

## Proposal Regarding Early Monitoring and Intervention for Adolescents Who Are at the Onset of Their Criminal Careers

*A. Lagares<sup>1</sup>, L. F. Costa<sup>2</sup>*  
(University of Brasília, Brazil)

**Abstract:** The monitoring of adolescents undergoing socio-educational measures in Brazil by professionals from the fields of social work, psychology, and education has aroused the scientific community's interest as it seeks to understand adolescents' processes of initiation and persistence in offending behavior. This paper seeks to bring forth a methodological proposal regarding the early monitoring and intervention of adolescents who are at the onset of their criminal careers. The form of assistance being proposed arose through research conducted with adolescents who were apprehended in the act of committing an offense and who were then sent to the Center for Integrated Assistance while the author was working on her doctoral thesis. The purpose of this form of assistance is the prevention of violence and not its overall control. The counseling and intervention methodology consists of three stages: applying the interview, filling out the instrument designed for the collection of institutional information, and carrying out the intervention and then a monitoring period of three months with a monthly meeting with the adolescent and their family. The results that are expected to be achieved with the implementation of this new working method include the guarantee of integral protection for adolescents and the reduction of violence and recidivism.

**Key words:** prevention of crime, juvenile delinquency, early monitoring

### 1. Introduction

This paper seeks to bring forth a proposal regarding the early monitoring and intervention of adolescents who are at the onset of their criminal careers. The proposal resulted from the author's doctoral research regarding desistance from offending behavior. The study of the phenomena of desistance and persistence in offending behavior allowed for a clearer understanding of delinquent behavior practiced by the adolescent. It sought to draw the attention of the managers and operators behind the Socio-educational System of the Federal District to the need for interventions and the to the possibilities of transformation and adaptation of financial, personal, and contextual resources as well as the possibility of elaborating and sharing successful experiences. Thus, this proposal is designed to add to the resources available for the assistance of adolescents and family members, in which professionals will be able to reformulate their exercise based on an organized and scientific understanding of the reality of their daily lives.

Nowadays there is a wide range of studies regarding the involvement of adolescents in delinquent acts,

---

A. Lagares, Ph.D., University of Brasília; research areas: juvenile delinquency, prevention of crime, and desistance of crime.  
E-mail: [andrea.lagares@gmail.com](mailto:andrea.lagares@gmail.com).

especially studies concerning public policy put in place to assist them. However, studies regarding the significance and the consequences of such an involvement, of its interruption, and of their relationship with family, society, and their peers have become increasingly necessary. Many social rights that are legally and objectively guaranteed to adolescents have begun to be questioned, especially since 2014 when the Brazilian National Congress introduced into its agenda discussions regarding the reduction of the age of criminal responsibility. The House of Representatives voted in favor of PEC 115/2015 [Constitutional Amendment Proposal 115/2015] and the proposal has been conveyed to the Federal Senate. Nevertheless, there has only been one deliberation in the Constitution and Justice Commission - CCJ in June of 2019, and the PEC 115/2015 has been awaiting the appointment of a reporting senator since December of 2019 in order to continue the process. The interplay between accountability and socio-education expressed by Brazilian legal frameworks simultaneously long for the protection of adolescents and the reduction of their involvement in delinquent acts and demonstrates the uncertainty regarding which approach should be taken.

SINASE's [National System of Socio-Educational Assistance] annual survey was a document published yearly by the former Ministry of Human Rights (currently, the Ministry of Women, Family, and Human Rights), through the General Coordination Office of the National System of Socio-Educational Assistance. Using statistical data, the document presented the reality of the socio-educational system in Brazil on a year-over-year basis. According to SINASE's annual survey (Brasil, 2011), in 2010 Brazil had 435 internment facilities. In reference year 2014 SINASE's annual survey (Brasil, 2015) demonstrated that the number of facilities increased by 9.1%, reaching the mark of 476 units. The final annual survey promoted by SINASE was published in 2018 with data from 2017 (Brasil, 2019) and showed a total of 484 internment facilities, with 26,109 youths undergoing socio-educational measures of deprivation or restriction of liberties. The state of São Paulo remains in first position in the ranking regarding internment facilities, provisional internment, semi-liberty, and first-line assistance with a total of 145 units or 29.9% of the total of Brazilian facilities, while the Federal District is in the thirteenth position with 13 units or 2.68%. The relevance of studying and seeking to understand the desistance phenomenon regarding offending behavior carried out by adolescents has as a natural consequence the assertion made by means of a scientific study, that prevention and early intervention are measures that are essential to the reduction of adolescent involvement in violent situations.

