youths who haven't family due to the death of either one or both parent are mostly migrated to urban areas and become street youths. Those groups are highly vulnerable for crime. However, they said, it is impossible to argue like those youth who are from intact and stable family (both mother and father exist) do not commit crime rather they argued that the first groups are more susceptible.

Crime history of the family: Explicitly some research participants replied that they had either criminal parents or relatives and theirpredisposition with their parent's/and or intimate relative's criminal behavior was another factor. For instance, Shiferaw narrated the impact of his uncle's criminal behavior as follows;

... My uncle was a banditry who had killed 20 individuals and became outlawed for several years. Looking his braveness, I had been always interested to be soldier and/or policeman.

He mentioned that without the consent of his father, he had been applied two times to work as soldier unfortunately they did not allow himdue to his age and family consents. But latter I had got the chance and took two months training as a soldier. Shiferaw further discussed that like his uncle he had been outlawed repeatedly. As mentioned in below, however, it was not

only due to his interest with his uncle's banditry life but also the community's value towards that.

Another interviewee named Abebech, who was accused for physical attack, also discussed the impacts of parent's crime history. Her father is killed by her uncle. Moreover, her brother was also imprisoned for illegal trade but released after a few months. She admitted that especially the death of her father changed her relationship behavior which created sense of hostility and suspicion even with her best acquaintance. In addition, Mengistu's response also supported the idea how his brother's unlawful behavior and frequent quarrel with several individual insisted him to be offender.

Poor Socialization: the way how the family had expected them to behave and respond is found to be risk factors of youth offending. Shiferaw illustrated that especially his father's socialization style let him to be fighter. He mentioned as follows;

.....Starting from childhood my father always told me that I should not be beaten by any one rather than being always a winner. He was encouraging me to fight with my peers. I was beaten back if I had failed to win out my friend...."

Shiferaw further illustrated his father's expectation;

"Economically, we are rich. When my parent got divorce, my mother gave me heifer, cow, and ox from her part. However, my father gave me weapons: one pistol, two hand bomb, and one kilash with sufficient bullet...."

Shiferaw discussed that his father promised to give him resources including land, oxen, and other sufficient materials starting from his childhood. However, he wanted to show how his father's expectation (like giving guns) was related with the offense by showing how he utilized the gift eventually. In addition, AtoZewdu maintained his explanation and pointed that starting from childhood, there are individuals (especially male) who are deliberately trained by their father how to defend and attack their counterpart, traditionally called 'Shimel'⁷Girfya⁸

Lack of empathic understanding: Both offender and non-offender youths communicated that it is usual to see youths' conflict with their family due to the absence of family's empathetic understanding of youths. Rather than judging as youth are acting inconveniently against the family and the community's norm, the parent didn't consider what the youths really want in their age. They noted that this creates misunderstandings between the youth and the family. Apparently some of the youths evacuated from their family to secure their interest independently whereas others live together with their parent whatever hostile their relationship is.

AtoBeyene, key informant from the rural area started his talk with blaming youths. Again when he was asked about the reason, he told me that it is the time of the end of the world. He was asked what does this refer to and replied as the 8th millennium is a time when children do not respect their family, killing of one another increases and other ... just to explain as youths are disrespectful and violent for their parent and the community. On the contrary, AtoMolla, informant from Debre Marko's Town talked intensively as follows;

Mostly we expect our children to grow up like that of ours, comparing our previous life with the current one. When the youths ask services to be fulfilled like modern technologies, we just blame them.

⁷Shimel-refers traditional stick that most of the individual hold regularly which is encircled at the bottom end by rings made from steel.

⁸ShimelGirfya- is a defense mechanism individual used stick to defend themselves in time of fight

He intensively observed that in the earlier time rural youths were economically in a good condition; their transition period from adolescent to adulthood was exclusive of economical difficulty but currently the land is fragmented and becoming scarce, youths in some family are pushed to be out of the family when they matured without any establishment. He said, even if the family has to give land for his son/daughter, it would be very minimal. The government has been distributing unused/ communal grazing and mountainous land to the youths in group. But the community is not entirely voluntary even for that because they didn't have lands to be reserved for grazing.

AtoMolla also noted youths' economic problem in urban areas. Thus his strong focus is in both rural and urban areas due to the above listed situation youths have been deprived. Cultural and economic situations are not favorable for youths to start lower economic activities. As a result youths create inconvenient relationship with their family and community. AtoMolla finally concluded that, above all the most influencing issue could be when the family fails to understand this situation. Rather they blame the youths. Eventually, youths either migrate to urban areas or want to stay whatever the problem with the sense of indifference and hostile relationship. All those challenges have been contributing to be exposed for different offenses.

Moreover, Zerihun seriously indicated as lack of empathic understanding of the family results increment of youth's earlier desire of independent life which he assumed to increase youths deviation in to antisocial behaviors. He disclosed that uniquely even economically powerful youths need independent life in their earlier age. He narrated;

...In rural areas, starting from their childhood age, the opportunity to get money from different agricultural products is very easy. They either get from their family as an incentive or in a large size of the family, being employed in the nearby neighbor or community. Due to this, in our community, a child at least has more than 5000 birr. But, he claimed that most family don't control, and advice their children.

