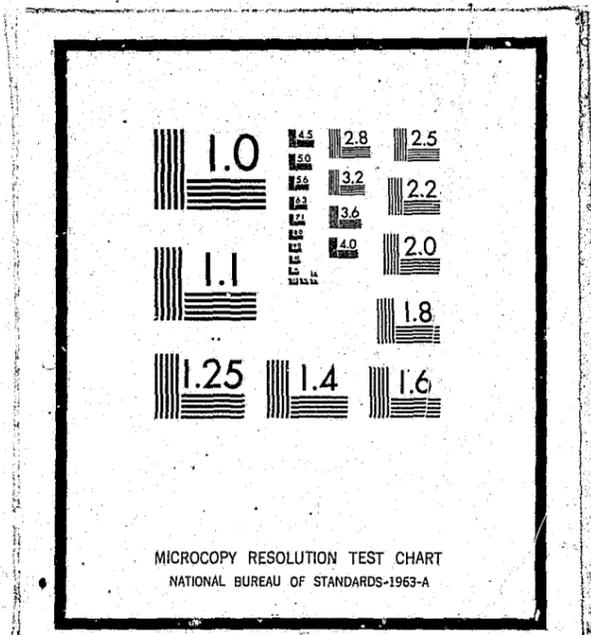


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A FLOW CHART ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUVENILE JUSTICE IN CALIFORNIA

By

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It is worth noting that research commands only a small fraction of one percent of the total expenditure for crime control. There is probably no subject of comparable concern to which the Nation is devoting so many resources and so much effort with so little knowledge of what it is doing.

Report of the President's Crime Commission

INTRODUCTION AND BRIEF HISTORY

This exercise is a first attempt toward an economic analysis of selected aspects of the administration of juvenile justice in the State of California. Hopefully, the accompanying flow chart will provide a useful, clear and accurate description of the system, at least in broad outline, if not in minute detail.

Under California law those individuals who are between the ages of seven and eighteen and who commit infractions of Sections 601 and 602 of the State Welfare and Institutions Code come under the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court, the Youth Authority and their related agencies. Abandoned and neglected children are covered by Section 600 of the State Welfare and Institutions Code. Individuals between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one may be subjected to the jurisdiction of either the adult court or the Juvenile Court. However, should it become necessary, they are institutionalized and paroled under the jurisdiction of the Youth Authority. Decisions on jurisdiction have not always been clear cut. In a 1967 report, the Youth Authority itself did not entirely understand who made this extremely important decision. "The Bureau of Criminal Statistics points out that most youths between 18 and 21 who violate a criminal law are handled by the adult courts. An interesting question is, who makes such a choice? The police, the prosecuting attorney, or the criminal court judge."¹ In practice, it now appears that juveniles 18-21 who commit a Section 602 violation are handled initially as adults and therefore remanded to adult court. However, the adult court has the option of waiving jurisd-

¹ Patterns of Juvenile Justice in California, Report of the Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency of the California Council on Criminal Justice (1969), p. 47.

diction back to Juvenile Court. Juveniles between the ages of 16 and 17 are initially assigned to Juvenile Court, but may be waived to adult court. Those juveniles below the age of 16 are the sole responsibility of the Juvenile Court.

The definition of what actions bring the Juvenile Court machinery into play can be classified into three categories corresponding to the three relevant sections of the Welfare and Institutions Code. Section 600 makes the Juvenile Court responsible for orphans, abandoned and otherwise mistreated children. This is the state acting in its general capacity as the protector of the young. Section 602 of the Welfare and Institutions Code provides jurisdiction for the Court over "those children and youth who violate state and federal criminal laws or local and county ordinances."² The bulk of these laws and ordinances have to do with what one normally thinks of as crimes-- actions which would be illegal if performed by an adult. However, there are additional violations that can only be committed by a juvenile. The laws forbidding the purchase or consumption of tobacco or alcohol are the most prominent, but there are others: operating a motor vehicle under age, being out on the streets after a certain hour when a curfew ordinance is in effect, etc. In addition, juveniles who have been found to fall under the definition of Section 601 and who fail to obey any lawful order of the Juvenile Court can be judged a ward of the court under Section 602.

Finally, there is Section 601. This section extends Juvenile Court jurisdiction to individuals who have "delinquent tendencies". This catch all

²See Appendix 1.

category includes such non-crimes as youngsters who habitually refuse to obey the reasonable and proper order of their parents, guardian, custodian or school authorities, or who are beyond their control, or who are habitual truants from school, or who are in danger of leading "an idle, dissolute lewd or immoral life."³ This category is used to cover a multitude of sins. A juvenile can be committed, labeled delinquent and sentenced to a state institution all for "habitually" failing to obey one or another of the many authority figures in his life. The vagueness of this "crime" has been attacked by many responsible authorities in the field.⁴ Yet, powers similar to those outlined in Section 601 exist in every state in the Union as well as the District of Columbia. In California in 1967 schools referred 3.4% and parents 2.6% of the total initial delinquency referrals.⁵ How many were made on the basis of Section 601 is not known. Neither is the proportion of juveniles who are adjudged delinquent for actions under this section. However, the violation of age related offenses, including Section 601, provided 30% of the Juvenile Court boys and 52% of all girls who were experiencing their first commitment to the Youth Authority in 1968.⁶ Clearly, a significant proportion of those committed to the YA are there for violations of Section 601. William H. Sheridan has estimated that if the age related categories were abolished nationwide, there could be a 50% reduction in detention facilities

³Patterns of Juvenile Justice in California, op cit., p. 18.