In Canada the number of teenagers who have committed offenses has declined in the past decade, particularly following the approval of the amendment of the Young Offenders Act (YOA) legislation in 1998. The main changes made to the Canadian youth legislation were the implementation of community crime prevention programs and the development of alternatives to the justice system in order to reduce the risk of non-violent adolescents remaining on a path to a criminal career. Advocates of the changes made to the YOA believe that the establishment of significant consequences to juvenile crime promoted violence prevention measures as well as measures for the protection of the Canadian youth who may find themselves in a socially vulnerable situation. These measures include those meant for juvenile violent offenders or repeat offenders, and the distinction between these young people and the majority of non-violent and lower-risk youths. Another study on recidivism and risk factors was carried out in 2008 in the Canadian city of Calgary; it was published in 2011 and it found that 47% of the adolescents who were monitored by the researchers reoffended. They had all been sentenced to some sort of socio-educational measure, under either open or closed configurations (MacRae, Bertrand, Paetsch & Hornick, 2011). These researchers sustain that when risk factors (family, peer group, school, and community) are combined and present in the adolescent's life, they contribute to a complex and disadvantageous reality. The lack of structure,

support, and emotional and financial stability requires the State to provide the adolescent and their family with a direct and specialized intervention in order to interrupt the cycle of delinquency and offer them a new life opportunity.

It is known that various different researchers (Souza & Costa, 2012, 2013; Zappe & Dias, 2012; Muller, Barboza, Oliveira, Santos & Paludo, 2009; Freitas, 2011; Jacobina, 2011; Costa, Penso, Sudbrack & Jacobina 2011; Maruschi, Estevão & Bazon, 2014; Nardi & Dell'Aglio, 2014; Zappe et al., 2011; Sequeira, Pinheiro & Soares, 2010) dedicate their studies to identify, analyze, and understand the actions and interventions of the Socio-educational System of both Brazil and the Federal District regarding the adolescent who is apprehended in the act of committing an offense, is then sentenced, and eventually becomes a recidivist.

It is believed that focusing on the adolescent who is apprehended committing their first offense may bring direct benefits to the adolescent and their family, as well as indirect benefits by reducing violence. Early intervention in delinquency proposes consistent assistance for a maximum of two years, directed toward the identification of risk and protective factors that involve the family and the adolescent. It is important that measures prioritize education, health, culture, sports, leisure, and social welfare policies and provide the family and the adolescents with a holistic and effective support, such as: mentoring and development of parental authority and supervision; monitoring of the family and the adolescent; offering extracurricular activities for the development of occupational and athletic skills (Farrington & Welsh, 2007; Siegel & Welsh, 2011).

Adolescence, family, delinquent act, and desistance from crime. It is not possible to discuss an intervention proposal and desistance from offending behavior without discussing adolescence. According to Fishman (1996) the adolescent is a person who is undergoing a process through which they are forming an identity amidst social and family-related transformations. In addition to forming an identity, the adolescent also experiences two other complex processes: the rise of their sexuality and individuation. The first process causes a conflict between the adolescent and their bodies and influences their social relations that are influenced by sexuality. The process of individuation on the other hand brings about conflict with the sense of belonging, since even though the adolescent belongs to the family, they need to safeguard their autonomy, even if this opposes those closest to them, the parents (Guimarães & Pessina, 2010). The sense of belonging to the family system undergoes a process of withdrawal and subsequent reconnection to this system by the adolescent (Fishman, 1996).

Upon studying the behavioral deviations in the adolescent phase, Seloese (1997) points out in his work on adolescence and violence that such deviations are related to the interaction processes of the adolescent with their peer groups, the school, the church, the family and the community, and to the existence and establishment of rules and norms. In addition to recognizing that deviant behaviors in the adolescent phase are of a transitory nature, a phase change, the author also states that the qualification of the adolescent will occur based on an infraction, according to the pre-established criteria in the social order of which the adolescent is a part of. By the same token, Andolfi and Mascellani (2012) believe that the expression of a violent behavior during adolescence may be related to the presence of a violent family environment, in which violence (physical, emotional) can be a driving force in the adolescent's development of behavioral issues, the feeling of not belonging to the family system, the feeling of abandonment.

