

THE EFFECT OF EARLY INCARCERATION ON LIFE OUTCOMES

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ABSTRACT: *Theoretically informed models are estimated that specify the longitudinal effects of early life incarceration on negative self-feelings, mediated by employment problems, income, and low marital satisfaction. The data are from two waves of an ongoing longitudinal study of adaptations to stress. Subjects are individuals who were tested in their mid-twenties (Time 4, N = 1697) and in their mid-thirties (Time 5, N = 1655). The models were estimated using path analysis, generated with structural equations using LISREL 8. In general, the results are consistent with the hypothesis that early life incarceration results in employment problems and reduced income which in turn induce negative self-feelings. The hypothesized mediating effect of low marital satisfaction is not supported. These results are congruent with theoretical explanations of the continuity in behavior across time, the detrimental effects of labeling, as well as the relevance of adult institutions on life trajectories.*

We estimate a path model that specifies the direct and indirect (via income, employment problems, and marital satisfaction) effects of incarceration on later life negative self-feelings. The analysis is informed both by the literature on life course development and labeling theory.

Within a labeling framework, societal reaction to deviance is central to labeling an individual as deviant. The reaction of others to primary deviance determines the outcomes of deviant behavior. Reactions may be those of insignificance or those of stigmatization and social exclusion. Once labeled and stigmatized as a deviant, the label may assume a master status, which narrows the responses of others to the individual so labeled. The labeled person may assume a deviant identity and come to see himself or herself as someone who is deviant as opposed to someone who has committed a deviant act. This leads to a continuance or escalation of deviance (Becker 1973; Lemert 1951; Tannenbaum 1938). Link (1982; 2001) contends that a deviant label also has negative effects on many other aspects of one's life than the continuance or escalation of deviance.

Within a life course development framework, Laub and Sampson (1993) suggest that there may be important turning points, or abrupt changes that help in understanding change in the deviant trajectory. Laub and Sampson emphasize how formal and informal measures of social control vary across the life course. They mention incarceration as a "clear negative turning point" (1993, pg. 317). In linking life course

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development to labeling theory, labeling that results from incarceration could be conceptualized as a turning point leading to the continuation or escalation of deviance through its effect upon one's opportunity structures and subsequent self-feelings. Adaptation to incarceration as a life event is difficult because the labeling that occurs increases employment problems and reduces income.

Several studies recognize the systematic effects of incarceration on employment outcomes. Spending time in jail has been found to significantly reduce one's employment potential as well as earnings after release (Witte and Reid 1980; Waldfoegel 1994; Sampson and Laub 1993; Davies and Tanner 2003; Visher and Travis 2003; Western 2007; Western and Beckett 1999). Findings by Good, Pirog-Good, and Sickles (1986), suggest a reciprocal relationship between crime and employment. Good *et al.* (1986) examined employment and arrest records for 300 13-18 year olds in a crime prevention program. Findings suggested that prior criminal record resulted in a reduction in employment status which led to subsequent crime. Using the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, Western's findings indicate that incarceration has a significant negative effect on work outcomes as measured by lower hourly wages, lower employment rates, lower annual earnings, as well as the kinds of jobs one can obtain (2007). Ultimately, one who has been incarcerated is limited to working in the secondary labor market and has little opportunity for obtaining a job that offers stability and upward mobility (Western 2007).

