Psychopathy and Violent Misconduct in a Sample of Violent Young Offenders

Catherine S. Shaffer Evan C. McCuish Raymond R. Corrado

Simon Fraser University

Monic P. Behnken Matt DeLisi

Iowa State University

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#### Abstract

*Purpose:* Most prior research on psychopathy and institutional misconduct/violence occurs with adult samples and comparatively less is known about the nature of this relationship among serious, violent juvenile offenders.

Methods: A subsample of 159 male serious and violent offenders interviewed in custody facilities in British Columbia, Canada as part of the Vancouver Longitudinal Study of Incarcerated Young Offenders were used. Bivariate, AUC-ROC, and Poisson regression models examined the association between psychopathy and violent misconduct and exposure to violence with different specifications and separately for Caucasian and Aboriginal youth.

Results: Overall, psychopathic youth evince more misconduct, are more violent, and break more institutional rules than their less psychopathic peers; however, the effects are relatively small, and ROC-AUC models reveal generally unimpressive classification accuracy.

Conclusions: Although psychopathy is a risk factor for violent misconduct, its effects are measurement-variant (e.g., total scores, factor scores, and item scores) and differ for Caucasian and Aboriginal serious offenders.

*Keywords:* psychopathy, inmate misconduct, prison violence, ethnicity, Psychopathy Checklist: Youth Version (PCL: YV)

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Psychopathy is a potentially devastating personality disorder characterized by a suite of affective, interpersonal, lifestyle, and behavioral deficits that are significantly associated with diverse externalizing behaviors and allied dysfunction in social roles (e.g., relationship problems, family strife, educational failure, unemployment, and receipt of public assistance). The basic traits of psychopathic personality—narcissistic, irresponsible, antagonistic, impulsive, callous, stimulation seeking, manipulative, low self-regulation—comport well with the personality and behavioral functioning of many of the more serious delinquent and criminal offenders not only in the United States (Vassileva, Kosson, Abramowitz, & Conrod, 2005; Vaughn & DeLisi, 2008; Vaughn, Howard, & DeLisi, 2008), but also worldwide including Canada (Corrado, Vincent, Hart, & Cohen, 2004; Lee, Vincent, Hart, & Corrado, 2003; Rice, Harris, & Cormier, 1992; Vincent, Vitacco, Grisso, & Corrado, 2003), Sweden (Grann, Långström, Tengström, & Kullgren, 1999), England, Germany, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal (Hare, Clark, Grann, & Thornton, 2000). In sum, the construct of psychopathy is intimately connected with the construct of criminality.

As such, the prevalence of psychopathy in correctional populations, especially violent prison inmates, is dramatically higher than the general population. Moreover, the prevalence of symptoms associated with psychopathy is significantly higher among violent prisoners than those in the general population. Correctional clients including prisoners are more likely to score in the clinical range (e.g., >30 on the PCL-R; Hare, 2003) than persons in the community with the most serious and violent prisoners scoring towards the upper-bound of the PCL-R (Kiehl, 2014). This means that prisoners—namely adult inmates—who tend to have higher scores on the PCL-R and other instruments are prone to commit more misconduct while in confinement (for a review, see Edens, Magyar, & Cox, 2013). Indeed, Arboleda-Flórez (2007, p. 375) observed,

"The tendency of psychopaths to display violent and disruptive behavior often leads authorities to make them targets for prompt attention and special measures. Psychopaths consume large amounts of resources in policing, application of justice and special management in correctional systems, including long-term dispositions and incapacitation measures."

Although the relationship between psychopathy and antisociality generally is established (Corrado, Roesch, Hart, & Gierowski, 2002; DeLisi, 2009; DeLisi & Piquero, 2011; Hare, 1996; Hare & Neumann, 2008), comparatively less is known about the linkages between psychopathic personality among juvenile offenders and their institutional misconduct.<sup>ii</sup> These studies are reviewed next.