Thus, the family is understood as a multigenerational entity with its relational network, having its transgenerational aspect as an important element. According to the definition of family laid out in the Unified Social Welfare System (SUAS), family is the basic social nucleus of embrace, coexistence, autonomy, sustainability and social protagonism, and is acknowledged as the nucleus of affection linked by consanguineous

ties, of alliance or affinity, where the links circumscribe reciprocal and mutual obligations, which are organized around generational and gender relations (Brasil, 2005). Based on systemic theory, the family is a group made up of people linked by affection and/or consanguinity and who share enough time to build models of interactions and stories that support the models of interactions (Minuchin, Lee & Simon, 2008). Therefore, the family is concededly a complex system that is made up of aggregated subsystems that view the world through individual and social aspects, where the construction of such an understanding occurs based on the interactive relationships of the subsystems. In alignment with the understanding that Minuchin et al. (2008, p. 57) have of family, the authors argue that families “are complex systems composed of individuals who inevitably see the world from their own individual perspectives”, that is, it is not possible to propose and develop an approach directed at families without first trying to get to know them within their relationships, be they social, urban, emotional, work-related, and religious.

The adolescent offender who desists from the delinquent act is pervaded by the so-called risk and protection factors. Risk factors are conditions that jeopardize the well-being and health of individuals and produce negative, unwanted situations whereas protection factors are potential resources that function as agents that minimize or eliminate the effects of the risk factors (Corrêa, 2014). In their work titled “Juvenile Delinquency: Theory, Practice and Law”, Siegel and Welsh (2011) present a theoretical and historical study of juvenile delinquency in North America. The authors address prevention and assistance programs for adolescents and family members that find themselves in social and economic vulnerability. The authors argue that the presence of a positive factor in the adolescent’s life reduces the risk of future involvement in a delinquent act. On the other hand, the occurrence of a negative event in the adolescent’s life is a risk factor to the occurrence of a future act of delinquency. Therefore, the opportunity to intervene in this complex reality at the very moment in which the family’s lack of protection is identified will provide concrete alternatives for the protection of the individuals that make up that system.

When it comes to the commitment of delinquent acts by children and adolescents, the ECA [Children and Adolescent Statute] divides accountability between protective measures and socio-educational measures. Protective measures are determined for children who commit an offense, and as Vilarins (2017) points out, such a measure seeks to restore violated rights and prevent the infringement of rights that are identified as being in a fragile state. ECA prescribes the application of six types of socio-educational measures for the adolescents: reprimand; obligation to repair the damage; mandated community service (PSC); probation (LA); admission into a semi-liberty regimen; and internment in an educational facility (Brazil, 1990). The PSC and LA compliance measures in open configurations must be guaranteed to teenagers in proximity to their family environment and their community. Restrictive measures and deprivation of liberty occur within institutions, and may at times be far away from the adolescent’s family and their community. It is worth mentioning that there are several factors that contribute to the circumstances of the adolescent who has perpetrated an offense. These factors require a specialized and interdisciplinary intervention that assesses the reality experienced by them.

In a recent survey carried out with adolescents who had been apprehended in the act of committing an offense and who were awaiting an informal hearing with the Public Ministry of São Paulo, Maruschi et al. (2014) performed a study that sought to analyze offending behavior during adolescence, as well as the related factors and the risk of recidivism. The study identified the following as being the most relevant contributing factors that pose a risk of continuity to the adolescents’ offensive behavior: a) time/recreation, in which 67.5% of the interviewees stated this factor as one that presents a high risk of recidivism. It is understood that the amount of time in which

the adolescent remains without the supervision of an adult or a guardian, and that the amount of time devoted to peers whose behavior is characterized as antisocial, determines a direct proportion in which the longer the time spent without supervision, the greater the likelihood the adolescent perpetrates a new offense; b) education/employment, 55% of the adolescents who were interviewed had not completed their elementary education and had circumvented the formal educational system. This risk factor generates an inversely proportional relationship in which the higher the level of school performance, the lower the number of cases of persistence of delinquent behavior; and finally, c) the family/parental situation, 42.5% of the adolescents who were interviewed stated this as a risk. However, family composition did not constitute a risk, whereas affective relationships and educational practices did; this has to do with the emotional proximity between the adolescent and their immediate family whereas educational practices (exercise of authority, supervision, and discipline) entail relationships between caregivers and adolescents. The authors argue that good family relationships and interactions are more relevant than the family composition itself, and that the longer the adolescent spends away from home, or in contact with aggressive and anti-social intrafamily attitudes, the greater the risk of persistence in offending behavior (Maruschi et al., 2014).