A review of the literature also supports the notion that incarceration produces inmates with sharpened technical skills as well as a deeper acceptance of criminal norms and values, thus providing further support for one's deviant identity (Freeman 1996; Kolstad 1996). Thus, it is not surprising that those incarcerated experience negative self-attitudes as a result of prisoners who, once formally labeled, see themselves as deviants who are prosecuted by law-abiders (Kolstad 1996). Furthermore, the removal of a sense of self-control or mastery as well as a lowering of self-esteem, two dimensions that are crucial to life satisfaction (Pearlin, Morton, Menaghan, and Mullan 1981; Rosenfield, 1992, 1997) are likely to have long-term effects on the individual. Still, research on the consequences to the individual of early life incarceration reveals only a tacit recognition of, or cursory mention of, the resulting negative self-attitudes (Freeman 1996; Kolstad 1996; Laub and Sampson 1993). On the other hand, much research has examined the consequences (e.g. life satisfaction, psychological distress) of being labeled mentally ill (Link 1987; Link, Cullen and Wozniak 1987; Link, Mirotznik and Cullen 1991; Link, Struening, Rahav, Phelan, Nuttbrock 1997; Markowitz 1998; Rosenfield 1992, 1997). Furthermore, Link (1982; 2001) has suggested that deviant labeling, in terms of a psychiatric label, has negative effects on diverse aspects of one's life such as income and work status. Critics of labeling theory argue that the alleged negative consequences of being labeled a mental patient (e.g. discrimination, employment problems, negative affect) on the various dimensions of the labeled individual's life are in fact absent, transitory, or not really caused by labeling and stigmatization, but rather are due to deviant behavior (Gove 1980; Lehman, Joy, Kreisman, and Simmons 1976).

There are similarities between the label as a mental or psychiatric patient and the label as an inmate. The way we behave toward those who are mentally ill and the way we treat their deviant status is similar to the way we treat those labeled as criminals (Kolstad 1996). In both instances, an official label is applied. Furthermore, the label is stigmatizing and may even become a master status (Becker 1963). Link (1987) contends that the official labeling of someone as a mental patient validates their own prior conceptions of the stigmatization, devaluation, and social exclusion experienced by mental patients. Upon entering psychiatric treatment, thus officially labeled, prior conceptions and expectations of rejection, and stigmatization become relevant and lead to negative self-feelings and or fear of rejection from others.

The connection between incarceration and negative self-attitudes is crucial to understanding the relationship between crime and employment problems. Previous research often either recognizes that unemployment is associated with criminal activity (Berk, Rossi, and Lenihan 1980; Rossi, Berk, and Lenihan 1980) or recognizes that there is a reciprocal relationship between the two in that having a prior criminal record leads to a reduction in employability (Visher and Travis 2003; Western 2007) which then leads to further crime (Good, Pirog-Good, and Sickles 1986; Uggen 2000). This emphasizes a purely economic rationale for engaging in subsequent criminal activity. These studies generally miss the link between employment problems and subsequent negative self-feelings as the mediating factor that leads to subsequent criminal activity. Kaplan explicitly postulates the relationship between negative self-feelings and deviance (Kaplan 1980). The experience of negative self-feelings motivates one to reduce negative feelings and to restore self-esteem through attacks upon or through avoidance or withdrawal from conventional society (Kaplan 1975, 1980, 1986).

We hypothesize that incarceration leading to the deviant label of ex-convict, similar to that of mental patient, leads to negative self-feelings. We also hypothesize that having been officially labeled through the criminal justice system leads to negative self-feelings through the mediating effect on diverse aspects of one's life such as income, employment problems, and low marital satisfaction.

Method

Sample

The subjects were drawn from responses to the fourth wave (1980-1987) and fifth wave (1992-1997) of data collection in an ongoing panel study. The original sample consisted of the seventh grade students in a random half (18) of the 36 junior high schools in the Houston Independent School District in 1971. Of the 9,335 students in the 18 selected schools, 7,618 (81.6 per cent) returned similar usable questionnaires. Those students who remained in the same schools and continued to be willing to participate in the study filled out a similar questionnaire in 1972 (Time 2) and 1973 (Time 3). Over 6,000 of the original cohort of 7,618 students were re-interviewed as young adults, in their mid-twenties (Time 4). Over 5,400 of the Time 4 subjects were re-interviewed again when in their mid-thirties (Time 5). Subjects provided the data for this research in the

course of personal household interviews. Because the data from the earlier waves of the panel study are not relevant for estimation of the models, since the tests of the models require information regarding incarceration, which was not collected until the fourth wave of data, the present study will be based on data from subjects when in their mid-twenties and data from subjects when in their mid-thirties.