⁴Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, U. S. Government Printing Office (1967).

⁵Patterns of Juvenile Justice in California, op cit., p. 37.

⁶See Table 2 of A Comparison of Admission Characteristics of Youth Authority Wards, 1959-1968, Department of the Youth Authority

and a 40% reduction in state juvenile correctional institutions.⁷

Since there is no parallel for such vague, sweeping powers in the adult courts of the country it may be useful and necessary to take a moment to examine the historical origins and philosophic underpinnings of the Juvenile Court.

Initially, the trend was to establish separate correctional institutions for minors and adults. This movement, typified by the founding of New York City's House of Refuge in 1825, was motivated by a desire to mitigate the harshness of the conditions of incarceration experienced by minors. The reform movement in education in the middle years of the 1800's not only resulted in free public elementary schools, but also in the establishment of state reform and industrial schools for juveniles. The first such institution was established in Massachusetts in 1847.⁸

Toward the end of the 19th century juveniles were beginning to receive differential treatment at the hands of the courts as well as at the hands of the bailiff. Age had always been a mitigating circumstance in common law, but in 1870 a Boston law went as far as to require separate hearings for juveniles and by 1872 the separate trial statute was extended throughout the Commonwealth. In 1877 the requirements of separate sessions, dockets and court records in juvenile cases was established in Massachusetts. New York followed suit in 1892. While these types of reforms represented a distinct change in

⁷ Paul Lerman, editor, Delinquency and Social Policy, Praeger (1970), p. 69.

⁸ Michael Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform, Harvard University Press (Cambridge: 1968).

the attitude adopted by the judicial system toward youthful offenders, it still did not embody the essential element that was to become the cornerstone of the Juvenile Court philosophy.

That final development had to wait until the conception of the delinquent as a "wayward child" was first specifically defined by the Illinois legislature in their Juvenile Court Act of 1899 which created the first state-wide court specifically for children.⁹

The Juvenile Court Act was the triumph of a movement known as the "Child Savers."¹⁰ In a general way this was a ringing victory for a conception of justice based on the concepts of the social sciences—particularly psychology. Treatment replaced punishment and deviance replaced crime. The adult system of justice is the direct descendant of a long heritage stretching back to the Old Testament. Needless to say, the social sciences had little impact on this system until relatively recently. The traditional system is very legalistic and impersonal. Legal standards are set, questions of fact must be decided and punishment is presumably dealt by the swift blow of blind justice. In the Juvenile Court the model reverses. Legal norms are vague. Room for discretion is available at every step of the process. Until recently lawyers were excluded from juvenile hearings, as were the other paraphernalia of adult justice: presumption of innocence, reasonable doubt, juries, court reporters, public trials, fixed sentences, and the right to appeal.

⁹ Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁰ Anthony M. Platt, The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency, University of California Press (Berkeley: 1969).

What replaced the trial was the conference and a sentencing procedure designed for treatment and therefore one that was open ended. After all, one did not go to the hospital for a pre-specified period of time. One went until one was cured, or dead. So it was to be with juveniles. Central to this process was the pre-hearing report¹¹ prepared by the intake officer and relying very heavily on an investigation of family backgrounds, psychological pressures extenuating circumstances and attitudes, in short, a socio-psychological profile. The hearing itself became a kind of fatherly conference between the juvenile court judge acting as the concerned representative of the larger society, guided by the pre-hearing report which represented the accumulated wisdom (or supposed wisdom) of the social science, and the parents of the child, presumably representing the very best of intentions and interests for the child's well-being and future adjustment. All actions are taken "in the best interests of the child." And society is never seen as extracting the proverbial "eye for an eye". The overwhelming impression one gets is of a doctor's office at the time of a particularly serious illness.

The Child Savers had one other tenet that further muddied the waters. They insisted that, "no found legal or juridical distinction should be made between the delinquent child and the dependent or neglected child; they are a unity, a commonality, to be handled by a single instrumentality."¹²

¹¹Pre-hearing reports are no longer prepared in California, although they are still common in other states. In California the Intake Officer's report is a pre-sentencing report and is not available to the judge until after a juvenile has been declared delinquent.

¹²Norval Morris and Gordon Hawkins, The Honest Politician's Guide to Crime Control, University of Chicago Press (Chicago: 1970), p. 159.

While this description has tended to caricature the system, it is still in the main, an accurate view. The social movement that led to the establishment of the Juvenile Court intended that the judicial system faced by a child would be based on different principles from that faced by an adult. It was to be highly benevolent and the founders firmly believed they were being more humane, scientific and successful than the system which they replaced.