## Institutional Misconduct and Psychopathy among Juveniles

Drawing on diverse sources of data, a modest number of prior studies have examined the interrelationships between psychopathic traits, institutional misconduct, and prison violence among adolescent inpatients and serious juvenile offenders (cf., DeLisi, Neppl, Lohman, Vaughn, & Shook, 2013; McDermott, Edens, Quanbeck, Busse, & Scott, 2008; McDermott, Quanbeck, Busse, Yastro, & Scott, 2008). Based on a sample of severely delinquent boys

between ages 13 and 19 who were committed to a residential training facility, Brand, Kennedy, Patrick, and Curtin (1997) reported significant correlations between psychopathy as measured by the PCL-R and major verbal infractions, major physical infractions, total major infractions, ratio of negative to positive reviews, and placement in close observation in an intensive supervision program. Drawing on a sample of 160 incarcerated youth between the ages of 14 and 16, Skeem and Cauffman (2003) examined the predictive validity of psychopathy on institutional misconduct using the Psychopathy Checklist: Youth Version (PCL: YV; Forth, Kosson, & Hare, 2003) and the Youth Psychopathic Traits Inventory (YPI; Andershed, Kerr, Stattin, & Levander, 2002). Using ROC-AUC models, they found significant albeit modest linkages between psychopathic features and various forms of institutional misconduct. The PCL: YV total score was predictive of disciplinary action and prison violence. Moreover, the YPI total score was predictive of any misconduct, violent/aggressive forms of misconduct, and property/substance infractions. Affective and lifestyle facets of psychopathy were particularly associated with misconduct.

In their review, Edens, Skeem, Cruise, and Cauffman (2001) noted a moderate association between psychopathic traits and institutional misconduct with a correlation of approximately .30. In their analyses of 72 adolescent psychiatric inpatients, Stafford and Cornell (2003) found that patients with higher psychopathy scores on the PCL-R displayed more reactive aggression and more instrumental aggression than those with lower scores on the PCL-R. Murrie, Cornell, Kaplan, McConville, and Levy-Elkon (2004) reported similar correlations in their study of 113 adolescents males admitted to the Reception and Diagnostic Center of the Virginia Department of Juvenile Justice. They utilized four measures of psychopathy (PCL: YV, staff ratings and self-report versions of the Antisocial Process Screening Device [APSD], and Millon Adolescent Clinical Inventory [MACI]) and four measures of institutional misconduct including violence while incarcerated, assault with a weapon, assault where the victim required medical attention, and instrumental violence while in custody. Significant correlations were found for each of the four instruments and all forms of institutional violence; however, only the PCL: YV was significant with all forms of violence.

Substantively similar linkages have also been demonstrated between psychopathic traits, institutional violence, and rule breaking among adolescent males in secure care and young offender institutions in the United Kingdom (Dolan & Rennie, 2006), adolescent males in outpatient sex offender treatment in Canada (Gretton, McBride, Hare, O'Shaughnessy, & Kumka, 2001), and in other samples of institutionalized youth in the United States (Hicks, Rogers, & Cashel, 2000; Spain, Douglas, Poythress, & Epstein, 2004). Finally, Edens and Campbell (2007) conducted a meta-analysis of 15 samples of institutionalized youth that encompassed 1,310 participants. The weighted mean correlations between psychopathic traits and institutional misconduct ranged from  $r_{\rm w.=}$  .24 for total misconduct,  $r_{\rm w.=}$  .25 for institutional aggression, and  $r_{\rm w.=}$  .28 for physical violence with larger effects found among published studies.

To summarize, numerous prior investigators have shown that detained and institutionalized youth demonstrating higher scores on symptoms of psychopathy are significantly likely to engage in institutional misconduct. However, there are measurement effects whereas some measures consistently link psychopathy to misconduct (e.g., the PCL: YV) whereas other measures indicate more equivocal and at times, null effects.

