

JUVENILE CRIME TRENDS IN SERBIA AND PENAL POLICY – IS THERE A RELATION?¹

Natalija Lukić, PhD²

Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade, Serbia

Abstract: The paper analyzes the relationship between juvenile crime and the penal policy of courts in Serbia. The author denotes the increase in the crime rate, which is especially evident in crimes against life and limb. The crime rate was calculated in relation to the total population, but also in relation to the age group that corresponds to the age category of juvenile offenders. The second method of calculation demonstrates even more noticeable increase in juvenile crime. At the same time, it can be stated that the penal policy of the courts is increasingly lenient and that the courts very rarely opt for institutional educational measures or juvenile imprisonment. Having in mind that the penal policy is influenced by legal solutions, the author also took into account the changes in juvenile criminal legislation.

Key words: crime rate, juvenile offenders, penal policy, legal solutions.

INTRODUCTION

Juvenile crime reopens many dilemmas, ranging from issues related to etiological factors, duration of criminal career, to various criminal law models of regulation, prevention measures and penal policy. One of the important issues is the prevalence of juvenile crime and various methods to determine it. This is one of the goals of this paper. Since there is no possibility of determining the actual extent of juvenile crime in Serbia on the basis of national victimization and self-reported studies, the paper analyzes the available statistical data. In addition, the aim of this paper is to compare crime data with the penal policy of the courts in order to discover whether possible changes in the crime trends are accompanied by changes in sanctions imposition. Since penal policy is affected by other factors as well, the paper also briefly presents the legal solutions that have regulated the criminal law status of juvenile offenders in the past decades. Crime trends, expressed primarily through the crime rate, as well as the penal reaction of the courts in Serbia were analyzed for the period 1980-2018.

1 The article is the result of work on the project of the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law entitled „Identity Transformation of Serbia for 2020“.

2 natalija.lukic@ius.bg.ac.rs



MEASURING JUVENILE CRIME

In the criminological literature, there is no unique position in defining the term juvenile. This is mostly caused by different legal requirements regarding the age limit for criminal liability, i.e. liability threshold for statutory offenses in legal systems in which this category exists. In addition, many criminologists use wider concept that transcends criminal law limits, thus under term juvenile including young offenders up to the age of 21 or 24 (Butts, Evans, 2014: 61-78). The extent and trends of juvenile crime can be analyzed in different ways. First, the prevalence of crime can be determined on the basis of official statistical data. In addition to the analysis of total numbers, it is common for the extent of crime to be expressed through the crime rate. Furthermore, since juveniles represent one specific age group, it is necessary to express their participation in crime as a percentage in relation to all registered crime. Finally, as official data do not contain information on all committed crimes, national studies on self-incrimination and victimization are used to determine the real extent.

When it comes to the crime rate, in most cases it is calculated in relation to the entire population within society. On the other hand, in order to obtain more accurate data on the prevalence and trends of crime within age groups, it is necessary to calculate the rate in relation to the specific age population. In the case of juveniles, this would mean that the total number of reported/accused/convicted juveniles is divided by the total number of persons of that age in a society and multiplied by a certain unit (usually 100.000). Consequently, we can see how many juveniles are registered or convicted in relation to that age population alone and the trend of juvenile crime in the similar way, as well. Since demographic changes are inherent in every society, this is very important. For example, the increase in overall crime in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s was partly explained by the large increase in birth rates in the post-World War II period, which in the decades that followed led to a 50% increase in the younger population compared to the previous seventy years (Wolfgang, 2002: 355-356). The crime rate as a method of measuring also has certain limitations. In addition to the objections related to the dark figure of crime, there are also the following shortcomings: cumulation of criminal offenses where only the most serious criminal offense is recorded, giving equal importance to all criminal offenses regardless of their severity, different approaches to the usage of demographic data, i.e. calculation based on decades-long censuses and not on an annual basis (Hagan, 2014: 115-116).

The literature also draws a parallel between the percentage of juveniles in reported/convicted crime with their percentage in the total population in order to establish if there is a proportion. Hence, the participation of young people aged 10 to 17 in committing violent crimes is around 19%, while the same age category makes up 13% of the total population in the USA, for example. (Butts & Evans, 2014: 71).

JUVENILE PENAL POLICY

The penal policy of courts is determined primarily by criminal law solutions, which, when it comes to juveniles, are most often between two models - the justice and the welfare model. However, there are other variations in the criminal law approach to juvenile crime between these two models (Škulić, 2011: 96-111). Comparative legal experiences demonstrate that various factors can influence the penal policy towards juveniles. For example, some authors state that penal policy in the United States varies from rehabilitation to repression, and that these cycles alternate. A change in the direction of response to juvenile crime occurs when the public and law enforcement authorities believe that juvenile crime has reached a limit that can no longer be tolerated (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010: 10-29). Quite often,