By 1925, all but two states had followed Illinois' example and established state-wide systems of Juvenile Courts. Today there are approximately 2,700 courts in the country hearing only children's cases.¹³

The history of California's system closely parallels that of the rest of the country. The first institutions for juveniles were established about one hundred years ago and the first law creating a separate system of Juvenile Courts was enacted in the early decades of this century. The system limped along, sometimes doing well, sometimes not, but increasingly falling victim to political corruption. Finally, in 1941, as the result of a number of widespread scandals involving the deaths of several juvenile inmates of state institutions, the Youth Authority was established. Today there is a well developed system of juvenile courts, detention homes and correctional facilities for youth throughout the state.

¹³Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, op. cit., p. 3.

THE BEGINNING

The starting point for the system is the pool of all juveniles. As noted above, this generally includes individuals from age seven to sixteen with various types of shared responsibilities for some individuals extending to age twenty-one. This pool can be divided into three convenient and useful categories: The largest of these categories is the one containing juveniles who do not have a record of any kind--either official or unofficial.¹⁴ This is not to say that members of this group have not committed any actions that would classify them as delinquent. In fact, many authorities believe that such behavior is all but universal and conclude that "most convicted youths are little different in behavior from their peers who are not caught..."¹⁵ What does happen to members of this category is either that their actions go unobserved by authority figures (though they may be common and important knowledge within peer groups) or they come to the attention of authority figures who decide not to lodge either an official complaint or to effect a personal adjustment that stigmatizes the individual.

The two remaining groups of juveniles are those with some type of record--either official or unofficial. Officially there may be records of arrest, detention, appearance in Juvenile Court, probation or incarceration. Unofficially there may be school records labelling a juvenile as a discipline problem,

¹⁴For the purposes of this discussion an official record is one kept by some agency of law enforcement. An unofficial one is still a record, but is kept by some non-law enforcement agency such as a school.

¹⁵Morris and Hawkins, op. cit., p. 154.

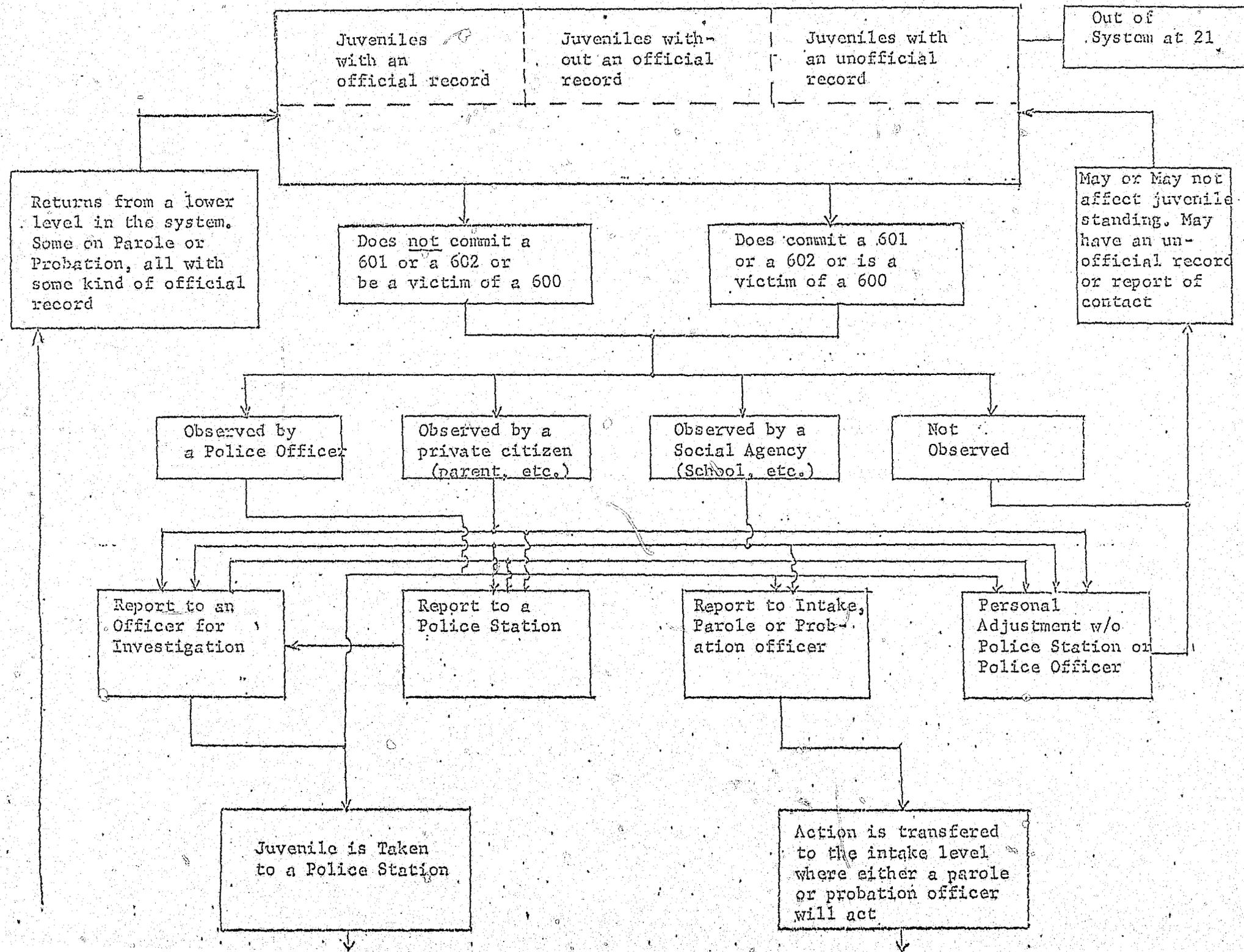
or a record of school actions intended to improve an individual's discipline. Similar records may exist with other agencies such as the YMCA and the YWCA, church groups or the Boy Scouts. In addition, there is the most common unofficial record of all--the situation where a juvenile's delinquent behavior--from shoplifting to sexual exploration or drinking of alcohol--comes to the notice of an adult, often the child's parents. Disciplinary action may ensue or the child may be put on his "good behavior" with a threat of sterner action should he "get out of line" in the future. The importance of the record, both official and unofficial, is that the system treats one very differently depending on whether he has a record or not. It is claimed that juvenile records are sealed to prevent a negative certificate effect. However it is impossible to keep such actions secret from parents, friends, and the wider group with which the juvenile must come in contact.