#### **Current Aim**

Most of the research examining psychopathic delinquents and their institutional misconduct utilizes samples from the United States and participants who are Caucasian or African American. The current study extends this literature by utilizing an enriched sample of serious and violent male delinquents the majority of whom are Caucasian or Aboriginal. In addition, the analytical approach centers on violent misconduct and youth who commit violent misconduct at the extremes of the offending distribution measured at the 96<sup>th</sup> percentile.

#### Method

# **Participants and Procedures**

The current data are a subsample of 159 male serious and violent offenders interviewed in custody facilities in British Columbia, Canada as part of the Vancouver Longitudinal Study of Incarcerated Young Offenders. Most of the youth received dispositions for violent or sexual offenses, such as murder, rape, and armed robbery. The index offense for two thirds of the sample was for an act of violence. Of those whose index offense was not violent, 90.6% reported having committed a prior violent offense. Official information was collected from court and corrections files as well as CORNET, an integrated system used for tracking all offenders in provincial institutions within British Columbia. Self-report information was collected through confidential interviews between the youth and a trained research assistant. PCL: YV ratings were completed by trained researchers based on a series of interviews as well as available file information.

#### **Dependent Variables**

Violent Misconduct is an additive term comprised of prison fights, prison retaliation, and prison weapons carrying (M = 6.14, SD = 1.89, Range = 3-12). A dichotomous term indicated those at the 96<sup>th</sup> percentile for violent misconduct was also used (M = .12, SD = .33, Range=0-1,  $\alpha = .61$ ).

Exposure to Violence Scale (Hochstetler & DeLisi, 2005) is a 5-item measure of whether the offender witnessed inmates being victimized or assaulted during confinement ( $\alpha$  = .65). Exemplar items include "I often witnessed another inmate being sexually assaulted," and "I often witnessed another inmate involved in physical fights."

## **Covariates**

Psychopathy was measured with the Psychopathy Checklist: Youth Version (PCL: YV, Forth, Kosson, & Hare, 2003) which is a 20-item expert symptom-rating scale that assesses psychopathic traits in youth. Ratings are given on 3-point Likert Scale from *does not apply to the youth* (0) to item applies to the youth (2). Factor scores were calculated according to Hare's 4-factor model that includes Interpersonal (Factor 1,  $\alpha$  = .75), Affective (Factor 2,  $\alpha$  = .83), Lifestyle (Factor 3,  $\alpha$  = .63) and Antisocial (Factor 4,  $\alpha$  = .83) features. Inter-rater reliability was not conducted for this specific subsample, but in an analysis of inter-rate reliability for the larger

sample, intraclass correlation coefficients were within the acceptable range (McCormick, Corrado, Hart, & Cohen, 2008).

Ethnicity is the self-reported ethnic group that the youth feels most a part of. The sample is primarily Caucasian (n = 95, 60.1%) and Aboriginal (n = 44, 27.9%) with the remaining 19 youth (12%) comprised of other ethnic groups (e.g., Asian, African Canadian, Middle Eastern, and East Indian). Average age of the sample was 15.85 years (SD = 1.39, Range = 12-19). Although all youth were multi-problem youth with multiple risk factors, there are some differences between Caucasian and Aboriginal serious juvenile offenders, such as over-representation in foster care (Corrado & Cohen, 2002; Corrado & Freedman, 2011) that justify separate analyses to assess potentially differential roles of psychopathy by ethnicity.