Zerihun wanted to show that those individuals who have the money are also deprived for the inconvenient relationship due to lack of appropriate supervision and advised of the family. He quoted that "some parents expect their youth to be smart by themselves naturally". Therefore, he suggested that family's lack of intensive understanding leads youths to depart from their family which results to engage in alcohol, gambling, alliance with violent groups and criminal activities.

Low income of the family: the response of the research participants indicate that the above listed individual and family level factors become more prevalent to influence youth offending behavior due to family's economic problem. However, basically some of the youth offenders talked that they did the offense purposely to support their family. For instance, Temesgen's who was accused for robbery, described that he was the only individual supposed to help his family. His decision to commit the offense (take television from the neighbor) was made to reverse the family's economic problems.

Whereas three interviewees such as; Mengistu, Abebech, and Getachew mentioned that they didn't commit the offense directly for their family but was rooted with their family's economic problem. For example, Mengistu responded; "My family's economic situation was uncertain; my mother always wounding me that I was not lucky particularly for the absence of cow for milk. Then I had decided to stop my education and became a cowboy to support my family." He acclaimed his family's economic situation for the happening of the offense because he justified that, "if my family was economically better, I wouldn't have dropped my education and commit the offense."

The size of the family, moreover, was another factor mentioned by informants and research participants. They observed from two points: exposes for family negligence and the second point is it results reducing appropriate provision of basic needs like clothing, food and education which force the youths to migrate for better life and unfortunately for some youths, their migration ended with unintended consequences like being street youth and engaged in different offense. For instance, Getachew stipulated that; “..... The total size of our family was 12. ...Occasionally we faced food shortage in summer season. We didn’t get the chance to attend to school. Later on I decided to come to DebreMarkos Town to attend my education and get better life...” Unfortunately, Getachew didn’t achieve his goal, and got incarceration. Generally, he traced that the size of his family had significant influence for the offense.

One of the key informants, AtoMolla also described the situation of family size and its impact mainly from rural context. He pointed that the land in rural area is getting scarce due to the increment of population. Currently the youths are forced either to have their own economic activity or if possible very minimal land is given which could not be able to sustain their life. He further illustrated that, if a family has two hectare of land what if he has 6 children and distributed to them. Unless the youths find their own ways out of their family, the whole family’s life would be deprived. Therefore, youths from large family sizes strive to cope and in the process they would be vulnerable to different illegal activities. Taking AtoMolla’s idea, it is possible to realize how Getachew’s family could manage 12 family members with only two hectares of land.

School Related Risk Factors

Lack of awareness: Research participants repeatedly discussed youths’ lack of intensive understanding of crime and its consequences. Mitiku who was accused for homicide at the age of 16 regretted the event at the time as follows;

..... We were celebrating epiphany together with my older brother. While we were playing hockey (traditionally called “gena”), when my brother kicked the hockey ball by coincidence the hockey ball hit one of our opposite team members and he was blooded. In return they kicked my brother. ... Since I was worried about my brother, I didn’t recognize the consequences of death. I arrived and immediately bludgeoned at his head. He fall down and blooded. The issue was silly and reversible however, he eventually died.

Likewise, Getachew’s answer also supported that youths are engaged in criminal activity without comprehending the consequences. He expressed that; “...I didn’t realize as it is such disgusting activity. I thought I would have money easily without examine the outcome. it is better to be hard worker rather. After this if I will be healthy, I can do whatever type of work rather than theft.” Similarly, one of the female research participants, Hiwot and Shiferaw elucidated as they were less aware of the offense.

Being out of school: from the profile of the research participants, at the time of the offense, only one of the participants, Abebech had been attending her education, but the rest were dropped out of school some years or months earlier. Besides, the research participants themselves justified the influence of being out of school. Getinet, Temesgen, Mengistu, and Selamnesh portrayed that even though they had interest, they couldn’t attend their education due to lack of support (ideally and materially) from their family. Whatever the reason those interviewees in common shared and thought that being a student reduces their involvement in any criminal activities.

Kasshun raised unique idea about the familial and social meaning of education and the impact of being out of school. He explained that; “when an individual became a student, the

parent as well as the community give more recognition to him. This enables youths to give attention for his education. Thus, whatever the cause, their responses confirmed that being and becoming out of school results becoming unemployed, limit their understanding, and being susceptible for alcohol and other drug abuse which they thought directly increased their vulnerability to commit the offense.

Interviewees also pointed that weak supervision of the teacher in (follow up students' attendance, their commitment to the daily courses, and their unique and disruptive behavior) as well as weak school policy were another factors to drop out of school. Teferi and Solomon described as whatever they had disruptive behavior with the student, the teacher and other supportive staffs, and miss class; the teacher and the school didn't make any corrective measure. Solomon had odd behavior at school with the student; even he beat his English teacher. They assumed that weak supervision from the teacher and the school as well let them to be carelessness of their education and through time develop offending behavior.