Therefore, desistance from crime must be viewed as a process and not as an internal cause. It should not be perceived literally (as a simple halt in criminal activity), but understood prior to its inception, while it runs its course (if that were to occur), and in the culminating process of the criminal career. The notion of the course of life provides a more reliable perspective from which to understand the desistance processes and the role of the social realm. Hearn (2010), Maruna (2010) and Tripodi, Kim and Bender (2010) point out that there are three important aspects to be considered in order to understand the process of desistance from offending behavior. The first is the correlation between age and involvement with delinquency. Several studies that are related to the theory of criminology (Piquero et al., 2007; McNeill, 2006) draw attention to the fact that the offender does not spend his whole life transgressing and that as they mature, they bond socially (marriage, children, employment) and tend to abandon a criminal life. The second aspect addresses two important questions: how and why does the process of desistance from offending behavior begin? What is the trigger that drives the offender to move away from such behavior, in addition to the other changes described along with the first aspect above? And finally, why is it that people (offenders) uphold their desistance from delinquent behavior throughout their lives? Regarding the last two aspects, Hearn (2010) raises the hypothesis that early formal interventions carried out by the State help to strengthen social ties, which the author considers as being fundamental for promoting desistance. However, she also states that social individuals who are endowed with autonomy are capable of choosing the path to desistance in due time, but she inquires as to how to respect this choice without making potential victims vulnerable. Regardless of age, desistance from offensive behavior or crime goes beyond the affairs of the judiciary. Desistance requires commitment from families, communities, from civil society, and the State itself. All parties must be involved in unison along with the perpetrator (adolescent or adult) so that rehabilitation may be achieved in all aspects (judicial, social, psychological, and moral) (McNeill, Farrall, Lightowler & Maruna, 2012).

## **2. Intervention Proposal**

It was based upon the fundamentals of the systemic thinking and critical criminology perspectives that this intervention proposal was formulated. Identifying the family and the adolescent as systems that feed off each other through their experiences with the social context in which they engage with each other may favor the detection of

aspects that must be worked on through monitoring and early intervention. It becomes easier to define the objectives for each intervention. The outcome of this is that the results obtained within a shorter period of time may be more long-lasting.

The proposed methodology for monitoring and early intervention possesses a structure that is organized into three stages:

### **2.1 1st Stage**

Identify adolescents as they are arrested for the first time while in the act of committing an offense, not necessarily in their first offense. Because it stands to reason that teenagers can commit minor offenses before their first arrest. Afterward it is necessary to fill out the instrument for collecting institutional information. This instrument seeks to obtain information regarding the adolescent and his family from the institution's perspective, as well as information concerning the adolescent's criminal career.

The information is organized according to the individuals and institutions that participated in a session.

**The adolescent:** Personal, family, and school-related data as well as data regarding possible delinquent acts perpetrated previously and also regarding the latest delinquent act that is in question. Identification of protective measures applied prior to the adolescent's apprehension.

According to the study carried out by Jacobina (2011), the context in which the adolescents and their families are inserted usually involve conditions of rights violations, either due to the condition of social and economic vulnerability or due to the weakening and/or dissolution of family ties. These factors demand a state intervention through the implementation of protective measures, in order to overturn the reality experienced by these social actors. However, the researcher categorically points out that the measures the State carries out for the families falls far below what is called for by these individuals so that they might be able to take the lead of their life stories as active individuals. The author also argues that the State passively witnesses adolescents as they transition from an "unprotected" condition in which basic rights are violated to a condition in which the adolescents are offenders, violators of rights, to only then experience a more effective State intervention.

**The family:** Generational family history. The track record of family and the adolescent with different institutions - participate in government programs, receive benefits, some government agency assists them (CRAS [Citizenship and Social Assistance Bureau], CREAS (Service for the Protection and Specialized Assistance of Families and Individuals), CAPSad Health Unit (Psychosocial Care Center for the Treatment of Users of Alcohol and Other Drugs); CAPSadi (Alcohol and Drugs Psychosocial Care Center for Childhood and Adolescence), among others), and/or is assisted by some NGO or is a participant of some project.

**The police force, the judiciary and public policies:** Information arising from the Youth Police Precinct/DCA: offense, circumstances, and criminal record. Information arising from the Juvenile Court/VII: sentence, protective and/or socio-educational measures were applied. Public Policy Information (Social Welfare, Education, and Healthcare) — which demands were identified and which referrals were made.

A study on recidivism and risk factors was carried out in 2008 in the Canadian city of Calgary; it was published in 2011 and it found that 47% of the adolescents who were monitored by the researchers reoffended. All had been sentenced to serve some socio-educational measure, whether in an open or a closed configuration (MacRae, Bertrand, Paetsch & Hornick, 2011). These researchers sustain that when risk factors (family, peer group, school, and community) are combined and present in the adolescent's life, they contribute to a complex and disadvantageous reality. The act of identifying a lack of structure, support, and emotional and financial stability

enables and requires the State to provide the adolescent and their family with a direct and specialized intervention in order to interrupt the cycle of delinquency and offer them a new life opportunity.