Path models are estimated which examine the relationship between incarceration and negative self-feelings as mediated by income, employment problems, and low marital satisfaction. Since no significant paths were observed between incarceration and low marital satisfaction and low marital satisfaction and negative self-feelings at Time 5 while controlling on marital satisfaction at Time 4, low marital satisfaction was removed from the models. Separate models were estimated for males and females since the detrimental effects of incarceration may differ for males and females due to society's higher expectations for males in terms of employment and level of income. Because there were no significant paths for females from incarceration at Time 4 and employment problems, income, and marital satisfaction at Time 5, the results presented are only for males. The means and standard deviations of the study variables are reported in Appendix A.

Variables

Dependent Variable. Negative self-feelings at Time 5 is measured by a seven-item measure (Cronbach's alpha = .73) reflecting the experience of self-derogation. Negative self-feelings is a consequence of a history of the inability to forestall experiences of rejection/failure:

1. I wish I could have more respect for myself
2. I feel I do not have much to be proud of
3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure
4. At times, I think I am no good at all
5. I certainly feel useless at times
6. I don't like myself as much as I used to
7. I used to be a better person than I am now

Intervening Variables: We test for the hypothesized mediating role of income, employment problems, and low marital satisfaction, in the relationship between incarceration and negative self-feelings. Link (1982) has suggested that a consequence of having a deviant label, in terms of a psychiatric label, may be that other aspects or areas of one's life (i.e. jobs, interpersonal relationships) will be negatively impacted through further labeling. We can expect similar effects for individuals with a criminal label since the way we behave toward those with a mental illness is similar to the way we behave toward those labeled as criminals (Kolstad 1996). Indeed, research supports the stigmatizing and subsequent life-altering effect of incarceration on life opportunities (Holzer, 1996; Pager 2003; Uggen and Manza 2002).

Respondent's income is measured in fourteen intervals from 1 (Under \$3,000) to 14 (greater than \$75,000), as their total income in the last twelve months, from all sources. Employment problems, measured by a six-item index, reflects being fired since the Time 4 interview, being unemployed within the last year, and affirmative responses to four reasons for not working. This provides a measure of employment problems that combines both labeling factors as well as structural factors. The items are coded so that high scores indicate greater employment problems.

Tell me if the following were reasons for your not working:

1. You lacked the skills necessary for available jobs?
2. You lacked the experience required for available jobs?
3. You lacked the educational requirements for available jobs?
4. You didn't have a car or phone or other things necessary for the job?
5. In what years, if ever, were you fired or laid off?
6. Since this time last year, how many weeks have you been without a paid job?

Low marital satisfaction is a three-item index (Cronbach's alpha = .64). The items are coded so that high scores indicate less marital satisfaction.

1. My (marriage/relationship) is a very happy one (coded as experiencing low satisfaction if answered hardly ever or never).
2. How satisfactory are sexual relations with your (spouse/partner? (coded as experiencing low satisfaction if answered somewhat unsatisfactory, or very unsatisfactory).
3. When you think of all the pleasures and problems that go into daily life with your (spouse/partner), how often do you feel.
(a) dissatisfied? (coded as experiencing low satisfaction if answered often).

Independent Variables: The independent variable of interest is incarceration. Incarceration is measured by self-reported affirmative responses to having served time in jail or prison because of having done any one of 15 deviant acts (Appendix B). We control on baseline negative self-feelings at Time 4. The analyses control for educational attainment, race/ethnicity, and marital status. We control on race as it is widely recognized that race is a factor in disparate incarceration rates (Blalock 1967; Bonczar and Beck 1997; Bridges and Steen 1998; Christianson 1981; Duster 1987; Lusane 1991; Steffensmeier & Demuth 2000; Reisig, Bales, Hay and Wang, 2007). We control on marital status as previous research indicates that marriage is associated with lower levels of deviance among young adults, thus reducing the likelihood of incarceration (Gibbens 1983; Rand 1987; Sampson and Laub 1993; Sampson, Laub, Wimer 2006; Laub, Nagin and Sampson 1998; Lopoo and Western 2005; Warr 1998).