Low quality of education: AtoBeyene, key informant from rural dwellers said that in the earlier classes students are simply promoted without getting know-how. Up to grade four, students might not write their name appropriately. The teachers are becoming careless of the student and are less strict enough may be due to the evaluation. At the end, when the student attain grade 8th or 10th or 12th for which standardized questions are prepared at regional and national level, they fail to pass the exam. He argued that for 8 or more years students give attention for their education, they didn't know how to farm and cultivate crop even. Then when they fail to pass the exam, they became emotional and unstable. Besides, AtoBeyene has also demonstrated that the less the youths are successful in education; they develop hostile relationship with the family and community. This hostility made the youths more susceptible. He illustrated that;

.... most family claimed that currently it is the time that the youths are retired than the older people. When they fail the exam, youths depend on their parent's. Whatever the amount of money they have been given, they do not like to reintegrate and work with the family. Rather they want to work out there far from their community, urban areas. This process result conflict with the family and may be ended with migration or other problem behavior including criminal activities.

Cultural and Community wide Risk Factors

Unemployment and other economic deprivations: Unemployment and lack of job opportunity in the community were the central cause raised by many interviewees. Temesgen, kassahun, Selomon, Hiwot, Getinet, and Getachew were accused for theft. Getinet, Tefera and kassahun at the age of 16, 19, and 19 respectively were unemployed at the time of the offense. Apart from the direct economic challenges which push youths to commit the offense of theft to maintain their life, Getinet elaborated that once a youth become unemployed and started to live in the street, the family, and neighbors' attitude towards him becomes negative.

Police officials, female, children and youth affair officers, rural and urban dwellers responded that youth unemployment is a problem. Some of them associated this with the saturation of rural land. Inspector Esubalew said "Currently it is not the time that the family gives land for their children. It is over. Youth are forced to live their own life by their own effort." GozaminWoreda and Debre Marko's Female, children and youth affair officer, AtoTeshome and W/roAlimaz respectively supported this issue as well.

In connection with being unemployed, SajinAynadis, from GozaminWoreda Crime investigation office discussed that crime statistic increase in summer (after completing sowing)

and winter (after harvesting). He reminded that the community's agriculture is depending on rain fall which is produced only once per year. In those two seasons they are almost seasonally unemployed. Inspector Aynadis justified that, there might be other corresponding activities made to increase productivity, however, alcohol consumption and crime rate increase in those seasons. As a result, he mentioned that even this seasonal unemployment has an influence on the incidence of crime.

On the other hand, some other interviewees' explained that economic factors could not be the ultimate factors. Sheferaw and Demelash's crime history explicate this idea. They were from higher class family in the community. The family had budgeted land and other property for them starting from their childhood and grown up very luxuriously. However, Sheferaw was accused for two crimes of homicide and attempt homicide. At the same time Demelash was also accused for homicide. They acknowledged that there were still other social and cultural reasons which are mentioned in the next paragraphs.

Increasing trend of street youth: officials mentioned that the numbers of street youths have been increasing due to mass migration to urban areas may be caused by youth's inability to get job opportunities. Consequently, this increased the rate of youth offending in urban areas. For example, Getinet stated that he came to Debre Marko's town and was forced to be a street youth. He thought that while he was living in the street theft was not an option rather it was a means to sustain his life. Besides, he pointed that he was also addicted. As a result he engaged in crime not only to get basic needs at least food but also to relive from his addiction that he involuntarily adopted in the street.

Key informants such as Esubalew, AtoAddissu, and inspector Zewdu confirmed that there is an increasing trend of street youths due to *exodus of youths to urban*. They pointed that most of the offenders are migrants, who come from rural areas. AtoAddissu stipulated that;

Form our investigation; most of the offenders are from rural areas. Initially they come for better job opportunities, some of them may get job but others may not. Those individuals who did not get job become street youths and/or engage in different criminal activities.

AtoAddissu further categorized criminals in to two: individual who have family and haven't, and from rich and poor family. Recognizing the fact that youths from economically rich family may also commit crime, due to several reasons like drug addiction, peer pressure and/or lack of appropriate family support, he boldly pointed that disproportionally those individuals who haven't family and/or from low income family mostly become street youths and highly exposed of crime.

Cultural opportunities: participants raised several cultural risk factors of youth offending. Of which *blood feud* is mentioned as the main one. Interviewees stated that blood feud has a social meaning. For instance, Shiferawsaid that;

When I was 17 or 18 there was an individual who had difficult behavior in the nearby neighbor.he had insulted and beaten my father and my uncle repeatedly. After two years I have killed him.

He affirmed that after he made the offense he had been outlawed. Again Shiferaw added; *.....Then using the remaining weapons of my father's gift, I had been outlawed. The reason was to revenge them back because I and my father thought that sooner or later they would kill either members of our family. When I was outlawed, if my enemy's family had tried to kill or disturb any of my family members, I would have killed them. Unfortunately, they didn't. Later I voluntarily surrendered to the police.*

Furthermore, Shiferaw showed how revenge has social meaning. An individual who did not revenge back his offender is ridiculed by his neighbor and the community dwellers. It seems that the revenge is committed not only considering the victim but the community's response. He talked about the severity and community's attitude towards revenge together with how youths are becoming an instrument to realize that;

..... in our community revenge is the most common. If you beat or kill one individual, then immediately the victim's family will kill either the offender or either of the family members may be a child. Later through time they will kill the killer himself.

He quoted the common saying in his community "not only the victim's family but also the offender's family should similarly get sorrow" which declares immediate revenge. Shiferaw further elucidated that; the revenge process goes back and forth from the victims and offenders direction. It may be extended up to the death of the whole family members from both sides. He said "Unless you revenge your offender, you are going to be considered as cowardice. Being considered as cowardice is shame."