Therefore, understanding the beginning of the delinquent trajectory, as well as the desistance and persistence processes of the delinquent behavior allows for the development of intervention tools along with protective measures that anticipate and halt the adolescent's criminal behavior. It also fosters the attention of the managers and operators behind the Brazilian Socio-educational System to the need for interventions and to the possibilities of transformation and adaptation of financial, personal, and contextual resources as well as the possibility of elaborating and sharing successful experiences. Thus, this proposal is designed to add to the resources available for the assistance of adolescents and family members, in which professionals will be able to reformulate their exercise based on an organized and scientific understanding of the reality of their daily lives.

## **2.2 2nd Stage: Initial Interview/Reception**

After that, the reception is carried out with the support of the instruments that were elaborated. Its application is performed with the intention of getting to know the background of the adolescent, the offense, and the family, all from the perspective of the individuals involved. Who are the primary and secondary social actors in their lives, how do they fit into the constitution of a social network with characteristics of protection and risk, and how are they related to their life stories and to the act of delinquency? How the teenager sees their present life and their life in the future. How the family's history began, how the family finds itself at present, what protective and risk factors are present in their history, how the family sees its present and its future.

At this stage it is important to observe the spatial-temporal situation, the social interactions, as well as the access to the protection network that the subjects — adolescents and their families — are able to identify. The relevance of looking at the social space positions, of relationships among individuals where social trajectories are built so that it is possible to approach reality through the interpretation of such spaces, which are referred to as social interaction fields. The social, historical, contextual, and relational realities of the research subjects showed similarities, mainly in aspects related to social vulnerability and regarding the absence of parental supervision and of an authority figure (Minuchin, 1982; Andolfi & Mascellani, 2012).

The family environment appears to be the basis of the relationship of prevention and protection for adolescents. Without support and without the presence of a safety net, the family will rarely be able to undertake preventive actions capable of leading their adolescents to desistance from offending behavior.

It is also necessary to identify risk and protection factors. Taheri and Welsh (2016) argue that preventive actions should also be guided by the study of risk and protective factors. In alignment with what this thesis sustains, the authors find that the identification of risk and protective factors are tools that can support professional interventions in order to prevent the involvement of adolescents in criminal careers. However, in order to come up with a policy for preventing violence and not for controlling violence, this proposal is based on the premise that knowing and identifying the aspects that contribute to adolescents' desistance from offending behavior contributes to the consideration and understanding of adolescents' involvement with and desistance from offending behavior. This makes it possible to develop actions to prevent violence.

The violent social context in which families and adolescents find themselves bolsters their continuance in their offending behavior, although the environmental risk factors are not determinants as was pointed out in a study carried out in the state of Pennsylvania in the United States (Amemiya, Kieta & Monahan, 2017). The researchers believe that even in the face of the adversities and vicissitudes experienced by the adolescent

offenders, the following factors contribute to a behavior of desistance from offending behavior: a) psychological counseling; b) an opening up to change in behavior; c) the search for and maintenance of supportive relationships and the examination of old relationships; d) setting-up medium and long-term actions (2 to 5 years) and e) “finding safe outside spaces”, places where one can avoid dangerous situations in family, school, or religious environments.

### **2.3 3rd Stage: Monthly Monitoring of Adolescents and their Family**

A monthly follow-up interview is recommended for a total period of three months, with special attention given to demands for investments to be made on the social actors, the family, the community, and the society. Investments in services that can strengthen protection factors over risk factors and offer windows of opportunity to families and their members in a way that promotes them both socially and economically. The follow-up interviews offer a second benefit, they also seek to access the maturing process as well as the deliberations made by the adolescent and the family member regarding the processes of perpetrating an offense, apprehension, hearing, release, and in some cases, compliance with socio-educational measures in an open configuration.

In a study involving adolescents who committed an offense, researchers McMahon and Jump (2018) noticed that positive structural changes in the lives of the adolescents play a determining role in desistance from crime. And these changes can represent the beginning of a healthy school life, affectionate family bonding, a job opportunity, and a reformulation of the adolescent's identity as they abandon the offender label. The authors published the study which was carried out in England with 21 adolescent offenders and which researched desistance from crime. A total of six adolescents desisted from crime and 15 remained on track in their criminal careers. The researchers found in their study that the determining factor leading up to desistance from crime were the “hooks for change”. All six adolescents were involved in school and work activities or were undergoing training.