## **Analytical Strategy**

The analytical strategy involved four components. First, the bivariate relationship between PCL: YV scores and violent misconducts are examined and displayed graphically. Second, AUC-ROC models are used to explore the classification accuracy of the 20 PCL: YV items and violent misconduct set at a threshold at the 96<sup>th</sup> percentile. iii This allows for an investigation of the classification accuracy of specific features of psychopathic personality on violent misconduct at the highest level. Third, AUC-ROC models were performed examining the classification accuracy of the four factors of the PCL: YV on violent misconduct at the 96<sup>th</sup> percentile, and these specifications were run separately for Caucasian and Aboriginal youth. AUC values from .70-.74 indicate moderate classification accuracy and values above .75 indicate good classification accuracy (e.g., Douglas, Webster, Hart, Eaves, & Ogloff, 2001). Fourth, Poisson regression models were performed that examined the effects of the four PCL: YV factors and age on exposure to violence. This analytical strategy provides a multifaceted investigation of institutional violence and exposure to violence, measures psychopathy at the total, item, and factor levels, and conducts models separately by ethnicity.

#### **Results**

Figure 1 presents PCL: YV scores by number of violent misconducts. Although the measure of association between psychopathy and violent misconduct is not significant (Pearson  $\chi 2 = 257.81$ , p = .21), there is a clear gradient visible whereby mean PCL:YV scores increase as a function of violent misconduct. Whereas youth with the fewest number of violent misconducts had PCL: YV scores below 20, the most violent youth had PCL: YV scores of 32.

## -- Insert Figure 1 about here --

The next set of results pertain to AUC-ROC models that examine the PCL: YV at the item level (Table 1) and factor level (Tables 2 and 3) and its relationship with violent misconduct for Aboriginal and Caucasian youth. As shown in Table 1, none of the items predict violent misconduct at the  $96^{th}$  percentile with much confidence (model  $\chi 2 = 31.35$ , p < .05). Most items classify violent misconduct at the extremes at barely better than chance. With AUC values exceeding .60 (still relatively weak classification), the best performing items are 11 (impersonal

sexual behavior), 8 (callous/lacks empathy), 17 (unstable interpersonal relationships), 10 (poor anger control), 18 (serious criminal behavior), and 15 (irresponsibility).

#### -- Insert Tables 1 to 3 about here --

Psychopathy was differential associated with violent misconduct at the 96<sup>th</sup> percentile based on ethnicity. For aboriginal youth shown in Table 2, only Factor 4 (Antisocial) had significant classification accuracy and its effect was moderate (AUC = .74, SE = .09). Factor 1 (Interpersonal), Factor 2 (Affective), and Factor 3 (Lifestyle) had classification accuracy significantly below chance. A much different picture emerged in the AUC-ROC model for Caucasian youth shown in Table 3. Here, all four PCL: YV factors had classification accuracy greater than chance with Factor 3 (Lifestyle) displaying significant albeit weak accuracy (AUC=.63, SE=.11) and Factor 2 (Affective) displaying moderate classification accuracy (AUC=.73, SE=.08).

Tables 4 and 5 present Poisson regression models for exposure to violence for Aboriginal and Caucasian youth, respectively. Overall, the models were generally weak with none of the factors associated with the dependent variable for Aboriginal youth and only Factor 4 (Antisocial) significantly associated with exposure to violence among Caucasian youth (b = .057, z = .295, p < .05). Regression diagnostics indicated that the Poisson model fit the data well and there was no evidence of overdispersion that would require negative binomial regression models. iv

# -- Insert Tables 4 and 5 about here --

#### **Discussion**

Although not as large as the literature examining psychopathy and institutional misconduct among adult prisoners and correctional clients (cf., Buffington-Vollum, Edens, Johnson, & Johnson, 2002; Guy et al., 2005; Heilbrun, Hart, Hare, Gustafson, Nunez, & White, 1998; Walters & Crawford, 2013; Walters, Duncan, & Geyer, 2003), the research is generally clear that a significant association exists between psychopathic personality traits and adjustment to institutional life among adolescent delinquents. Overall, youth with greater psychopathic scores on a variety of measures (e.g., PCL: YV, YPI, etc.) tend to evince more misconduct, be more violent, and break more institutional rules than their less psychopathic peers. However, the effect sizes of a psychopathy-institutional misconduct linkage among youth are relatively small, and ROC-AUC models reveal generally unimpressive classification accuracy. The current analyses echoed this overall picture—one of a significant albeit modest—empirical relationship between psychopathy and violent misconduct among serious delinquents selected from Canada.