Race/ethnicity was measured in terms of two dummy variables: "Black and Mexican American," with all others as the omitted category. These two categories were

the exact terms provided for self-ascription of race/ethnicity. Education level was measured by a single variable with 11 categories ranging from “no formal schooling” to “postgraduate degree,” with higher step scores indicating higher levels of education attainment. Marital Status was coded nonmarried = 0, married = 1.

We control on the frequency and seriousness of deviant acts for which one may have been incarcerated as frequency or seriousness of the act might account for employment problems as well as have a negative impact on income. “Frequency of deviant acts” is measured as the sum of deviant acts reported by the subject (a theoretical range of 1-15). “Seriousness of the deviant act” was measured in terms of the prevalence of the act on the assumption that fewer individuals would commit more serious acts. We determined the proportion of the sample that committed each of the fifteen deviant acts. The deviant acts were then ranked from least serious to most serious in terms of their prevalence. More prevalent acts such as “smoking marijuana” were considered the least serious while less prevalent acts such as “attacked a person with a weapon with intent to kill or injure,” were considered the most serious. Where a subject committed more than one deviant act, the individual was assigned the seriousness score for the most deviant act. The higher scores indicated higher levels of seriousness.

We control on poverty as poverty may be considered a likely antecedent of negative self-feelings and employment problems in that poverty may prevent one from acquiring the necessary resources or skills for employment. Being poor may also be a label that is stigmatizing and thus cause one to be the object of discrimination by employers, also leading to negative self-feelings. Moreover, our poverty measure provides the closest control available for a baseline measure of income. A three-item index (Cronbach’s alpha = .76) serves as a proxy measure for poverty. U.S. government determination of poverty (based on poverty line index, established in 1960) is an arbitrary figure, which stands as inadequate for today’s complex society (Elwood 1988; Sen 1981). We believe that the present measure conceptually measures those who are disadvantaged in our society. Poverty may convey many things to many people, but we can assume that those impoverished can not provide necessities for themselves that we as a society deem appropriate. The respondent was coded as impoverished if the respondent affirmed “yes” to one or more of the following questions (0 = no, 1 = yes):

1. At the present time, are you yourself able to afford the kind of food (you/your family) should have?
2. At the present time, are you yourself able to afford the kind of medical care (you/yourself) should have?
3. At the present time, are you yourself able to afford the monthly payments on (you/your family’s) bills?

We recognize that our measure of poverty at Time 4, as a control for income level at Time 5, is not ideal, however, more acceptable measures of income were not available at Time 4.

Analysis

The models were estimated using path analysis since all variables are directly observed. Path models for the effect of incarceration on Negative Self-feelings were generated with structural equations using LISREL 8. "LISREL 8 considers the model as a system of equations and estimates all the structural coefficients directly" (Joreskog and Sorbom 1993, pg. 12). The LISREL output also contains GOODNESS OF FIT STATISTICS for model evaluation and assessment. The two mediating variables are allowed to correlate, as employment problems and income are associated positively. The alternative is to assume a theoretical causal path from employment problems to income. The estimation of this path did not change the results and therefore is not depicted.

Results

As indicated in Appendix A, the sample consists of about 27 per cent African-Americans and 11 per cent Mexican-Americans. The average education level of respondents falls between high school and college graduation, approximating the general population.