During the doctoral research that gave way to this proposal, the families' statements displayed complete absence of discussion and reflection regarding the desistance from crime. It is as if the adolescents had not ceased being offenders; the family remained in a torturous anticipation of a new offense. And adolescents are required at all times to prove to their families, their peers, their community, and their school that they are no longer offenders. Maruna (2012) and Freeman (2008) question the purpose of "defying criminal thinking" or studying desistance from crime if the adolescents who are released by the Judiciary remain condemned in the eyes of their family and society at large, which is the case in this research. Desistance from crime seems to be related to the social aspects of the adolescent's life such as the support and reliance on those who are closest to them emotionally, as well as their beliefs and what they want from life (Nardi & Dell'Aglio, 2014; LeBel et al., 2008). Maruschi, Estevão and Bazon (2014) state that a professional intervention will achieve a higher rate of desistance from crime among adolescents if it is directed primarily at the fields of social interactions and social relationships that are closest to the adolescents such as: education and employment, leisure and recreation, and family and social relationships. According to Seigel and Welsh (2011) prevention policies have the main goal of preventing the first offense. To this end, the following tools can be employed: family monitoring (periodic visits paid to the family), the guarantee of enrollment in daycare centers and preschools, and focusing on training and on children's skills, as well as extracurricular school hours and preparation for the workplace.

It is necessary look out in concern for the adolescents, to heed to their cries for help, have the empathy required perceive just how confused and afraid the adolescents are of an uncertain future and of the uncertainties



that their choices can bring. In addition to material deprivation, the most unexpressed need is that of an emotional nature. To watch over adolescents is first and foremost to watch over their families. It involves examining the environment that embraces them and how it is constituted. It was possible to identify that families are also alone, unattended, and facing difficulties to exercise their protective calling, to determine norms and rules for their children's routine, and at times generating an unsafe and unhealthy environment. Families that are in situations of social and/or economic vulnerability need protection and support just as much as their children.

### **3. Concluding Remarks**

The proposal for monitoring and early intervention follows the model proposed by Farrington and Welsh (2007) and Siegel and Welsh (2011), however it possesses different ideas and courses of action. The three authors believe that early intervention should be directed only to children. It is believed that focusing on the adolescent who is apprehended committing their first offense may bring direct benefits to the adolescent and their family, as well as indirect benefits by reducing violence. Early intervention in delinquency proposes consistent assistance for a maximum of two years, directed toward the identification of risk and protective factors that involve the family and the adolescent. The measures prioritize education, health, culture, sports, leisure, and social welfare policies. It consists of a comprehensive and effective support for the family and the adolescent, comprised of: counseling and development of authority and parental supervision; monitoring of the family and the adolescent; offering extracurricular activities at school, development of occupational and athletic skills.

Maruna and Immarigeon (2011) view this theoretical conception of desistance from crime through the employment of control as being outdated. For the perpetrators, desistance from crime is a process that is inevitably accompanied by a change in personal identity. In other words, genuine desistance occurs only when individuals cognitively alter their role or identity from that of a delinquent or criminal, to that of a good person, a changed person, or a productive member of society.

The challenges faced by this proposal are many, such as the availability of trained personnel who are qualified to carry out the measures, the slowness in the return of results demonstrating the reduction of violence and recidivism. The prevention of violence and crime is, at this moment, a secondary gain. The main benefit will be the guarantee of the comprehensive protection of adolescents and the interruption of the State's cycle of inaction toward these individuals. In the medium and long term the benefits will outweigh the mere reduction in violence since early intervention will cause a domino effect that will reach the adolescents' younger siblings as well as their own children. The economic gain will have the slowest return, and the realization that the incarceration of the younger population does not reduce violence and crime will be difficult to fully understand. Adolescents are to be viewed as individuals, as social beings who are larger than their delinquent decisions. The subjectivity, complexity, and instability that each adolescent experiences in their relationship with society, with their family, with their peers, and with themselves are the key to understanding the process of desistance from crime. Approaching this process with a critical eye while seeking to understand it can be the turning point that leads to an alternative and novel path. A path that is rich in hope and in new courses of action that can change the reality currently found by professionals in the socio-educational system.

### **References**

Amemiya J., Kieta J. and Monahan K. (2017). "Adolescent offenders qualitative reflections on desistance from crime", *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 765–781, doi: 10.1111/jora.12313.