Ironically, maybe the clearest evidence of a linkage between psychopathy and violent misconduct stems from the cross-tabulation between PCL: YV total score and violent misconduct, an association that was not statistically significant. Nevertheless, Figure 1 makes clear that youth who commit 12 acts of violent misconduct have PCL: YV scores greater than 30 whereas those who commit the fewest acts of violent misconduct have PCL: YV scores less than 20. This is substantively meaningful. A prior study of institutional violence among juveniles

found that a one-point increase in the PCL: YV total score increased the odds of violent misconduct by 10% (Murrie et al., 2004) and a substantively similar trend is seen with the current data.

There is increasing interest in disaggregating psychopathy measures to account for tautological concerns with antisocial behavior items (Corrado, 2012), but also to examine how psychopathy factors and even items relate to antisocial outcomes. Unfortunately, the best performing items from the PCL: YV still had relatively weak classification. These included items 11 (impersonal sexual behavior), 8 (callous/lacks empathy), 17 (unstable interpersonal relationships), 10 (poor anger control), 18 (serious criminal behavior), and 15 (irresponsibility). Other studies that similarly disaggregated psychopathy measures have shown that blame externalization (DeLisi, Angton, Vaughn, Trulson, Caudill, & Beaver, 2013) and thrillseeking and impulsiveness (DeLisi, Dansby, Peters, Vaughn, Shook, & Hochstetler, 2014) were most important at predicting severe behavioral outcomes among delinquent youth.

Psychopathy was differentially associated with behavioral outcomes for Caucasian and Aboriginal youth. For Aboriginal youth, Factors 1, 2, and 3 had classification accuracy below chance while Factor 4 was effective (AUC=.74) at classifying violent misconduct at the 96<sup>th</sup> percentile. For Caucasian youth, all four factors of the PCL: YV classified violent misconduct at the 96<sup>th</sup> percentile albeit at varying degrees of accuracy. The strongest performing factor was Factor 2 (AUC = .73). In other words, antisocial behavioral was more associated with violent misconduct extremity for Aboriginal youth and affective deficits were more associated with violent misconduct extremity for Caucasian youth. In the Poisson models, only Factor 4 was associated with exposure to violence for Caucasian youth, no significant effects were found for Aboriginal youth. These findings suggest that psychopathy is diversely related to institutional misconduct for Caucasian and Aboriginal youth, and that other factors also play a role as well.

The dataset lacked important measures that have been shown to predict institutional misconduct especially inmate violence among institutionalized youth. Central among these is gang involvement, gang activity, and family gang history, all of which have been associated with institutional violence among other youth samples (Trulson, 2007; Trulson et al., 2010). For example, a study of traumatic experiences and misconduct among more than 800 wards in the California Youth Authority indicated that youth with greater histories of trauma engaged in more sexual misconduct, engaged in more suicidal activity, and totaled more misconduct that was reviewed by the parole board (DeLisi, Drury, Kosloski, Caudill, Conis, et al., 2010). Other studies have shown that anger/hostility/negative emotionality (DeLisi, Caudill, Trulson, Marquart, Vaughn, & Beaver, 2010) are important for understanding which juvenile inmates engage in violence while in confinement. In other words, we recognize that a host of individuallevel risk factors are associated with noncompliance and institutional violence during confinement and therefore institutional policies that rely solely on measures of psychopathy to assess risk of misconduct will be ineffective. This should be especially true of serious and violent offenders, such as those in the current study, because of the host of other problems associated with members of this group that are uncorrelated with psychopathy. For example, youth with fetal alcohol spectrum disorder (FASD), over-represented in incarcerated samples, may find institutional policies particularly rigid and difficult to consistently follow due to their neurocognitive deficits (e.g., Corrado & Freedman, 2011).