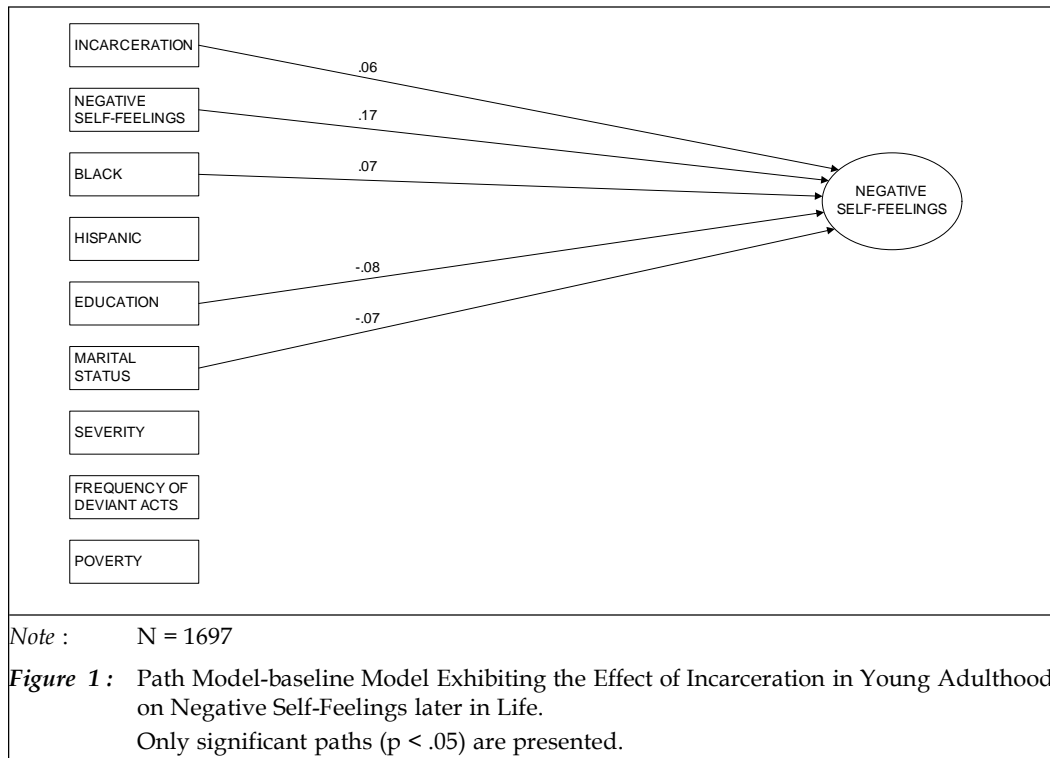
The baseline (unmediated) model tests the effect of incarceration in young adulthood on negative self-feelings later in life (during the mid-thirties), controlling on baseline negative self-feelings, race/ethnicity, education, marital status, severity of deviant acts, frequency of deviant acts, and poverty. The results of this model are presented in Figure 1. The second (mediated) model tests the mediating effects of employment problems and income on the relationship between incarceration in young adulthood and negative self-feelings in later life, controlling on baseline negative self-feelings, race/ethnicity, education, marital status, severity of deviant acts, frequency of deviant acts, and poverty. The results of this model are presented in Figure 2. While all the paths are estimated, only those that are statistically significant ($p < .05$) are presented.

Unmediated Model

The unmediated path model is presented in Figure 1. The chi-square is 0.0, corresponding to a perfect overall fit of the model to the data.

The coefficient for incarceration is .06. This suggests that incarceration during early adulthood predicts negative self-feelings in later life only modestly. Still the effect remaining is noteworthy since it remains, independent of control variables and in spite of the long period of time between the two measures (10 to 17 years).

As expected several other variables are significantly related to the reporting of negative self-feelings at Time 5. Those experiencing negative self-feelings at Time 4 ($\beta = .17$) and Blacks ($\beta = .07$) are significantly more likely to report experiencing negative self-feelings at Time 5. The more highly educated subjects ($\beta = -.08$) and those who are married ($\beta = -.07$) are significantly less likely to report negative self-feelings at Time 5. The paths from severity of deviant acts, frequency of deviant acts, and poverty are not significantly related to negative self-feelings during one's mid thirties (Time 5).