- Andolfi M. and Mascellani A. (2012). *Historias de la adolescencia: Experiencias en terapia familiar*, Buenos Aires: Gedisa
- Brasil (1990). “Estatuto da criança e do adolescente”, Lei nº 8.079, de 13 de julho de 1990. Recuperado em 10 de julho de 2017, available online at: [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/leis/L8069.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/L8069.htm).
- Brasil (2005). “Sistema Único de Assistência Social – SUAS”, Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome. Recuperado em 02 de setembro de 2020, available online at: [http://www.mds.gov.br/webarquivos/publicacao/assistencia\\_social/Normativas/PNAS2004.pdf](http://www.mds.gov.br/webarquivos/publicacao/assistencia_social/Normativas/PNAS2004.pdf).
- Brasil (2011). “Levantamento Nacional: Atendimento Socioeducativo ao Adolescente em Conflito com a Lei - 2010”, Secretaria de Direitos Humanos. Recuperado em 31 de agosto de 2020, available online at: <https://www.gov.br/mdh/pt-br/navegue-por-temas/crianca-e-adolescente/SinaseLevantamento2011.pdf>.
- Brasil (2017). “Levantamento Nacional: Atendimento Socioeducativo ao Adolescente em Conflito com a Lei - 2014”, Secretaria de Direitos Humanos. Recuperado em 31 de agosto de 2020, available online at: [https://www.gov.br/mdh/pt-br/navegue-por-temas/crianca-e-adolescente/Levantamento\\_2014.pdf](https://www.gov.br/mdh/pt-br/navegue-por-temas/crianca-e-adolescente/Levantamento_2014.pdf).
- Brasil (2019). “Levantamento Nacional: Atendimento Socioeducativo ao Adolescente em Conflito com a Lei - 2017”, Secretaria de Direitos Humanos. Recuperado em 01 de setembro de 2020, available online at: <https://www.gov.br/mdh/pt-br/navegue-por-temas/crianca-e-adolescente/LevantamentoAnualdoSINASE2017.pdf>.
- Canadá (1998). “A profile of youth justice in Canada”, Canadian Center for Justice Statistics. Recuperado em 15 de janeiro de 2015, available online at: <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/catalogue/85-544-X1997001>.
- Côrrea A. de O. (2014). “Adaptação e validação do communities that care youth survey (CTCYS) para uma comunidade brasileira: Um estudo piloto”, Dissertação de mestrado, Departamento de Psicologia Clínica, Universidade de Brasília, Brasília.
- Costa L. F., Penso M. A., Sudbrack M. F. O. and Jacobina O. M. P. (2011). “Adolescente em conflito com a lei: O relatório psicossocial como ferramenta para promoção do desenvolvimento”, *Psicologia em Estudo*, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 379–387, Recuperado em 03 de junho de 2017, available online at: [http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci\\_abstract&pid=S1413-73722011000300005&lng=pt&nrm=iso](http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_abstract&pid=S1413-73722011000300005&lng=pt&nrm=iso).
- Farrington D. P. and Welsh B. C. (2007). *Saving Children From a Life of Crime: Early Risk Factors and Effective Interventions*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fishman H. C. (1996). *Tratando Adolescentes com Problema: Uma Abordagem da Terapia Familiar*, Porto Alegre: Artmed.
- Freeman R. (2008). “Incarceration, criminal background checks, and employment in a low(er) crime society”, *Criminology & Public Policy*, Vol. 7, pp. 405–412, available online at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2008.00517.x>.
- Freitas T. P. de (2011). “Serviço Social e medidas socioeducativas: o trabalho na perspectiva da garantia de direitos”, *Serviço Social e Sociedade*, Vol. 105, pp. 30–49, Recuperado em 03 de junho de 2017, available online at: [http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0101-66282011000100003&script=sci\\_abstract&lng=pt](http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0101-66282011000100003&script=sci_abstract&lng=pt).
- Guimarães L. G. and Pessina L. M. (2010). “A clínica para o adolescente: recursos para a jornada exploratória”, in: M. M. Marra, & L. F. Costa (Eds.), *Temas da clínica do adolescente e da família*, São Paulo: Ágora, pp. 51–64.
- Hearn N. (2010). “Theory of desistance. criminology”, *Nottingham Trent University: Internet Journal of Criminology*, Recuperado em 03 de junho de 2017, available online at: [http://www.search.org/files/pdf/Hearn\\_Theory\\_of\\_Desistance\\_IJC\\_Nov\\_2010.pdf](http://www.search.org/files/pdf/Hearn_Theory_of_Desistance_IJC_Nov_2010.pdf).
- Jacobina, O. M. P. (2011). “Filhos do Brasil: Da (des) proteção ao ato infracional”, Tese de Doutorado, Universidade de Brasília, Brasília, DF, Brasil. Available online at: <http://repositorio.unb.br/handle/10482/9412>.
- LeBel T. P., Burnett R., Maruna S. and Bushway S. (2008). “The ‘chicken and egg’ of subjective and social factors in desistance from crime”, *European Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 5, p. 131.
- Maruna S. and Immarigeon R. (2011). *After Crime and Punishment: Pathways to Offender Reintegration*, London: Routledge.
- MacRae L. D., Bertrand L. D., Paetsch J. J. and Hornick J. P. (2011). “Relating risk and protective factors to youth reoffending: A two-year follow-up”, *International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 172–196.
- Maruna S. (2010). “Understanding desistance from crime”, *National Offender Management Service: Ministry of Justice*, London, 24 de agosto de 2015, available online at: <http://www.safeground.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/Desistance-Fact-Sheet.pdf>.
- Maruna S. (2012). “Elements of successful desistance signaling”, *American Society of Criminology: Criminology & Public Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 73–86, doi: 10.1111/j.1745-9133.2012.00789.x.
- Maruschi M. C., Estevão R. and Bazon M. R. (2014). “Conduta infracional na adolescência: fatores associados e risco de reincidência”, *Arquivos Brasileiros de Psicologia*, Vol. 66, No. 6, pp. 82–99.
- McMahon G. and Jump D. (2018). “Starting to stop: Young offenders’ desistance from crime”, *Young Justice*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 3–17, doi: 10.1177/1473225417741223.