The effect is to change the system from the point of view of the juvenile. A juvenile with a record may be characterized as a "trouble maker." Authorities may be much less likely to adjust delinquent behavior unofficially, and therefore, to call in the police in cases where they might otherwise take less drastic actions. In the economic models of Fleisher, Tullock and Becker¹⁶ a record reduces the individual's earning power in a life of crime because it increases the probability that he will be apprehended because of fingerprints, where there are taken of juveniles, photographs, addresses, acquaintances,

¹⁶Belton M. Fleisher, The Economics of Delinquency, Quadrangle Books (Chicago, 1966); Gordon Tullock, "An Economic Approach to Crime", Social Science Quarterly, June 1969; Gary Becker, "Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach", Journal of Political Economy, April 1968.

etc. From society's point of view this is highly desirable. However if the effect is to reduce legitimate opportunities for employment, training or advancement, the effect may be quite the opposite. If legitimate opportunities are reduced sufficiently, criminal acts may be the only possible alternative for the individual. Crimes of violence and passion may increase because of the psychological pressure and sense of injustice felt at having been labeled a criminal even after having suffered the punishment for the particular offense.

The normal exit from the pool of all juveniles is through age attrition. Even those with serious records finally reach an age where they pass beyond the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court and into that of the adult court. In practice this occurs for most juveniles and juvenile offenders at age eighteen. However, by age twenty-one all offenses are handled by the adult court.



THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS: CHART I

The normal entry into the system is through the commission of a delinquent action that is observed by an authority figure. The authority figure is generally a police officer, a private citizen, or a member of some social organization, typically a school. Again, most delinquent acts go unobserved and their perpetrators return unchanged to the pool of all delinquents. For the sake of completeness, there are also a number of juveniles who are unfairly accused of performing delinquent actions which they, in fact, did not commit. In general, one would hope that such errors would be quickly and completely rectified. However, the possibility of the law extracting its full measure of retribution (or rehabilitation) from a perfectly innocent individual still remains. Stories of police harassment of blacks, radicals, demonstrators and slum dwellers are well documented. Innocent people can, and are, punished.

After a delinquent act has been observed the observer must decide what to do about it. In general, there are two courses of action that might be taken: personal adjustment, or some resort to an official agency such as the police station, a police officer or directly to the Juvenile Court. Throughout this discussion adjustment is used to characterize those extra-legal actions that can be taken against a juvenile at various levels of the system. Generally, these are considerably milder forms of punishment than the official system deals out, but they can be as severe as official incarceration or probation as well as unjust for their violation of due process. Personal adjustment is the typical way infractions are handled at all levels of the system. The effect of personal adjustment can be to moderate the undue harshness of the official system, or it can inject a note of fear and arbitrariness, possibly

sadistic, punishment into the process.¹⁷

At this stage, it is quite likely that the most common action for an observer to take is to ignore whatever has happened. This occurs with police officers as well as parents--perhaps more so. While police departments may vary substantially in their orientation to the enforcement of the letter of the law, no police officer can ever enforce all of the technical violations of the law that come to his attention.¹⁸ Consequently, a large number of observed actions that are technically delinquent offenses pass, not unnoticed, but unacted upon. One suspects that the seriousness of the offense and the social and economic status of the offender as well as the mental attitude of the observer enter crucially into this decision. In addition, it is common practice in California not to press 601 offenses against juveniles over the age of eighteen, although they technically still come under the jurisdiction of that section.