His response showed that revenge is made not only for the regression of the victim rather for his dignity and/or prestige that are encountered from his neighbor and the community.

In addition, Zerihun also had got conflict previously with his neighbor associated with his cousin's wife. He said it was after five months, they had tried to kill him when he came back from the market. Moreover, Temesgen added that he had got conflict and injured with one of his colleague at school due to the competition they had of a beautiful lady. He said he was always thinking how to revenge him back. Accordingly, he did a year after together with his friend. Regarding revenge Temesgen added;

In our community revenge/ blood feud is considered as a big issue. If any conflict or theft or any other actions taken against any individual, then the victim/s him/her self try to take counter action. If not, his brother, father, uncle, or other relatives will revenge the offender or the offender's family. If you didn't respond, you would be labeled as a cowardice person who lacks courage.

Zerihun, emotionally forwarded the severity of the problem as follows;

.... there was my attorney who helped me to process the legal aspects. However, right after a week of the decision given to me, the victim's family killed him considering that he was their enemy for his help of me. Now they have been terrorizing me as they are going to kill me. But If I will be released, I will not be there, rather will change to other area. Due to revenge, most individuals leave their place of residence just to keep them and their family safe.

The researcher has come to see that all the aforementioned research participant and informants had used the term enemy to explain the offender which seems stronger. If one is beaten, killed, got theft or other mistreatment, the victims and the offender become enemy of each other. Even the youth offenders who were participants of the research considered themselves as they are the enemy of the victims and/or the victim's family.

In view of the problem in the community, Mengistu revealed as individuals are getting psychological instability when they get conflict with anyone else. He explained;

If anyone gets conflict with any individual, he will not have peace in his mind because he always considers the victim or his relative one day will revenge him. He has to be cautious all the time since the enemy always waits for proper place and time.

In their talk my informants said some common proverb about revenge, for example, Ato Molla mentioned, "የወንድልጅሞቹአድራጉንየረሳለትነው" to explain that if one gets any conflict,

he/she should be careful enough of the offense. “የወጋቢረሳየተወጋክይረሳ” to say though the offender may forget the event but not the victims. “የደምቸኩልበ 40 አመቱይመለሳል” which means that blood feud is certain whenever the time is long: it can be transferred from generation to generation. AtoMolla stated that, if an individual is unable to revenge his offender, the community give lower prestige and tell him indirectly using invective words as he is cowardice.

AtoBeyene also talked about revenge and started his saying as previously blood feud was common if one has enemy due to border conflict and infidelity. However, he said currently killing people is considered as simple phenomena. His talk indicates that revenge is common and even acceptable, but he was worried about youths’ recurrent involvement in conflict. Key informants and research participants generally noted that blood feud becomes stronger if the offense is homicide which is exceedingly occurs associated with lack of apparent boundary of the rural land, infidelity and inheritance issue.

Incidence of crime: For illustration, information obtained from East Gojjam police directive regarding annual police crime record has been displayed below;

Table 5: East Gojjam Zone police crime record for five consecutive years

Years	Annual recorded crime		
	Total recorded crime	Crime committed by aged between 16-30	Percentage of crime committed by aged between (16-30)
2002	16272	8501	52%
2003	11989	7027	59%
2004	10280	3592	35%
2005	8905	4114	46%
2006	7786	4305	55%

(Sources: East Gojjam Zone Police directive, 2007)

This figure indicates the incidence of crime for five consecutive years depending on only police crime records. Let alone unreported crime, this figure and participant’s explanations indicates that youths’ exposure to the incidence of crime has negative impact. For instance, regarding the prevalence of crime in the community, Shiferaw confirmed that, excessive use of alcohol, guns and crime especially homicides are more common. He justified as the place by itself had an influence since the area is near to Abay River which is highly desert and forest full area. He said, even though it has been diminished, even outlawing was also common in the area.

Menigistu provided imperative explanation about uncertainty in the community by taking his mothers’ daily saying. He quoted that; “when I go to the market or anywhere else, my mother always used to tell me that ‘please stay out of trouble, do not involve yourself in any conflict, came safely’.” I asked him why she said so and he stated two rationales: the first reason was concerning the community’s uncertainty and the prevailing incidence of crime. Second, he said, youths are assumed to get in to conflict easily.

Similarly, to show the *complexity and occurrence of crime* Zerihun, gave insightful idea. He said in Amharic, “ወንጀልንሽሽተህኣታመልጠውም” (whatever you are cautious, you cannot always be out of trouble/crime). This is because; he mentioned that, one cannot be out of crime as he thought it may comes to you in unintended ways rather. Whatever an individual is curious, he /she may be exposed with his relatives, friends and other individuals involvement due to the recurrent happening of criminal activities in your surroundings.

Key informants AtoBeyene, AtoMollaas well as police officers added about the incidence. They showed that most traditional music, boasting, war songs and other heroic poems

together with common community sayings promote bravery. AtoBeyene mentioned that these had an intergenerational impact. Generally, the aforementioned research result shows that the incidence of crime in the community exposes youths either to be victim or offender.