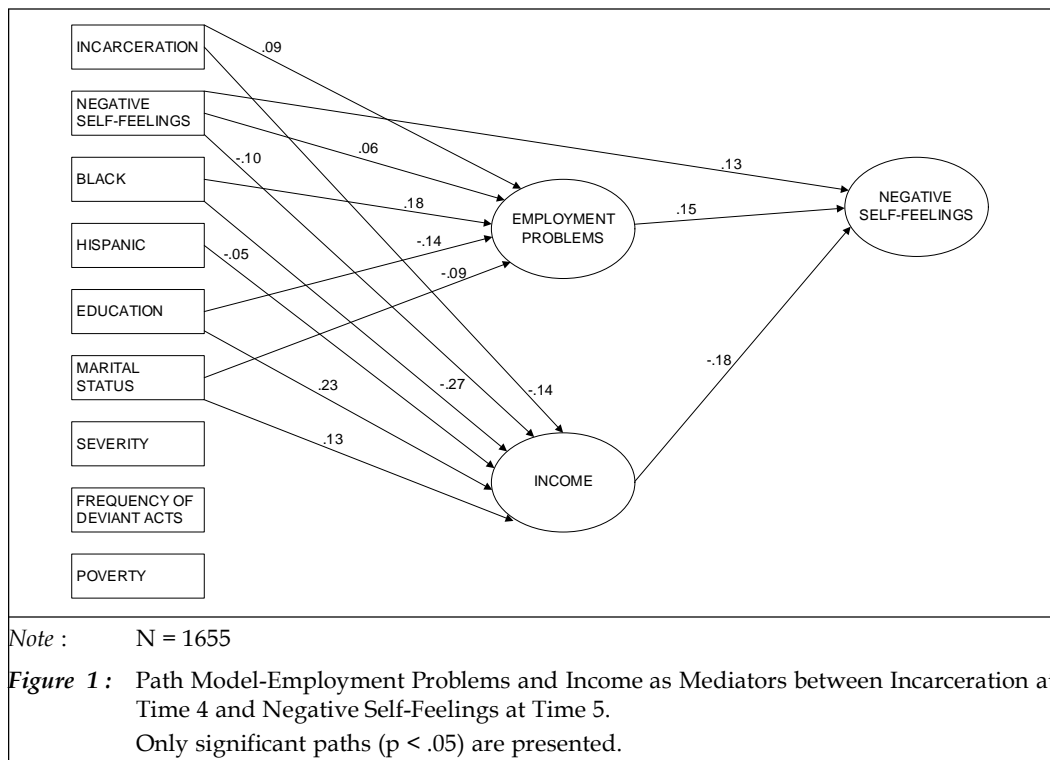
Mediated Model

The mediated path model is presented in Figure 2. The chi-square is 0.0, corresponding to a perfect overall fit of the model to the data.

Adding the mediating variables of income and employment problems to the model in Fig. 1 allows us to decompose the relationship between early life incarceration and negative self-feelings in later life. Figure 2 presents the results of the full model which includes the intervening variables, income and employment problems. The same control variables are included as in the baseline model in Figure 1.

A comparison of the baseline (Figure 1) and full model (Figure 2) indicates that employment problems and income mediate and so, in part, account for the relationship between early life incarceration (Time 4) and later life negative self-feelings (Time 5). Early life incarceration is a modest predictor of employment problems ($\beta = .09$). Early life incarceration is also a significant negative indicator of one's level of income ($\beta = -.14$). Employment problems ($\beta = .15$) and income ($\beta = -.18$), in turn, effect later negative self-feelings.

The control variables have many interesting effects on the mediating variables of employment problems and income. Those with negative self-feelings at Time 4 are significantly more likely to report employment problems ($\beta = .06$). Blacks are also



significantly more likely to report employment problems than are Mexican-Americans and the omitted category ($\beta = .18$). The more highly educated ($\beta = -.14$) and those who are married ($\beta = -.09$) are significantly less likely to report employment problems. Interestingly, severity of deviant acts, frequency of deviant acts, and poverty are not significantly related to either employment problems or reduced income.