several cases of serious crimes committed by juveniles get media covers which then leads to a wave of moral panic and finally to the adoption of more repressive legal solutions, (Singer, 1996: 5-13; Ostendorf, 2010: 91-104; Goldson & Yates, 2008: 103-117). The fluctuation of crime does not have to be related to the choice of criminal-political measures. For example, it is stated that in the United States there has been a gradual decrease in the number of juveniles arrested for property and violent crimes since the 1990s, and that this trend has been stable in the last ten years (Bishop & Decker, 2008: 3-35), while on the other hand, the USA legal system is characterized by a number of repressive legal possibilities against juvenile offenders (possibility of trial before regular courts, three strikes law, registration of juvenile sex offenders). However, since 2005 there have been several major juvenile policy shifts (laws prohibiting juveniles from being housed in adult prisons, expansion of juvenile court jurisdiction to older youth, altering laws to make it more difficult to try juveniles as adults, repealing life sentencing without parole for juveniles who have committed murder, reducing automatic transfer laws – McNeece & Ryan, 2014: 39). Germany, on the contrary, is cited as an example of a state that does not deviate from the welfare model while there has been a steady increase in reported juveniles since the 1990s (Dünkel, 2008: 225-262). Therefore, it is stated that apart from the crime trends, there are other circumstances that affect the adoption of legal solutions and penal policy of courts. These are the already mentioned moral panics, then the need to achieve the legitimacy of the criminal justice system through repressive reactions, although in practice substantial changes do not necessarily occur (Lukić, 2020: 318-319 according to Singer, 1996: 13-22), the impact of comparative legal solutions as well as socio-economic factors (Junger-Tas, 2008: 505-532).

JUVENILE CRIMINAL LAW IN SERBIA

Since the enactment of the Criminal Code for the Principality of Serbia from 1860, that stipulated age of 12 as the limit of criminal responsibility and rules for sentencing persons aged 12 to 16, it has been obvious that juveniles have had a specific position in Serbian criminal law (Sržentić, Stajić & Lazarević, 1978: 489). The general part of the 1947 Criminal Code distinguished between juveniles eligible for criminal liability and criminally irresponsible juveniles. To the first category only educational measures could have been imposed while punishment with certain restrictions (e.g. prohibition of the death penalty) was prescribed for the second category. Furthermore, this Code prescribed the possibility of imposing educational measures on younger juveniles who were criminally responsible if it was not necessary to impose a sentence in the interest of development and enhancement (Sržentić et al., 1978: 491). The Criminal Code from 1951 contained similar provisions as the previous Code, as well as the possibility of punishing a criminally responsible juvenile (Criminal Code, Official Gazette FPRY, 13/51). The most significant changes in the criminal law substantial position of juvenile perpetrators of criminal offences were made by the Law on Amendments to the Criminal Code from 1959. This Code abolished the distinction between juveniles eligible for criminal liability and criminally irresponsible juveniles. Educational measures became the basic criminal sanctions, while the possibility of imposing a prison sentence was stipulated only for older juveniles. In addition, the possibility of imposing educational measures to younger adults was created (Sržentić, 1978b: 288). The Criminal Code of the SFRY from 1977 contained only general provisions on juveniles, while more detailed regulation of this area was left to the republics and autonomous provinces.

The current Law on Juvenile Offenders and Criminal Law Protection of Juveniles (Official Gazette 85/2005) entered into force in 2006. Among the significant novelties introduced were diversion orders as measures of a special kind. In accordance to international documents and comparative legislation, the legislator opted for this solution which avoids criminal proceedings or the imposition of a crimi-



nal sanction for criminal offences that could be marked as “medium serious crime”. Furthermore, the number of educational measures within certain types has increased, and it has been pointed out that institutional educational measures are the last resort, (Perić, Milošević & Stevanović, 2008: 63-65). Juvenile imprisonment can still, under the conditions provided by the Law, be imposed only on older juveniles. The Draft Law on Juvenile Offenders and Protection of Juveniles in Criminal Proceedings (hereinafter the Draft) introduces certain novelties in the field of juvenile criminal law. Without being able to present them in detail, only a few will be listed here. The Draft expands the range of diversion orders, introduces the obligation for the court to determine the duration of the educational measure of remand to correctional facility, which was not the case before, and when it comes to the procedure - it expands the possibility of the public prosecutor for juveniles to defer criminal prosecution, so that it will no longer include only criminal offenses punishable by imprisonment for up to five years but also for up to eight years (more in Škulić, 2015: 39-68).

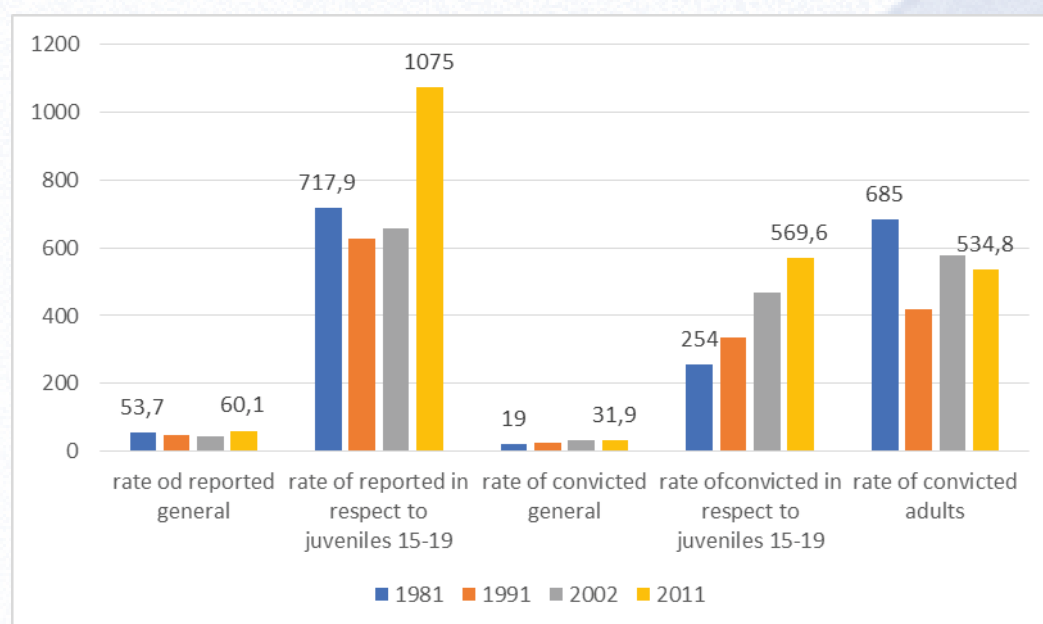
JUVENILE CRIME IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