When studying serious and violent juvenile delinquents, the construct of psychopathy is salient and importantly discriminates various trajectories of their delinquent career (McCuish, Corrado, Lussier, & Hart, 2014), the current study indicates psychopathy also plays a role in the violent misconduct these youth display during confinement. However, its effects are not as strong statistically as perhaps expected, and various items and factors comprising psychopathy measures have differential utility in classifying serious violence. Moreover, the effects of psychopathy on extreme violent misconduct and exposure to violence work differently by ethnicity. An important strength of the current study was that it relied on self-report measures of violent misconduct. Individuals with strong symptoms of psychopathy may be particularly adept and committing infractions while avoiding detection. Along this line of thought, future research should measure higher symptoms of psychopathy is associated with manipulating others to commit acts of institutional violence. A stronger relationship between psychopathy and institutional misconduct may be observed for instrumental versus reactive acts of violence (e.g., Flight & Forth, 2007).

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# **Tables and Figures**

Table 1.  $AUC\text{-ROC Model for PCL:YV Items and Violent Misconduct at } 96^{th} \text{ Percentile } (n=156)$ 

	AUC	SE	95% CI
Item 1	0.54	0.06	[0.43, 0.66]
Item 2	0.55	0.06	[0.43, 0.68]
Item 3	0.45	0.06	[0.32, 0.57]
Item 4	0.52	0.06	[0.40, 0.64]
Item 5	0.52	0.07	[0.38, 0.65]
Item 6	0.58	0.06	[0.46, 0.70]
Item 7	0.60	0.07	[0.47, 0.73]
Item 8	0.63	0.06	[0.51, 0.75]
Item 9	0.53	0.07	[0.40, 0.66]
Item 10	0.62	0.05	[0.51, 0.72]
Item 11	0.64	0.07	[0.51, 0.78]
Item 12	0.45	0.05	[0.34, 0.56]
Item 13	0.52	0.08	[0.37, 0.67]
Item 14	0.41	0.06	[0.30, 0.52]
Item 15	0.61	0.06	[0.50, 0.72]
Item 16	0.55	0.07	[0.42, 0.68]
Item 17	0.63	0.06	[0.52, 0.74]
Item 18	0.61	0.04	[0.53, 0.69]
Item 19	0.56	0.06	[0.43, 0.68]
Item 20	0.53	0.04	[0.45, 0.61]
Model $\chi^2 = 31.35, p < .05$			

Table 2.

AUC-ROC Model for PCL:YV Factors and Violent Misconduct at 96<sup>th</sup> Percentile for Aboriginal Youth

	AUC	SE	95% CI
Factor 1	0.41	0.15	[0.12, 0.70]
Factor 2	0.41	0.15	[0.12, 0.69]
Factor 3	0.34	0.13	[0.10, 0.59]
Factor 4	0.74	0.09	[0.56, 0.92]
Model $\chi^2 = 13.58$ , $p < .01$			

Table 3.

AUC-ROC Model for PCL:YV Factors and Violent Misconduct at 96<sup>th</sup> Percentile for Caucasian Youth

	AUC	SE	95% CI
Factor 1	0.55	0.09	[0.37, 0.73]
Factor 2	0.73	0.08	[0.57, 0.89]
Factor 3	0.63	0.11	[0.42, 0.84]
Factor 4	0.51	0.10	[0.32, 0.71]
Model $\chi^2 = 7.08, p < .05$			

Table 4.

Poisson Regression Model for Exposure to Violence for Aboriginal Youth

	Coefficient	SE	Z	95%
Factor 1	0.01	0.02	0.41	[-0.03, 0.05]
Factor 2	0.03	0.03	1.06	[-0.02, 0.08]
Factor 3	-0.03	0.03	-0.96	[-0.09, 0.03]
Factor 4	0.05	0.03	1.54	[-0.01, 0.10]
Age	0.02	0.04	0.50	[-0.06, 0.09]
Model $\chi^2 = 4.67, p > .05$				

Table 5.