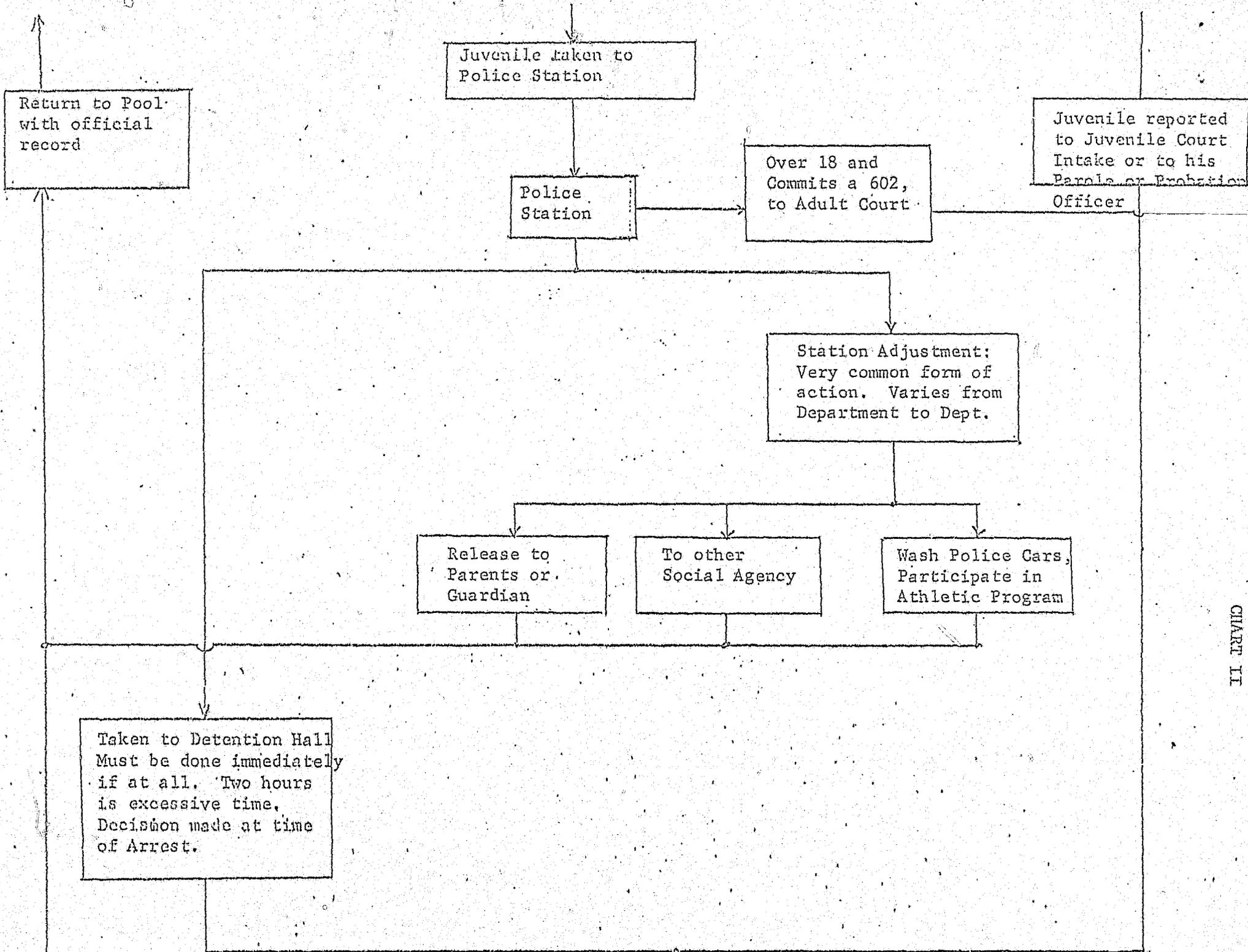
Other forms of personal adjustment are possible. A reprimand from a police officer may be effective punishment, as well as a reprimand or a "talking to" by other private authority figures. Infractions may be reported to the juvenile's parents for action, or the individual may be put "on good behavior". That is, "I'll take some action if you get out of line again."

On the official side, citizens and agencies can report juveniles to a police officer, either directly or indirectly through a call to a police

¹⁷ Paul Lerman, op. cit., p. 36.

¹⁸ Such is the stuff of which variations in crime rates are made.

station. In the case of juveniles on probation or parole individuals can report directly to the juvenile court probation officer or the juvenile's parole officer, however this does not appear to be a significant route. If the juvenile is reported to a police officer, the officer must then face the decision to affect some personal adjustment or to officially bring the juvenile into the system. Clearly, great personal discretion must be exercised by the police officer at this point. The entire philosophy of juvenile justice requires this discretion, to say nothing of the administrative capacity constraints under which the system must operate. Again, one supposes that most actions result in some sort of personal adjustments, but here certainly less frequently than in the case of direct observation by police officers. This is likely to be true for two reasons. The relative seriousness of offenses reported to the police by private parties or agencies are likely to be greater on average. The more serious, in some sense, the less room there is for extra-legal adjustment. The second factor is that the police officer--and the police system--are under more pressure to take some demonstratable action in this type of situation.



THE POLICE STATION: CHART II

The next step in the system concerns only those juveniles who, because of the seriousness of their offense, the vehemence of the observer, the opinion of the police officer, or whatever other unfortunate combination of circumstances, end up at the police station. This is an important step in the process for by the time one reaches this stage he has probably begun to create an official record for himself. The detaining officer must file a report and the police station must recognize the juvenile's existence—thereby separating him from his non-delinquent peers.¹⁹

At the police station another set of decisions must be made. A juvenile can either be adjusted within the station, passed to another social agency, or taken to detention and from there on to the intake officer of the Juvenile Court. In the case of juveniles on parole or probation, it is customary to contact the parole or probation officer overseeing the case.