In Serbia, the prevalence of crime in general, as well as juvenile crime, is determined primarily on the basis of official statistical data on registered crime. Many objections can be made to this method of crime measurement (Ignjatović, 2018: 118-121) and it would certainly be better if there was a possibility to complete the official data and compare them with the data obtained from self-incrimination and victimization studies. Juveniles, in accordance with the provisions of the criminal legislation, are considered to be persons who at the time of commission of the criminal offence have attained 14 years of age and have not attained 18 years of age, with the category of younger juveniles being persons aged 14 and 15, while older juveniles are aged 16-17. It should be noted that the methodology of recording data on juvenile crime is not always the same in the period that will be analyzed in the paper (1980-2018). First of all, the keeping of statistical data is determined by criminal law norms, and they have changed in the course of last four decades. Secondly, in certain years, the classification into younger/older juveniles was not performed, which is why it was not possible to analyze the difference for the entire specified period. Further, in the 1980s and 1990s, data were not kept for all criminal offenses, but for a certain number of groups of criminal offenses. Finally, it is important to note that since 1998 reports of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia have not included data for the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija.

CRIME RATE

Graph No. 1 presents the crime rate calculated for reported and convicted juveniles. We calculated the rate in both ways, first in relation to the entire population, and then in relation to the population that is closest to the juvenile age, according to the criminal law provisions. Namely, data were collected for the years in which the census was conducted from 1981 to 2011. In order to enable comparison, we took the age category 15-19 for each analyzed year for which data were available and in relation to that number of persons calculated the crime rate of juveniles reported, as well as juvenile convicted perpetrators. In addition, the graph no. 1 shows the crime rate calculated for adult convicts. We calculated this rate taking into account only the population of adult citizens (excluding the age of 18 and 19 years).



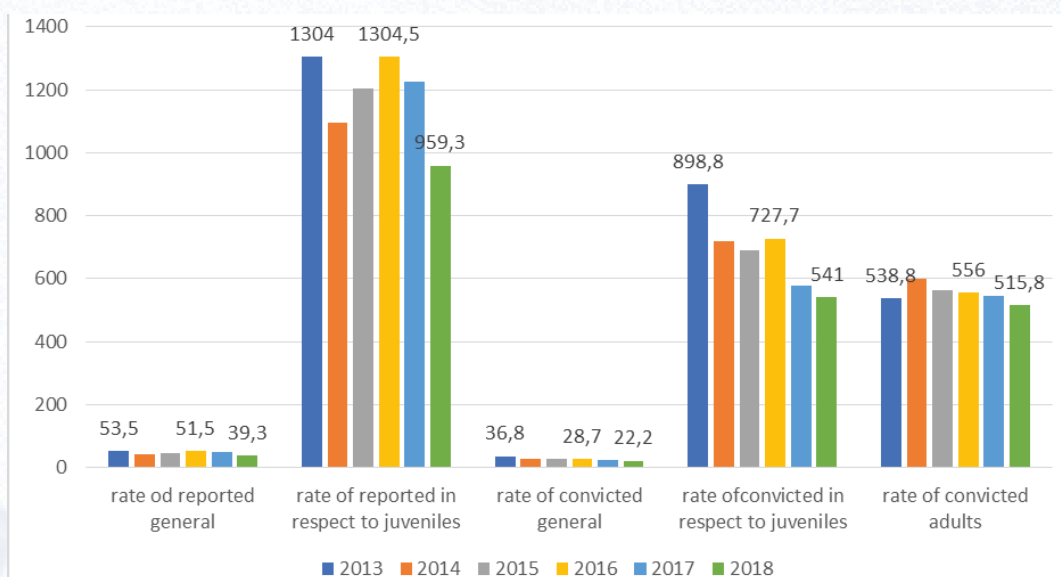


Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia

Graph No. 1: *Crime rate of juveniles and adults (1981-2011)*

Conclusion that there has been an increase in crime can be drawn from the data for the juvenile crime rate calculated in relation to the entire population. First of all, the rate of reported juveniles was the highest in 2011 (60.1), and the lowest recorded in 2002 (43.3), which makes a difference of 38.8%. On the other hand, the reported juvenile crime rate calculated in relation to the population aged 15-19 shows that after 1981 it gradually decreased (the lowest was in 1991 - 628.1) and the highest recorded rate was in 2011 (1075). Compared to 1991, the rate of juvenile reported crime increased by 71%, and compared to 1981 by 49.7%. So, in both cases, the increase is higher compared to the first way of calculating the crime rate. The situation is similar with the rate of convicted juveniles. Taking into account the entire population, it can be seen that the lowest rate was recorded in 1981 (19), and the highest in 2011 (31.9). Thus, the increase in the conviction rate was 67.9% from 1981 to 2011. The data for the rate calculated in relation to the population aged 15-19 show that the lowest rate (254) was also recorded in 1981, and the highest in 2011 and amounted to 596.6, which is an increase of 134.8%. On the other hand, unlike juvenile crime, which is on the rise according to the data for the analyzed years, the situation with adult crime is different. Namely, the rate calculated in relation to adult citizens shows that in 1981 the highest rate was recorded (685), and in the following analyzed years it was lower. The lowest rate was recorded in 1991 (419), but it is interesting that in 2002, as well as in 2011, the rate was also lower compared to 1981. The decrease in 2011 compared to 1981 is 28%.³