Availability of guns: Apart from theft crime, three interviewees; Zerihun, Shiferaw, and Demelash, who are accused for homicide and attempt homicide had used gun. As thought by the research participants, the availability of gun in the community is becoming one of the risk factors. They pointed out that the fact that having a gun by it-self could not affect crime, however, lack of awareness, use of alcohol, the culture blood feud and other influence the effect of the availability of guns.

Taking his as an example, Shiferaw noted that the consequence would not be that much serious if he hadn't used hand bomb. Moreover, he raised practical illustrations; "I knew a police who was beaten by a prisoner last year. And the police said that, 'I would have killed him if I had got a pistol on my pocket.' After a while Shiferaw mentioned that the police had changed his mind.

Shiferaw quoted that; "gun is not like that of stick and other instruments rather it is either to kill or to injure severely." He responded that in his community (DejenWoreda) almost every individual has gun even those individual who doesn't have ox. Due to this you may not find individuals who hadn't been engaged in homicide either by himself or with his relatives.

In addition, Tiruneh, key informant interviewee from the rural non offender youths, stated his observation that most of the youths buy gun. He provided that he knew a friend in his neighbor, who bought a pistol with 6, 000 birr and used to shoot up at night when he was depressed, intoxicated and got conflict with his family. Tiruneh said, getting gun at hand create more confidence and may initiate to commit crime unwisely. This information was also supported by police officials as it causes to youths offending behavior.

Availability and unlimited accessibility of alcohol: in the above section of individual risk factors, alcohol is mentioned as the most common and immediate factor, either the offender or the victim him/herself or his/her friend/s used it at the time of the offense. But this section aimed to show how the availability and unlimited accessibility of alcohol is becoming an opportunity for youth offending. As mentioned by both informants and research participants, traditionally 'tella'⁹ and 'areke'¹⁰ are the most common traditional alcoholic drink in both rural and urban areas though there are beer and other alcohols in urban areas.

Regarding the accessibility, for instance, Kassahun pointed out that, in rural areas especially 'tella' is found regularly in every household like 'Enjera'¹¹ and individuals are free to access alcohol by their family, the neighbor or the community. Acknowledging the fact that full accessibility of alcohol for all people without any restriction of any age groups, AtoZewdu, from GozaminWoreda Community policing office said that they are trying to create awareness to use alcohol appropriately.

Here, two leading statements are obtained: it is acknowledged that alcohol has significant influence on youth offending behavior. Yet again it is also thought that alcohol is available and

⁹Tella -traditional alcoholic beverages made from gesho leaves and a mixture of cereal grains such as barley, wheat, maize, sorghum and teff.

¹⁰Areke- also called kati kala, distilled liquor

¹¹Enjera- a traditional food made from a grain known as teff.

accessible for all individuals. Therefore, the researcher has come to see that the availability and unlimited accessibility of alcohol in the community can be the risk factor.

Unending criminal attitudes towards the previous offenders: This section is mainly forwarded for the recidivist. As mentioned by the research participants, once a youth commit crime then he/she is continuously considered as criminal by his/her neighbors and the community and lack trust even from the family. For example, Solomon discussed that this is not only given by the family, neighbors and the community dwellers but the police officials as well. He described that once an individual commit crime; the community always labeled him and do not trust. They do not consider as the offender can change their behavior. Whenever crime committed, the community dwellers including police, sometimes the family too initially suspects the previous offender. Furthermore, Solomon answered;

Due to their suspicious relationship, I did not have strong relationship with the community. As a result I was forced to live outside of the community, Addis Ababa and Bahardar.due to this sometimes I wanted to revenge not by myself but through my colleagues, I used to tell the information the way how to do the offense. I didn't do that by myself because they already follow me how, where and what I regularly do...

He revealed that his previous theft crime record imposed him not to establish his further economic life. He said, it is difficult to establish private and group business. No one trust him to use the opportunities of small scale and micro enterprises, no individuals need to be grouped with him to borrow money because they fear that he will do the same in the future.

Kassahun also shared the impacts that not only individual who did crime but rather being unemployed by itself create bad image in the minds of the community towards the individual. Moreover, Demelash also elucidated his experience due to his previous crime record as follows;

.... One day I and my girl friend were using tea coffee together. Right there, a police came and sit behind us. By chance she and I knew him. Then he said to her, in English, 'do you know him, he was imprisoned for crime.' she responded him that 'I don't care, I am not going to consider his past experience as long as he improves his behavior.' Look if she was not aware, our relationship would have been broken. ...

AtoAddissu, key informant from police officials, mentioned that even though the police, FCYAO¹², and small scale and micro enterprises are working on it to establish youths, the communities attitudes towards the offender is still negative. He said, some small groceries close their business when they see the previous offenders; they are blamed for any offense that happened in the community, and discriminated. AtoAddisu even admitted that it was also true for police, suspecting earlier offenders for the offense.

Thus, it is clear that those feedbacks to the previous offenders have been creating suspicious, hostile relationship and discomforts eventually results the youth to commit further offense as revenge lack of other opportunities.

Political and Administrative Risk Factors

False and/or collective accusation: Mulugeta, key informants from Debre Marko's correctional center, counseling officer pointed that research conducted by Amhara regional state level of correctional center forwarded that about 45 % of the prisoners were imprisoned with false evidence. Yet again in this research, as far as the researcher used optimum mechanism to get their trust, from 21 selected possible interviewees, five youth offenders had already got the

¹²FCYAO: Female, children and youth affaire office

decision but they said that they didn't commit the offense rather they thought that they were imprisoned without adequate evidence and/or together with other offender.