Station adjustment, treatment without passing the juvenile on to the next level, is a well-recognized, widespread and not terribly well understood phenomenon in the treatment of both adult and juvenile offenders. As one can see from Table 1, 46% of the police station contacts are handled by some form of station adjustment. It is interesting to notice that fully 20% of the category, "Major Law Violators" was adjusted within the station. In spite of the magnitude of these figures (and the seriousness of some of the accusations)

¹⁹ Throughout this narration I have not observed the legal principle of innocent until proven guilty. In practice, it appears that each actor must make his own determination of guilt or innocence and then select a course of action based upon his decision. Clearly, legal designation as a delinquent is more serious than an unofficial designation, or for that matter, an arrest record. However, even unofficial designation as a troublemaker often can have serious consequences.

TABLE 1:²⁰
POLICE DISPOSITIONS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY ARRESTS, 1967

By Type of Offense, Showing Percent of Total Arrests
for Each Type of Disposition

Offense	Total Arrested	Percent of total arrests		
		Handled within department	Referred to other agencies	Referred to probation
Total Delinquency	323,427	45.6	4.6	49.9
Major Law Violations	64,745	19.9	4.3	75.8
Minor Law Violations	60,669	53.4	2.0	44.6
Delinquent Tendencies	198,013	51.6	5.4	43.0

the California Council on Criminal Justice frankly admits that they have little idea about what handling a case within the department really means.

"We do not know (1) why the gross variation in disposition by police agencies, (2) what is meant by handling a case within the (police) department; (3) whether or not the referral to a probation department is by citation or delivery and detention."²¹

While we do not know what the criterion is for sorting juveniles into station adjustment or juvenile intake, we do know some of the things that station adjustment might entail. First, the charges may be dropped immediately and the child released, normally to his parents or guardian. The child may be

²⁰ Patterns of Juvenile Justice in California, op. cit., p. 30.

²¹ Ibid., p. 31.

released to his parents, but placed under restrictions on his conduct. From a description of a police practice in Kansas City these restrictions may include not being allowed out of his house after dark, or unaccompanied by an adult. Restrictions on personal appearance may be imposed such as short hair and conventional dress. Further, he may not leave his home, whether accompanied by an adult or not, "for any activity that is primarily engaged in for pleasure."²² Regardless of the high degree of success claimed for this program in preventing future crimes, the imposition of such a thoroughgoing set of restrictions on anyone, juvenile or adult, without any judicial hearing having occurred is at least suspect. Other forms of station adjustment commonly practiced include washing police cars and required participation in Police Athletic League programs.

If the juvenile is not informally adjusted at the station, then he will be taken to detention. The decision to take a juvenile to detention must be made immediately upon taking the child into custody. The normal time lapse from taking a child into custody to delivering him to detention is usually less than two hours. A delay of longer than two hours is considered by lawyers to be a serious breach of the juvenile's rights, and grounds for dismissal of charges.

Detention homes, which are local juvenile institutions analogous to jails are used to house juveniles temporarily pending an appearance before a juvenile court judge (or referee), while authorities locate his parents or guardian or whenever the authorities feel that it would be in the best interests of the

²²Paul Lerman, op. cit., p. 36.

child or the community not to have him returned to his home. In addition, those children whose only offense is being abandoned or in need of public shelter (that is, Section 600 cases) are also sometimes assigned to juvenile homes. In California it is illegal to house 600 cases with 601's or 602's. However, the facility for 600 cases is frequently a separate wing or building in the county detention home.

In 1967 40% of the juveniles, 42% of the juvenile boys and 15% of the juvenile girls, arrested in California were detained for some period of time. Fifty percent were released within 48 hours of their arrest.²³ In fact, in the words of the California Council on Criminal Justice, "only 8.8% of those arrested were detained over 30 days." The most frequent charge facing those juveniles who were detained was that of having "delinquent tendencies."²⁴