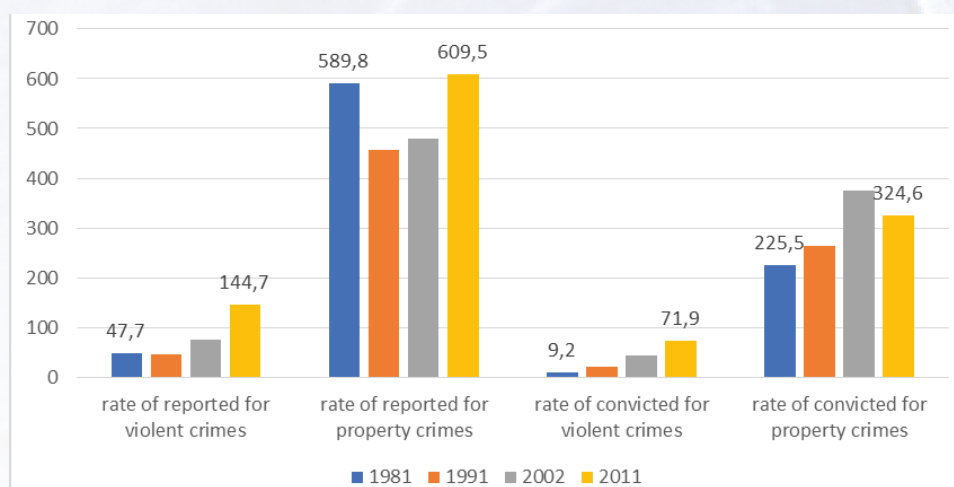
In graph No. 2 we analyzed the crime rate for the period 2013-2018. Data for juvenile age are available for the mentioned years, so we were able to calculate the crime rate exactly in relation to the age category which is determined as the category of juveniles in accordance with the criminal law provisions.



Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia

Graph No. 2: Juvenile and adult crime rate (2013-2018)

According to the data in graph No. 2, it can be concluded that the reported juvenile crime rate has had in principle a stable trend, except in the last two years when a decline was recorded. Comparison with previous decades is not possible because the data for ages 14-18 are not available for 1981, 1991 and 2002. The data for 2011 are available and they show that the rate of reported juveniles was 1336 and convicted 708. When it comes to the rate of convicted juveniles, we can see that the highest number was recorded in 2013 (36.8 and 898.8), after which there is a gradual decline. As far as adult convicts are concerned, the crime rate in the analyzed period is in principle stable and without major oscillations. The rate was calculated in relation to the population of adult convicts. As for juveniles in 2018, there is a noticeable decline in the rate of convicted crime, which is why it is necessary to monitor the crime trends of both adults and juveniles in the coming period to see if the declining rate continues.



Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia

Graph No. 3: Rate of reported and convicted juveniles for violent and property crimes

Graph No. 3 presents the rates of certain crimes. These are criminal offenses against life and limb as well as criminal offenses against property. These groups were taken because of the possibility of