For instance, Zerihun responded that;

I did the offense by myself, my brother did nothing, he arrived later than the conflict but they accused him together with me. It is not only my concern rather there are also individuals who are imprisoned in group for a crime which is committed by an individual.

Likewise Shiferaw added,

...my father was accused and sentenced 20 years of imprisonment together with me. But he didn't even see the event. They accused him because they fear that my father will revenge them back.

Temesgen pointed that especially previous offenders are more vulnerable for false accusation.

On the other hand, some other interviewees observed this as it is the result of weak investigation procedures of the police and the court. Shiferaw strongly claimed the legal stakeholders as follows;

Despite the fact that the victims may report the wrong offender, the lawyers, the police and other concerned stockholders should investigate the case in detail and get the real offenders. For example, while I was outlawed, one of my enemy's family members was killed and injured by unknown individual. But after I surrendered to the police, they accused me again for the death and injury of those individuals because they do not want me to be released since they assume that I may commit another offense on them. I didn't make that but the court decided on me another 11 years of imprisonment.

Inclusively the response showed that accusation of individuals without adequate evidence is common. Both research participants and informants thought that this is mostly made for two reasons. First, if the victim previously had enemy or conflict with someone else, and if any violence or mistreatment happens, she/he reports his enemy to the police without detail investigation. Whereas the second reason is, for a crime, the victim himself or his family accused more than one or sometimes the whole family members of the offender. Shiferaw stated that this is because they assume that if the offender only is imprisoned, they fear that the accused family will take another action.

Either accusing the offenders without detail investigation or accusing more than one criminal for a single crime affect individual's further criminal act. The innocent individual who is imprisoned as if he is a criminal later will develop enmity towards the accuser and commit another offense.

Some other research participants acknowledged that in the legal process of detecting false and or collective accusation of individuals, corruption is the main hindering factor not to give the right legal decision. For instance, Sajin Addissu, police informant and Shiferaw raised that wrong decisions are given, evidences are diverted to be unknown and/or evidences are being exaggerated. They stated that if an individual who is accused for homicide released for free, then the victim/s would take their own action. Due to this, Shiferaw said that sometimes individuals take their own immediate action on the offender.

Poor administration of the correctional center: Once more this is related with the recidivist. Two points had been raised: poor supervision on offenders and assimilation of child offenders with adult. To see the first, for example, Kassahun answered that offenders are allowed to use cigarette in the correctional center. Since they are free, they have been using it more regularly. He suspected that this addicted will affect his further life.

The second issue which was mentioned by the police officials was the issue of imprisonments of youths together with the adult. I also observed practically that youths whose ages above 15 but below 18 years of offenders were arrested together with adult offenders. Informants discussed that rather than being rehabilitated young offender learn more sophisticated crime from adults.

Less political commitment to support youth's issue: From the above personal, peer, familial, school and community risk factors, especially informants/officials suggested that though there is a beginning, the political commitment to give attention and supporting youth is negligible. They mentioned that youth center establishment and other programs designed for rural and urban youth are mostly implemented to some extent only in the capital city but not in the town at Woreda and kebele level; existing opportunities of small scale and micro enterprises are not all inclusive; and the rate of unemployment is increasing.

Informants from Female, Children and Youth Affairs Office described that due to the absence of different alternatives provided for youths, it is common to see youths who use chat, alcohol and other substances, participated in night club and other. Police officials also noted that the rate of unemployment and youths' mobility especially towards urban has been increasing which boosts street youths. Youths blamed the political commitment mainly focusing on unemployment. Thus, all the interviewees responded that this caused youths to be engaged in offending activity.

DISCUSSION

In this section association of the main findings of the study with existing enquiries based up on the research question portraying the most unique findings of the research is made.

This research found that mental and psychological illness, emotional and/or aggressive behavior, drug abuse, feeling of brave and masculinity, economic difficulty, and imprudence behavior of the youths are the most acknowledged personal risk factors. Likely Harris, et al., (2011); UNODC (2007); Agnew (2013) etc examined that age as risk factor, YJB, (2005); Dekovic (1999); Howkin et al. (2000); Shader, (2002); O'Mahony (2009); and Piko, et al. (2005) studied hyperactivity and impulsivity, aggressiveness, and mental and/or physical health problems to be personal risk factors for youth offending. Surafel Gedamu (2008) affirmed that streetism and drug abuse; Agnew (2013) viewed economic; Moore (2008) and Abraham Genet (2010) investigated being out of school as risk factors.

Laser & Nicotera (2011); and Stanley Hall (1904) more boldly argued that youths are immature, rebel without a cause, gullible, seek popularity, have the feelings of omnipotence, egocentric, and feel as they are extremely distant for death. They said these lead them to make impaired judgment about risk taking behaviors. *Conversely, this research has found that age, gender and their personality by themselves could not be the reason rather there are other contributing factors like lack of family guidance, cultural factors etc.*

Likewise, interims of mental and/or physical health problems, Mental Health Foundation (2002) revealed that young people involved in the criminal justice system have elevated rates of mental health problems when compared to other adolescents. *But this research has also able to see that mental or psychological problem is not the ultimate cause rather, there are other immediate factors, for example, alcohol.*

Like World Bank, (2007); Fox, (2008); Harris, et al. (2011); and differential association theory, the result of this research supports the negative impacts of peers who are engaged in problem behaviors. *However, this research uniquely found that not only affiliation to deviant*

youths but also less assertive youths are manipulated to be involved in to different offending activities by the group's decision.