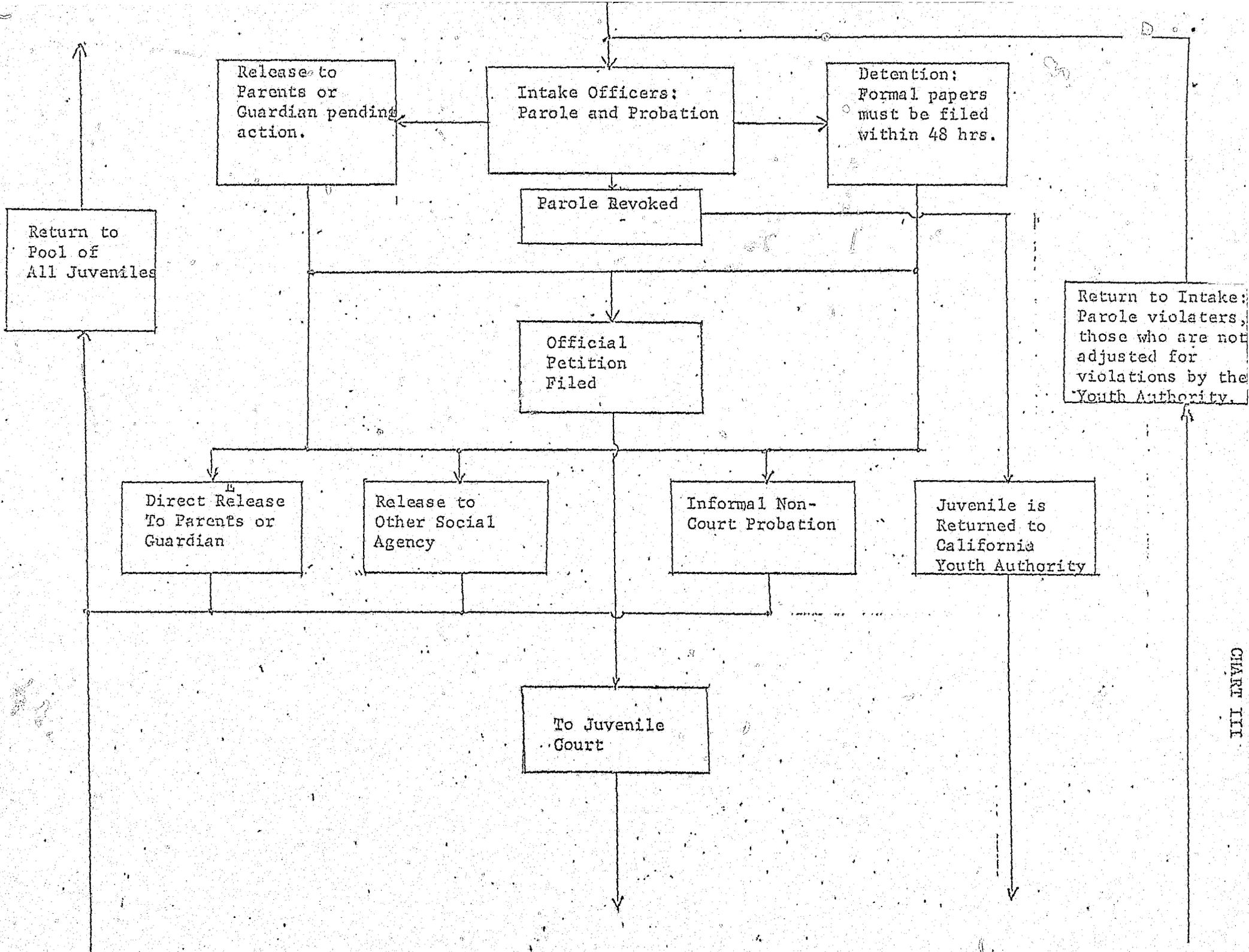
In addition to the above, those juveniles over the age of 18 who are not adjusted at the station are treated as adults and are sent on to the public prosecutor and the adult courts. This may not be entirely unfortuitous as the availability of counsel as well as jury trials and the right to appeal are readily available in adult courts. Later, depending on the circumstances, juveniles between 18 and 21 may be waived back to Juvenile Court.

If station adjustment had been effected, the juvenile either returns to the pool of all juveniles, however with an arrest record, and possibly a detention record. He may have had his conduct restricted for a time and he

²³A decision to file a formal petition to detain must be taken within 48 hours.

²⁴Patterns of Juvenile Justice in California, op. cit., p. 409.

may have various notes and comments in his file. In any case, he will have some kind of police record. If he has been remanded to the adult authority he leaves the system for the time being. If his case has been sent on to the intake officer for further processing by the system, he will continue on to the next stage.



THE JUVENILE COURT: CHART III

Juveniles can come to the attention of the Juvenile Court intake officer in a number of ways. Far and away the most prevalent route is through a law enforcement agency. In 1967, 86.3% of those juveniles referred to intake came from law enforcement agencies. The remaining 16% were distributed among parents, 2.6%, and schools, 3.4%, court, 5.2% and other, 2.5%.²⁵ Probation is a county function in California and in all but two counties, Santa Clara and San Francisco, the same office handles both adult and juvenile cases. In large departments functions are specialized into intake, court investigation, field supervision and ranch and camp staff. In smaller departments, the distinctions meld with fewer people taking a wider range of responsibilities.

When the intake officer is ready to make his decision there is again a wide range of choices open to him. He can directly release the child to his parents. He can place the child on informal, non-court probation which lasts for six months and appears to offer little if any supervision, but does seem to change the child's juvenile status should he ever get back into the system. The juvenile may be sent to another social or private agency. These are a number of private institutions that are essentially juvenile correctional institutions, with varying degrees of openness, as well as the public and private mental health or community treatment programs to which a juvenile in need of a particular kind of care might be sent. The Army, military schools and long stays with relatives in other counties or states are also options open to the intake officer. Finally, he can file a formal petition with the

²⁵ See Appendix 2.

Juvenile Court asking that the individual be declared delinquent.