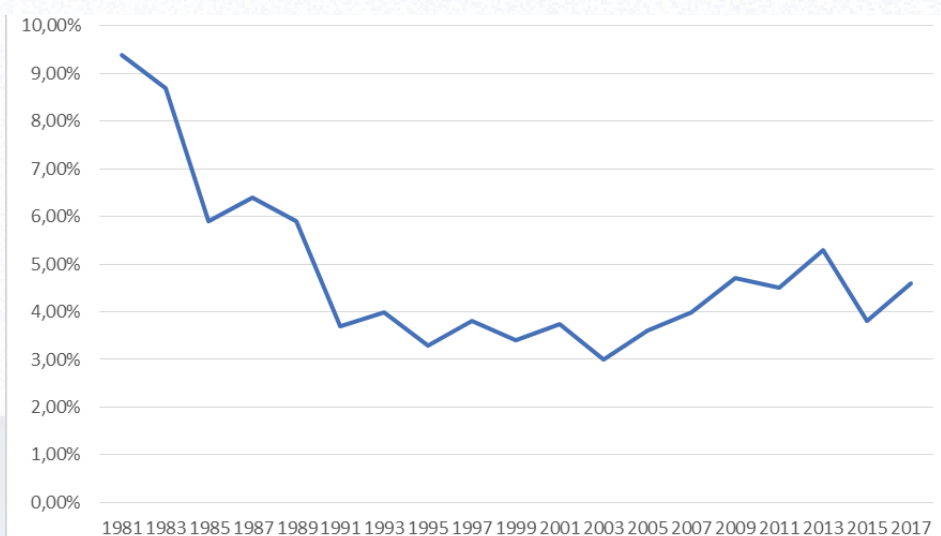
comparison in the analyzed years. Although changes in criminal legislation in recent decades have affected these groups of crimes, in practice the most common juvenile crimes (minor and aggravated bodily harm, theft, aggravated theft) have not changed significantly. The rate is calculated in relation to the population aged 15-19. When it comes to crimes against property, it is obvious that the rate of those reported is not followed by the rate of convicts. After 1981, the rate decreased, and the highest rate during the observed period was recorded in 2011. On the other hand, the rate of those convicted of crimes against property gradually increased, and in 2011 there was a slight decline. There is a noticeable increase in crimes against life and limb in both the reported and the convicted. Compared to 1981, the rate of reported persons increased by more than 200%, while the rate of convicts increased by 681%. This remarkable increase is visible even if we look only at absolute numbers. Hence, in 1981, 332 persons were reported for crimes against life and limb, while 64 were convicted. In 2011, 582 persons were reported and 289 convicted. At the same time, the population aged 15-19 has decreased. Thus, according to the 1981 census, it numbered a total of 696,338 people, and in 2011 it reached 401,994 people. Calculating the crime trends by taking into account only the exact age population in this case shows that in 1981, for every approximately 2,100 persons aged 15-19, one person was reported for a crime against life and limb, while in 2011 it was a ratio one versus 691. As essentially the absolute numbers of reported and convicted juveniles are not large, the calculation of the rate in relation to the entire population cannot show such striking differences in crime trends (although calculation in percentage does show differences) as is the situation with the crime rate calculated in respect to the specific age group. Thus, the rate of reported crimes against life and limb in 1981 in relation to the entire population was 3.6, the rate of convicts 0.7 while in 2011 the rate of reported 8 and the rate of convicts 4. As for the structure of crimes against life and limb, juveniles are most often convicted of aggravated bodily harm. For example, in 1983 the share of juveniles convicted of these two crimes in relation to all incriminations in the group was about 65%, in 1988 about 70%, in 1993 67%, in 1998 75%, in 2003 76 %, in 2008 74%, in 2013 80% and in 2018 87%. As for murders, the data show that, for example, in 1983 the share of convicts in the group of crimes against life and limb was approximately 20%, while in 2018 it was 3.5%. It should be borne in mind, however, that according to the Criminal Code of the Republic of Serbia from 1977, the criminal offense of aggravated robbery (Criminal Code, Official Gazette, 1977 with amendments, art. 169, para. 2) existed if during the robbery the person was intentionally murdered, which makes it impossible to follow the reports and convictions for murder with complete accuracy, because in the current Criminal Code this situation is stipulated by Article 114, para. 1, item 4 as aggravated murder.

PERCENTAGE OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS IN TOTAL CRIME

Juvenile crime by its nature makes up a smaller part of the total crime in a state. When it comes to Serbia in the period from 2013-2018, the average share of juveniles in the entire population was 3.9%. In the total reported crime, 3.4% of persons were juveniles, and up to 5.6% of the population were convicted of crime. Hence, a conclusion can be drawn that juveniles are a more represented category in convicted crime in relation to the share of their age in the entire population. However, when comparing the data to the percentage of adults who have been convicted, similar results are obtained. Namely, the average participation of adult citizens in the entire population for the period 2013-2018 was 82.8%, while the share of adults in the total reported and convicted crime for the same period was over 90%. Thus, both juvenile and adult convicted perpetrators are a more represented category in relation to their age groups in the entire population.

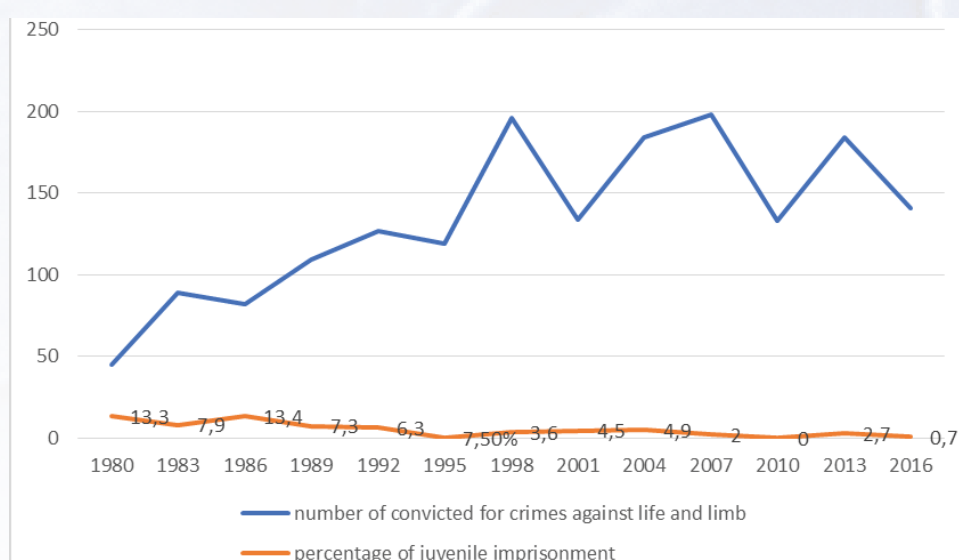


PENAL POLICY AGAINST JUVENILE CRIMINALS IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA



Graph No. 4: *Percentage of correctional measures of liberty deprivation*

Graph No. 4 shows the percentage of imposed educational measures of deprivation of liberty, i.e. the following educational measures are in question: remand to rehabilitation institution, remand to correctional institution, committal to special institution for treatment and acquiring of social skills. It can be concluded that since 1981 the share of institutional measures in the group of all imposed educational measures has gradually decreased and that from the beginning of the 90s to 2007 there is a stable trend ranging between 3-4% whereas in the last decade there has been a slight increase by some approximately 1%. As in the period 1981-1991, there were no legal changes that could affect the trend of reducing the participation of institutional measures, it can only be concluded that courts have taken a more lenient approach and opted for these sanctions only in rare cases. It is possible, in addition, that the decisions of the courts were also influenced by the socio-economic circumstances at the time, bearing in mind that there was a milder approach in the early 1990s.