About family related risk factors, Newson (1989); Patterson and Yoerger (1997); Laser & Nicotera (2011); Patterson et al, (1998); and Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) examined poor parental supervision and discipline: Wilson (1980); Riley and Shaw (1985); and Farrington (1978) mentioned, parental conflict, and parental aggression, including harsh, punitive discipline: Omboto, Ondiek, Odera & Ayugi (2013) studied family disintegration due to separation, the death of all or either parent, absence of parents at all: and McCord, Widom, and Crowell (2001); Graham and Bowling (1995); and Shader (2002) also showed being raised in a single-parent, headed by a separated or divorced parent: YJB (2005); Farrington (1995); and Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) and other viewed the crime history of the family: and Other researchers such as, Abraham Genet (2010); Utting et al, 1993; World Bank, 2007; West (1982); and West and Farrington (1973) found that low family income, poor housing conditions and large family size consistently caused youths offending behavior.

Even though there is variation on the meaning and contexts, likely, this research identified familial factors such as that poor parental supervision, divorce, the death of either one or both parent, crime history of the family, poor socialization, and low income of the family are family related risk factors contributed to youth offending. *Unlikely the other researches, this study identified that family's lack of emphatic understanding of youths is becoming the cause of youth offending behavior.*

Objectively, Gottfredson (1981); Hundleby & Mercer (1987); Fox (2008); O'Mahony (2009); Hawkin, et al. (2000); and Piko, Fitzpatrick & Wright (2005) confirmed that poor academic performance, lack of concentration and motivation, lack of commitment to school (including truancy and dropping out of school), and lack of discipline within the school are school related risk factors. Moreover, McCord, Widom, and Crowell (2001); and Shader (2002) exclusively showed the influence of school policies on youth offending behaviors.

This research has also been able to identify three vital school related risk factors; lack of awareness, lower quality of education and being out of school. *Peculiarly, this research found that lower quality of education and its system has its own contribution for youths' engagement in offending behavior which results becoming dependant, being less competent, creative and independent thinkers.*

Unemployment and other economic problems, increment of street youth, incidence of crime, cultural opportunities for crime (such as, blood feud), availability and unlimited accessibility of alcohol, and availability of guns were frequently thought cultural and community risk factors. In line with this, Loeber et al. (1998); Farrington et al. (1986); Raphael Winter-Ebmer (2001); Carmichael & Ward (2001); Melick (2003); Omboto, Ondiek, Odera & Ayugi (2013); Wadsworth (1979); and Lee (2009) supported economic deprivation: Arizona Criminal Justice Commission (2012) investigated laws and community standards that are favorable toward drug use or crime, and availability of firearms are risk factors to increase the frequency and the fatality of the crime.

Apart from the above researches, this research boldly found that a cultural factor such as the culture of blood feud is found to be the main and pillar of the other risk factors that caused youths to involve in different offense. In addition, the impact of unlimited accessibility of alcohol irrespective of their age: the increment of street youth due to mass migration towards urban: incidence of crime in the community: consistent criminal attitudes of the community towards the previous offenders are unique factors identified from this research.

More apparently and intensively, this research has also found structural risk factors such as political and administrative risk factors. False and/or collective accusation due to weak legal investigative procedures and corruptive justice system: poor administration of the correctional center like integrated system of rehabilitation (placing children together with adults in prison), weak supervision and lack of appropriate rehabilitating service in the correctional center: and less political commitment to get focus and support youth's issue are examined risk factor in the study area.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The summary of the risk factor of youth offending

Individual risk factors	Peer risk factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical and mental health problem Emotional and/or aggressive behavior Feeling of brave and masculinity associated with their age Imprudence behavior of the youth Economic problem Substance abuse: mainly alcohol and chat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Affiliation to youths with deviant behavior Youth's subjugation to the group's idea
Family risk factors	School risk factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poor parental supervision (strict vs. liberal), Family disintegration due to divorce and the death of either one or both parent Crime history of the family Low income of the family Lack of emphatic understanding of the family towards the youth Poor socialization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lower quality of education Being out of school Weak supervision of the school and the teachers Lack of awareness
Cultural and community	Legal and administrative risk factors

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unending criminal attitudes towards the previous offenders • Increasing trends of street youths • Incidence of crime • Cultural opportunities for crime like the culture of revenge • Availability and unlimited accessibility of alcohol • Availability of guns • Unemployment and other economic problems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • False and/or collective accusation • Poor administration of the correctional center • Less political commitment towards youths' issues
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Conclusion

The finding of the research shows that there are several and multi level risk factors affecting youth offending behaviors such as personal behavior, the nature of friendship relationships, family situations, schooling, cultural and community wide circumstances, political and administrative factors. However, the result of the research shows that these six basic themes/categories: personal, family, school, community, political and administrative are not exclusive rather interdependent. Therefore, the study pointed that the aforementioned risk factors can only be addressed more consistently and sustainably through integrative ways.