Poisson Regression Model for Exposure to Violence for Aboriginal Youth

	Coefficient	SE	Z	95%
Factor 1	0.02	0.02	1.17	[-0.01, 0.05]
Factor 2	0.01	0.02	-0.80	[-0.02, 0.04]
Factor 3	-0.01	0.02	-0.41	[-0.04, 0.03]
Factor 4	0.06*	0.02	2.95	[-0.02, 0.09]
Age	0.02	0.04	0.50	[-0.04, 0.05]
Model $\chi^2 = 13.17, p < .05$				

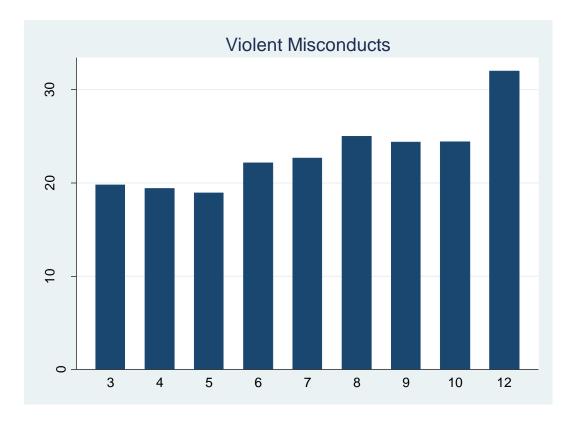


Figure 1. Mean PCL: YV Total Score by Number of Violent Misconducts.

#### **Endnotes**

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm i}$  The psychopathy-institutional misconduct link is smaller than effects between psychopathy and various forms of crime and violence. For instance, Guy, Edens, Anthony, & Douglas (2005) performed a meta-analysis and found that effect sizes for psychopathy and violent misconduct were small ( $r_{\rm w}$ = .17) and smaller among U.S. prison samples than non-U.S. prison samples ( $r_{\rm w}$ = .11 and  $r_{\rm w}$ = .23, respectively).

ii There is also intriguing anecdotal evidence that psychopathic offenders could be more compliant in prison, in part, because they do not experience the internalizing stressors associated with confinement. For instance, Kiehl's (2014) qualitative insights from clinical interviews with hundreds of psychopathic inmates suggest that although these offenders would rather be free, they do not experience the negative emotions and negative assessments of prison that non-psychopaths do. In other words, psychopaths do not experience the "pains of imprisonment" and as such have less motivation to violate prison rules and regulations.

iii Prior research (e.g., Celinska & Sung, 2014; DeLisi, 2003; Sorsensen, Cunningham, Vigen, & Woods, 2011) has shown asymmetry in institutional misconduct that is similar to the asymmetry seen in criminal careers research. Several factors including young age (Trulson, 2007), low IQ (Diamond, Morris, & Barnes, 2012; Morris et al., 2012), extensive criminal history (DeLisi, 2003; Trulson, 2007), prior prison adjustment (Drury & DeLisi, 2010), greater psychopathology (McCoy, Vaughn, Maynard, & Salas-Wright, 2014), sentencing factors (Bales & Miller, 2012), gang involvement (DeLisi, Spruill, Peters, Caudill, & Trulson, 2013), mental health (Blackburn & Trulson, 2010), gang activity and homicide offending (Drury & DeLisi, 2008), visitation and social connectedness (Cochran, 2012), and others are associated with having a severe criminal career behind bars. The 96<sup>th</sup> percentile cut-point is intended to encompass conduct of the severely noncompliant and violent inmate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>iv</sup> Sensitivity analyses were also performed with Poisson models that included bootstrapped standard errors with 1,000 replications. These additional specifications yielded the same substantive effects with no PCL: YV factors associated with exposure to violence among Aboriginal youth and only PCL: YV Factor 4 significantly associated with exposure to violence among Caucasian youth.