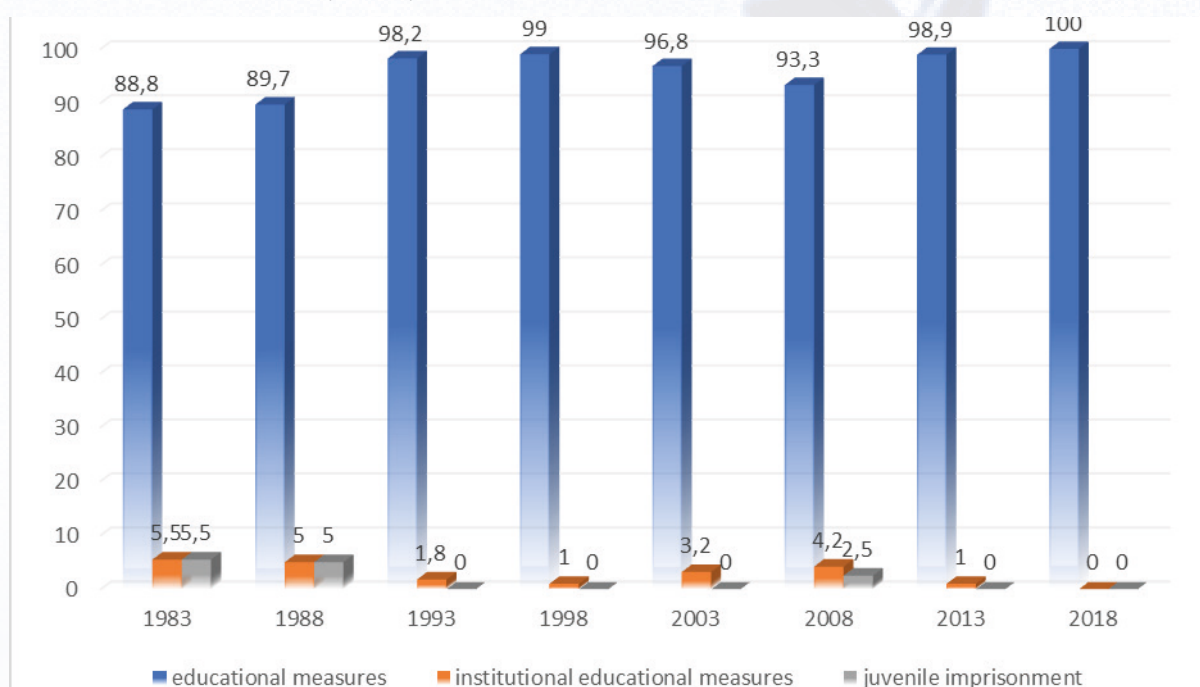


Graph. No. 5: *Relation between number of older juveniles convicted for crimes against life and limb and imprisonment percentage for these criminal offences*



Graph No. 5 presents the ratio between the number of older juveniles convicted for crimes against life and limb and the percentage of sentences of juvenile imprisonment for that group of crimes. Since the sentence of juvenile imprisonment can be imposed only on older juveniles, we have presented absolute numbers only of convicted older juveniles for crimes against life and limb. It can be concluded that the number of convicts has increased up to four times since 1980 with some oscillations, e.g. in 2001, 2010 and 2016, when a decrease in the number of convicts was recorded. However, an increase has been noticeable since 1994, and after that year, the number of convicts did not reach the level recorded during the 1980s. On the other hand, the percentage of juvenile imprisonment has decreased over time. From 13.3% in 1980 to less than 3% in the last observed decade. It is obvious therefore that penal policy is not conditioned by the crime trends. However, the question is whether such a penal policy can be justified if we keep in mind that there is an increase in number of crimes, and in this case in many situations serious violent crimes.

In graph No. 6, for the criminal offense of aggravated bodily harm we presented both the percentage of educational measures (which were divided into correctional and other measures) as well as the percentage of juvenile imprisonment imposed, while in graph No. 7 the same was done in relation to the crime of aggravated theft. These two crimes were analyzed due to their frequency in total number of juvenile criminal offences. First of all, when it comes to the criminal offense of aggravated bodily harm, it can be concluded that, in accordance with the general penal policy towards juveniles, courts approach has become more lenient. Thus, at the beginning of the 1980s, the share of correctional measures as well as juvenile imprisonment was slightly more than 5%, so that these sanctions were gradually imposed less frequently and reached a share of less than 1% in the last five years. The exception is 2008, when the share of these sanctions was higher, but in general, the sentence of juvenile imprisonment was extremely rarely applied.