There are similar findings for the predictors of income. Those with negative self-feelings at Time 4 are significantly less likely to report higher income levels ($\beta = -.10$). Blacks ($\beta = -.27$) and Mexican-Americans ($\beta = -.05$) are significantly less likely than the omitted category to report higher levels of income. As expected, the more highly educated ($\beta = .23$) and those who are married ($\beta = .13$) are more likely to report higher levels of income. Although the effect of negative self-feelings at Time 4 on negative self-feelings at Time 5 is attenuated by the insertion of the two mediating variables (employment problems and income), negative self-feelings at Time 4 remains a significant independent predictor of negative self-feelings at Time 5.

Discussion and Conclusion

Our results further our understanding of the long-term detrimental effects of early life incarceration. Our results support the hypothesized relationship between incarceration and negative self-feelings, via the mediating effects of income and employment

problems. The hypothesized mediating effect of low marital satisfaction is not supported. These findings also support findings that men who have been incarcerated have poor employment records in comparison to their employment records prior to going to prison. Poor employment records and job instability continue for many years after release from prison (Freeman 1992; Visher and Travis 2003; Western 2007). While incarceration could be related to employment problems and reduced incomes by removing individuals from the labor force, the individuals in the present study were not incarcerated at Time 5, when income and employment problems were measured. Although there may be a lag effect of lower income due to having spent time in jail or prison which limits future prospects for job prospects and contacts (Granovetter 1992; Visher and Travis 2003; Western 2007), the present analysis suggests that the effects may also be attributable to the stigmatization that results from incarceration. Because our measure of employment problems employ measures that implicitly relate to both labeling, but also to structural factors such as the inability to acquire the necessary skills for employment, we may assert that labeling effects due to arrest and incarceration may reduce the life chances of those labeled by reducing opportunity structures and subsequent economic success (Tittle 1998; Moffitt 1993; Laub and Sampson 1993; Nagin and Waldfogel 1992; Western 2007). Thus, our findings contradict some of the criticisms of the labeling approach that argues that labeling and stigma are transitory and inconsequential.

Laub and Sampson (1993) suggest that employment as an institution of social control may serve to alter pathways to crime. Although Laub and Sampson emphasize the “quality and strength” (pg. 304) of one’s ties to institutions, clearly our findings suggest that incarceration may serve as a “clear negative turning point” (1993, pg. 317) as present findings indicate a disruption in the labor force participation, and subsequent negative self-feelings as a result of incarceration.

The present findings suggest that Blacks are more likely to experience employment problems and lower income, controlling on education. This is a consistent finding in the literature (Joe 1987; Simmons & Gray 1989). Mexican-Americans are significantly likely to have lower incomes than the omitted category, but are not significantly more likely to have employment problems. As expected, individuals who are married and those who are more highly educated have higher income and are less likely to have employment problems. We also find that negative self-feelings in early adulthood is not only a significant predictor of negative self-feelings in one’s mid-thirties, but that negative self-feelings has important and significant detrimental effects on diverse aspects of one’s life such as income and employment.

Indeed incarceration may be considered the basis for secondary deviance and the continuity of deviance over the life course. The link between negative self-feelings and deviant adaptations is informed by a general theory of deviant adaptations to self-derogation (Kaplan 1975, 1980, 1986). According to Kaplan’s general theory of deviant behavior (1980), the experience of negative self-feelings motivates one to reduce negative feelings and to restore self-esteem. In the absence of effective conventional patterns, the person adopts deviant patterns that have the potential for avoiding,

attacking, or substituting new deviant patterns for the conventional patterns that generated distressful self-rejecting feelings (Kaplan 1975, 1980, 1986; Kaplan, Martin, and Johnson 1986; Rosenberg and Kaplan 1982; Rosenberg, Schooler and Schoenbach 1989). Thus, the experience of negative self-feelings resulting from early life incarceration in particular should be linked to deviant adaptations later in life.