Recommendations

In order to address the problems of youth offending, the following possible ways are presented;

Family: parentsemphatic understanding of youths and response accordingly in age and time contexts: conducive environment for free communication; parental control of youths' daily behavior, school attendance, and unconditional changes; appropriate socialization, parental guidance inshowing the fitting, clear and normative behaviors; follow up external peer relationships where and with whom they interact; economically establishing youths as much as possible; and maintaining peaceful family relationship(in time of parental disintegration due to unmanageable issues, they have to be placed carefullyto reduce youth's exposure to conflict and violation) are identified ways to reduce youth offending.

Regarding the school and other supportive stockholders: Availability of constructive rules and principles at school that facilitate students' engagement to education; proclaim quality education; strongly follow up of students and teachers to better achieve the goal of education to reduce school dropout; create favorable school environment to attract students; acknowledge successful students to be modeled by other; and establish supportive extra curricula activities and encouraging students to participate based on their concern can be an opportunityto reduce the problem of youth offending.

Besides, school's coordination with the core stockholders such as the family to provide the necessary support to their students; Woreda, zonal and regional educational bureau/ directives/ office to follow up the schools working situation, upgrade teachers' and other staff members capacity via training and scholarship to create competent individuals; and with the community as well to solve immediate and consistent problems together.

At macro level, moreover, accessibility, reducing school dropout rate and students' failure to pass regional and national exams, provision of quality education, including and strengthening existing curriculums which teach ethics and other positive behaviors could also be another concern to be considered by may be ministry of education.

The community: creating favorable environment like considering the youth as they are active and productive members of the community, participating them in any decisions making process, encouraging positively behaving youth while instructing the other one, and allocate resources to the youth like supporting the youth centers, youth associations or clubs organized for purpose which facilitate youths' creativity and participation in the community will be better and helpful.

The scientific community/researchers: enquiries are very limited regarding youth offending. More inclusive survey research of youth offending in interims of age, sex, social setting (urban vs rural), reoffending, and other more intensive analytical researches on the risk factors in different contexts are open just to get full picture of the issue in order to design appropriate intervention mechanisms.

Professionals such as social workers: As a profession with the mission of enhancing human well-being, particularly attentive to the needs and empowerment of people who are vulnerable, oppressed, and living in poverty, social work is highly concerned about the issue of at risk youths, offenders. Thus taking this fact in to consideration, this research has significantly shows the way social workers can intervene as a researcher, policy advocator, practitioner, or in education.

None Government Organizations: in the study area, efforts have been made to trace NGOs working on youths, unfortunately, only a few in a few aspects mostly in health area are found. Therefore, there are ways NGOs can engage in enhance the awareness level of the youth, the family and the community not only regarding crime but also in other problem behaviors as well. Moreover, they can engage on returnees from the correctional center to reintegrate and maintain their future life which may prevent recidivism.

Regional, Zonal, Woreda level officials: police especially *community policing department* can use opportunities like community's organizations such as religious institutions, idir, associations and other helping organizations to increase the awareness of the community about crime, ameliorate the cultural contexts of blood feud, alcohol accessibility at least up to a certain age, and reduce legal or illegal ownership of gun. Furthermore, in line with other activity, encouraging traditional conflict resolution methods to be strong and recognized in the community may be another opportunity.

Female, children, and youth affaire office should be strong and develop dynamic and contextual programs; facilitate optimal use of existing youth centers; launch different youth clubs and initiate youths to participate with their interest including free services so that the youth will have positive relationship with the community.

Regarding organizational coordination: integration of organizations such as: sport, police, small scale and micro enterprise, training centers such as TVT, and NGOs will be good to solve youths' problem more efficiently and in a sustainable way.

Policy and decision makers: up on the above risk factors, strong, accountable and committed government system to correct maladministration including corruption; well organized and trained personnel of the police and lawyers to detect crime and process the legal issue ; looking the contemporary demographic composition, the government should give deserving attention to youth population.

Federal agency of correctional center: work provision of separate correctional center for the adult and the children below the age of 18 and improved rehabilitation services for each offender are observed opportunities to reduce youth's recidivism.

Youth and sport minister: youth centers with all possible and constructive departments comprehensively in every community will be an instrument to reduce youth offending because it will facilitate youths' engagement in productivity. The government can make community themselves to take the responsibility and finance, control and follow up the progress of the youths and youth centers.

Key political decision makers: the economic problem of the community, youth unemployment, mass migration towards urban areas, and increased street youths needs the attention of the regional and federal government especially related with rural land. Awareness creation in the community about basic issues that causes for recurrent conflict (like boundary problems and other cultural factors) have to be addressed systematically: strong and all inclusive small scale and micro enterprise services should be provided for all groups in both rural and urban to reduce youth unemployment: since there is scarcity of land in rural area, rather than distributing unused and communal lands to youths, it will be good solution if irrigation is expanded to increase productivity plus irrigation will enable youths to work with their family since it needs more human labor.

Together with creating job opportunities and other supplementary activities, periodic institutional based youth establishment centers for youths who are at risk (frequent offender, unemployed, street youths, addicted, parental absent youths, and youths who have got mental and psychological illness etc.) not only to give basic needs like foods but other training and skills for their further life will be vital to reduce social problems at large.

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