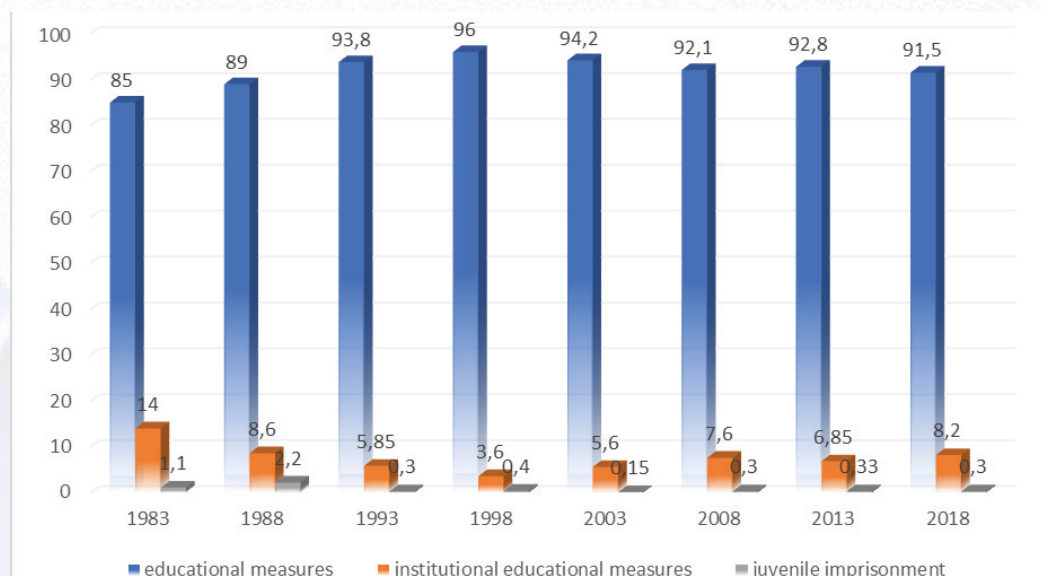


Graph. No. 6: *Structure of penal sanctions for aggravated bodily harm*

When it comes to the criminal offense of aggravated theft, it can be concluded that the courts more often, in comparison with an aggravated bodily harm, opt for educational institutional measures, while the imposition of the sentence of juvenile imprisonment is rare. It is difficult to draw a conclusion



from the statistics as to why there is a stricter penal policy in relation to aggravated theft compared to aggravated bodily harm. In addition to the circumstances related to the personality of the juvenile and his/her environment, the courts also take into account previous convictions, complicity, attempt, etc. Furthermore, statistics do not provide information on the forms of crimes committed, which certainly affects the choice of sanction. However, even in respect to the criminal offense of aggravated theft, the more lenient penal policy in relation to the beginning of the 80's is noticeable.



Graph No.7: *Structure of penal sanctions for aggravated theft*

CONCLUSION

The analysis of statistical data on juvenile crime in the Republic of Serbia for the past four decades enables several conclusions to be drawn. First of all, the data on the crime rate show that in the last four decades, juvenile crime has been continuously growing, with the exception of the last two years (2017-2018) when a certain decline was recorded. As juvenile age lasts for only four years, we also calculated the crime rate in relation to the category of the population that approximately or completely corresponds to juvenile age in accordance with criminal law regulations, in order to determine crime trends more accurately. It turned out that this way of calculating demonstrates an even higher percentage increase in comparison to the crime rate calculated in relation to the entire population. The increase is especially evident in crimes against life and limb. We compared the data with the crime rate of adults, calculated in relation to the population of adults. The result was that, unlike juvenile crime, which is recording a continuous increase, adult crime with occasional oscillations is recording a stable trend, with the highest recorded rate being in the early 1980s.

We also analyzed the penal policy of the courts in the last four decades in order to see whether the changes in the crime trends were accompanied by certain changes in terms of sanctioning juveniles. Since criminal law regulations determine choices of sanctions imposed by courts, the paper presents legal solutions that have regulated the criminal law substantial position of juveniles in the last few decades. The analysis of statistical data showed that contrary to the trend of crime the penal policy of the courts is becoming more lenient. This was concluded primarily based on the analysis of the representation of educational measures of an institutional character, as well as the sentence of juvenile imprisonment. The intersection of the data on the number of older juveniles convicted of crimes



against life and limb and the percentage of juvenile imprisonment imposed for these crimes in the last four decades shows that with the increase in the absolute number of convicted juveniles, there was a continuous decline in the percentage of juvenile imprisonment. Furthermore, the analysis of the structure of criminal sanctions for criminal offenses of aggravated bodily harm as well as aggravated theft, which are very common in the overall number of juvenile convictions, shows that during the last four decades penal policy of courts has become more lenient, taking into account a continuous rise of educational measures of non-institutional character.