Interestingly, neither the severity of deviant acts, nor the frequency of deviant acts were significantly related to reduced income or to employment problems. These findings support the independent effect of incarceration on unemployment while contradicting the findings that it is deviance that leads to adult unemployment (Hagan 1993; Western 2007). Consistent with Kaplan's theory of deviance, the severity of deviant acts and the frequency of deviant acts at Time 4 does not predict to negative self-feelings at Time 5. Kaplan's theory suggests that deviance functions to reduce negative self-feelings and to restore self-esteem (Kaplan 1975, 1980, 1986; Kaplan, Martin, and Johnson 1986; Rosenberg and Kaplan 1982; Rosenberg, Schooler and Schoenbach 1989).

Our inability to find a significant path between incarceration and marital satisfaction may be explained in several ways. First, the labeling effect of earlier incarceration would not likely effect marital satisfaction since it is unlikely that a relationship would develop if one party stigmatizes the other due to their background. Second, low marital satisfaction as a result of incarceration might be conditional on timing of the event such that we might find a positive relationship at the time of incarceration for those who are married when incarceration occurs.

We did not find a significant path from poverty at Time 4 and negative self-feelings at Time 5 or from poverty at Time 4 and employment problems or reduced income. Although poverty may likely be a condition that results in stigmatization as does incarceration, perhaps the difference is that poverty is not likely to be attributed to the fault of oneself. While it is true that early life poverty may restrict one's life's chances in terms of skills acquired, it may also make one more determined to work hard, perhaps working multiple jobs, to earn higher income.

The present findings should inform criminal justice interventions and policy makers. These findings suggest that a positive intervention for lowering recidivism is to reduce the stigmatization and the detrimental effect of incarceration on income and employment problems, thereby altering deviant trajectories and reducing subsequent negative self-feelings. Not only should reducing negative self-feelings reduce the potential for deviant adaptations/recidivism, but also improving potential income levels and reducing employment problems should reduce the incentives for a portion of criminal activity.

APPENDIX A

Summary of Descriptive Statistics of Variables

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>
Neg. Self-feelings (T4)	1.68	0-6	.88
Black	.27	0-1	.44
Mexican-American	.11	0-1	.31
Education Level	7.62	0-11	1.40
Marital Status	.48	0-1	.50
Severity of deviance	2.87	0-15	3.77
Frequency of Dev. Acts	1.59	0-13	1.75
Poverty	.42	0-1	.49
Incarceration (T7)	.04	0-1	.19
Employment Prob. (T7)	.63	0-6	.93
Income Level (T7)	9.33	0-14	3.84
Marital Satisfaction (T7)	.56	0-3	.58
Neg. Self-Feelings (T7)	.90	0-7	1.42

APPENDIX B

List of 15 Deviant Acts

1. Used marijuana, Hashish, THC.
2. Taken something from someone using a weapon or force including bank robberies, muggings, hold-ups or knocking someone down while stealing a purse.
3. Forged or passed bad checks.
4. Carried a razor, switchblade or knife as a weapon.
5. Used drugs other than marijuana illegally or used any illegal drugs (other than marijuana) including LSD or other hallucinogens (for example, Mescaline, angel dust, PCP), amphetamines (Uppers, Speed), barbiturates (Downers, Goofballs), tranquilizers (Librium, Valium), inhalants (glue or gasoline used to get high), heroin (Horse or Smack) or other opiates (Methadone, Opium, Morphine), Cocaine (coke, snow), Quaaludes (soapers, quads), and freebase.
6. Sold or manufactured illegal drugs.
7. Run numbers, made book, or otherwise participated in illegal gambling operations, except as a bettor.
8. Broken into and entered a house or building to steal something or illegally entered through an unlocked door or window to steal something.
9. Stolen an automobile for transportation or joyriding.
10. Annoyed, insulted or fought other people (strangers) in the street.
11. Gambled or bet large amounts of money.
12. Attacked a person with a weapon or your hands intending to kill or seriously injure the person.
13. Stolen anything without using force including picking a pocket, snatching a purse, shoplifting, breaking into a car (for stripping or sale) or coin machine, or stealing something left unattended (for stripping or sale).
14. Intentionally damaged someone's car or did anything else to destroy or severely damage someone's property, whether public or private, for reasons other than being paid to do it.
15. Taken part in gang fights.

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