- McNeill F., Farrall S., Lightowler C. and Maruna S. (2012). “How and why people stop offending: Discovering desistance”, *IRISS Insights — Evidence Summaries to Support Social Services in Scotland*, No. 15.
- McNeill F. (2006). “A desistance paradigm for offender management, *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 39–62.
- Minuchin S. (1982). *Famílias: Funcionamento e Tratamento*, Porto Alegre: Arte Médicas.
- Minuchin S., Lee W. Y. and Simon G. M. (2008). *Dominando a Terapia Familiar*, Porto Alegre: ArtMed.
- Muller F., Barboza P. da S., Oliveira C. C. de, Santos R. R. G. dos and Paludo, S. dos S. (2009). “Perspectivas de adolescentes em conflito com a lei sobre o delito, a medida de internação e as expectativas futuras”, *Revista Brasileira de Adolescência e Conflitualidade*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 70–87, Recuperado em 10 de julho de 2017, available online at: <http://periodicos.uniban.br/index.php/RBAC/article/viewPDFInterstitial/40/43>.
- Nardi F. L. and Dell’Aglio D. D. (2014). “Trajetória de adolescentes em conflito com a lei após cumprimento de medida socioeducativa em meio fechado”, *Psico*, Vol. 45, No. 4, pp. 541–550.
- Piquero A. R., Farrington D. P. and Blumstein A. (2007). *Key Issues in Criminal Career Research. New Analyses of the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development*, Cambridge University Press. USA.
- Selosse J. (1997). *Adolescence, Violences et Déviances*, Paris: Matrice.
- Sequeira V. C., Pinheiro C. A. and Soares A. C. M. (2010). “Um estudo exploratório sobre experiências significativas no atendimento ao jovem em conflito com a lei e sua família”, *Boletim Academia Paulista de Psicologia*, Vol. 30, No. 79, pp. 346–362. Recuperado em 22 de novembro de 2017, available online at: <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=94615412009>.
- Siegel L. J. and Welsh B. C. (2011). *Juvenile Delinquency: Theory, Practice and Law*, Belmont: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
- Souza L. A. and Costa L. F. (2012). “O Significado das medidas socioeducativas para adolescentes privados de liberdade”, *Acta Colombiana de Psicología*, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 87–97, Recuperado em 03 de julho de 2017, available online at: <http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/798/79825836004.pdf>.
- Souza L. A. and Costa L. F. (2013). “A significação das medidas socioeducativas para as famílias de adolescentes privados de liberdade”, *Psico-USF*, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 277–288, Recuperado em 03 de julho de 2017, available online at: <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/pusf/v18n2/v18n2a11.pdf>.
- Tripodi S. J., Kim J. S. and Bender K. (2010). “Is employment associated with reduced recidivism? The complex relationship between employment and crime”, *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, Vol. 54, No. 5, pp. 706–720.
- Vilarins N. P. G. (2017). “Meninas de Santa Maria: a precarização da vida na medida socioeducativa de internação”, Dissertação de Mestrado, Universidade de Brasília, Brasília, DF, Brasil, available online at: <http://repositorio.unb.br/handle/10482/22509>.
- Zappe J. G., Ferrão I. da S., Santos C. R. dos, Silveira K. S. da S., Costa L. P. da and Siqueira T. V. (2011). “A internação de adolescentes em conflito com a lei: Uma reflexão teórica sobre o sistema socioeducativo brasileiro”, *Revista Brasileira Adolescência e Conflitualidade*, No. 5, pp. 112–133.
- Zappe J. G. and Dias A. C. G. (2012). “Violência e fragilidades nas relações familiares: Refletindo sobre a situação de adolescentes em conflito com a lei”, *Estudos de Psicologia*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 389–395.