It can therefore be concluded that there is no uniformity between the crime trends and penal policy. The basis for a more lenient penal policy can be sought partly within normative solutions, bearing in mind that the current Law on Juvenile Offenders and Criminal Law Protection of Juveniles prescribes institutional measures to be imposed as a last resort (Article 11). But even without that, it is obvious that in the last three decades the courts have been less and less opting for depriving juvenile offenders of their liberty. Although such an approach does not necessarily have to be wrong due to the need to avoid stigmatization and future criminal behavior, the problem is that even at the preventive level there is no coherent and formed system of measures that would strive to prevent juvenile crime and especially juvenile violence (Simeunović-Patić, Meško & Ignjatović, 2016: 409-410). Given the evident increase in crimes with elements of violence, the question is whether a benevolent approach by courts is adequate in most of these cases. Is it justified for an older juvenile to receive a non-institutional educational measure for a serious crime, while on the other hand, the criminal legislation of Serbia in recent years has been characterized by repressive solutions (Kolarić, 2020: 208-210) that are applied to adult perpetrators of crimes? At the same time, adult crime is not characterized by an increase in the rate as is the case with juveniles. Of course, further analyses in this respect are needed and especially regarding violent criminal offences. There is no doubt that the future research in which the sample of convictions for serious juvenile crimes would be purposeful and would provide a more comprehensive picture of criminal courts decisions upon different sanctions, but even without that it is clear that in terms of criminal preventive measures, as well as within the application of criminal law, steps have to be taken in order to alter a trend that is obviously a negative one.

REFERENCES

1. Bernard, T. J. & Kurlychek, M.C. (2010). *The Cycle of Juvenile Justice* (2nd ed.), Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press.
2. Bishop, D. M. & Decker, S. H. (2008). Punishment and Control: Juvenile Justice Reform in the USA. In: J. Junger-Tas, S. H. Decker (Eds.), *International Handbook of Juvenile Justice* (pp. 3-35), New York, USA, Springer.
3. Butts, J. A. & Evans, D. N. (2014). The Second American Crime Drop. In: W. T. Church, II, D. W. Springer, A. R. Roberts (Eds.), *Juvenile Justice Sourcebook* (2nd ed., pp.61-78), Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press.
4. Dünkel, F. (2008). Juvenile Justice in Germany, Between Welfare and Justice. In: J. Junger-Tas, S. H. Decker (Eds.), *International Handbook of Juvenile Justice* (pp. 225-262), New York, USA, Springer.
5. Goldson, B. & Yates, J. (2008). Youth Justice Policy and Practice: Reclaiming Applied Criminology as Critical Intervention. In: B. Stout, J. Yates, B. Williams (Eds.), *Applied Criminology* (pp. 103-117), London, UK, Sage Publications.



6. Hagan, F. E. (2014). *Research Methods in Criminal Justice and Criminology* (9th ed.), Harlow, UK, Pearson.
7. Simeunović-Patić, B., Meško, G. & Ignjatović, Đ. (2016). Results from recent European Research on youth violence prevention: some lessons from Serbia. *Revija za kriminalistiku i kriminologiju*, 67(4), 404-413.
8. Ignjatović, Đ. (2018). *Metodologija istraživanja kriminaliteta*, Beograd, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu.
9. Junger-Tas, J. (2008). Trends in International Juvenile Justice: What Conclusions Can Be Drawn? In: J. Junger-Tas, S. H. Decker (Eds.), *International Handbook of Juvenile Justice* (pp. 505-532), New York, USA, Springer.
10. Kolarić, D. (2020). Višestruki povrat u krivičnom pravu Srbije – Osvrt na Zakon o izmenama i dopunama Krivičnog zakonika iz 2019. godine. In: Đ. Ignjatović (Ed.), *Kaznena reakcija u Srbiji X* (pp. 208-217), Beograd, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu.
11. Lukić, N. (2020). Evaluacija mera kriminalne politike prema maloletnim učiniocima krivičnih dela. In: Đ. Ignjatović (Ed.), *Kaznena reakcija u Srbiji X* (pp. 300-328), Beograd, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu.
12. McNeece, A.C. & Ryan, T. (2014). Juvenile Justice Policy: Current Trends and 21st- Century Issues. In: W. T. Church, II, D. W. Springer, A. R. Roberts (Eds.), *Juvenile Justice Sourcebook* (2nd ed., pp. 37-60), Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press.
13. Ostendorf, H. (2010). Strafverschärfungen im Umgang mit Jugendkriminalität. In: B. Dollinger, H. Schmidt-Semisch (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Jugendkriminalität, Kriminologie und Socialpädagogik im Dialog*, Wiesbaden, Deutschland, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
14. Perić, O., Milošević, N. & Stevanović, I. (2008). *Politika izricanja krivičnih sankcija prema maloletnicima u Srbiji*, Beograd, Centar za mir i razvoj demokratije.
15. Singer, S. (1996). *Recriminalizing Delinquency, Violent Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice Reform*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press.
16. Srzentić, N. (Ed.), 1978. *Komentar Krivičnog zakona Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije*, Beograd, Savremena administracija.
17. Srzentić, N., Stajić, A. & Lazarević, Lj. (1978). *Krivično pravo Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije, opšti deo* (7th ed.), Beograd, Savremena administracija.
18. Škulić, M. (2011). *Maloletničko krivično pravo*, Beograd, Službeni glasnik.
19. Škulić, M. (2015). Reforma maloletničkog krivičnog prava u Srbiji. In: I. Stevanović (Ed.), *Maloletnici kao učinioci i žrtve krivičnih dela i prekršaja* (pp. 39-67), Beograd, Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja.
20. Wolfgang M. E. (2002). Youth Crime: Sumer and Later. In: R. A. Silverman, T. P. Thornberry, B. Cohen, B. Krisberg (Eds.), *Crime and Justice at the Millennium, Essays by and in Honor of Marvin E. Wolfgang* (pp. 353-364), New York, USA, Springer.