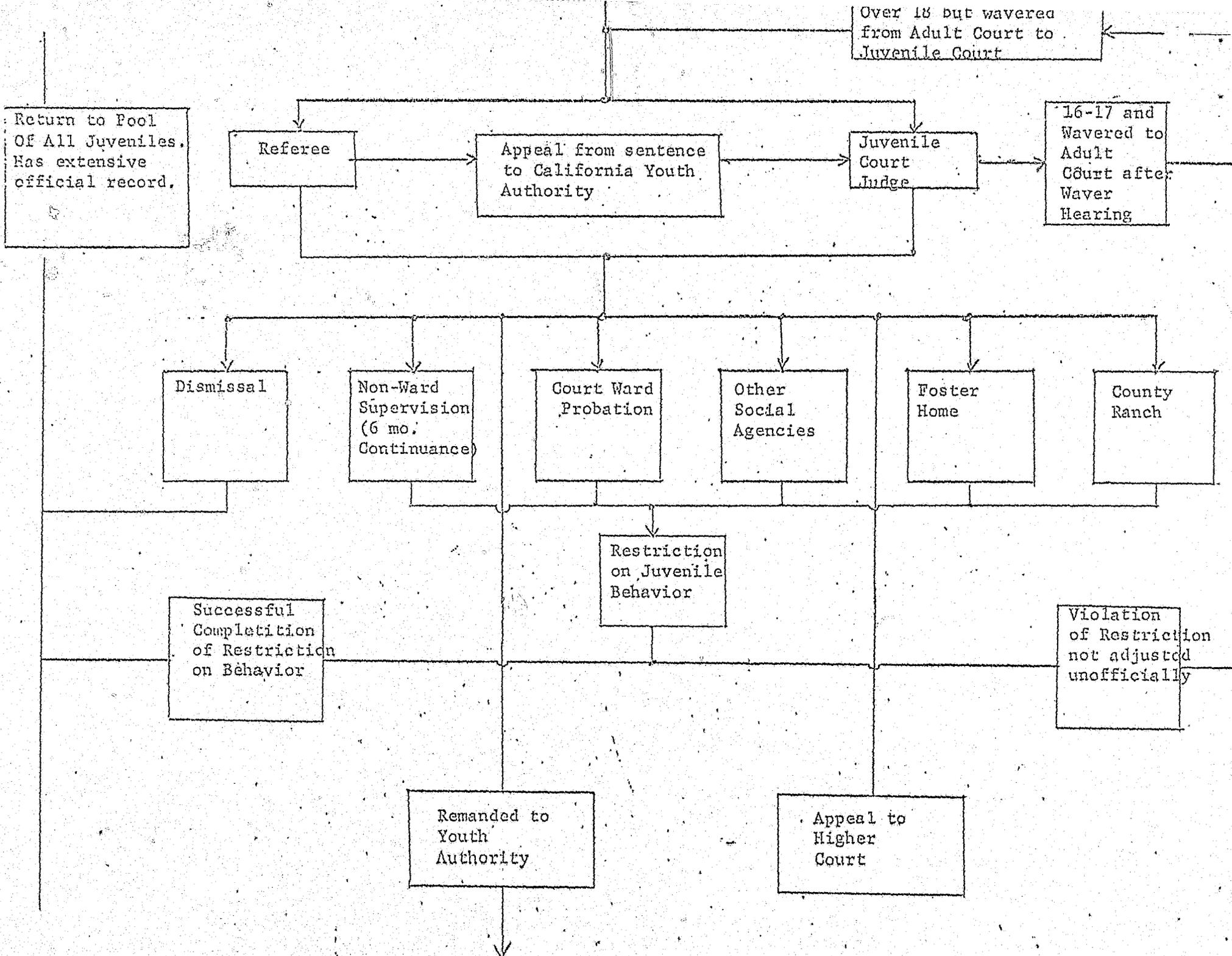
If the juvenile in question is on either parole or probation there are other options open. In these cases the intake officer in charge will be the juvenile's parole or probation officer.²⁶ One option is to change the length, or conditions, or both, of the parole or probation of the juvenile. Parole officers may recommend a revocation of parole which would return the juvenile directly to the Youth Authority without any fact-finding hearing. This is a very common action. In fact, about one fourth of those on parole and one third of those admitted to Youth Authority institutions in 1970 had their paroles revoked. With probation cases the revocation or probation can be recommended to the Juvenile Court judge and, if sustained, the juvenile may be sent to the Youth Authority. In either case, a juvenile who comes to the intake level while on either probation or parole is likely to face a much harsher set of alternatives than other juveniles.

The breakdown on the disposition of juveniles at this level in 1967 in California is quite interesting. Slightly more than half of the juveniles reaching the intake officer were given a reprimand and dismissed or transferred to another agency. Another 13.6% were placed on informal probation while the remaining 35.6% had petitions filed with the Juvenile Court.²⁷ The fact that only about one third of those juveniles reaching this stage of the process, which is itself but a small fraction of those entering the system, are passed on to the Juvenile Court is quite interesting. The vast majority of juveniles

²⁶ It is beyond the scope of this paper, but the obvious conflict that this must cause with the parole or probation officers' other roles should be noted.

²⁷ See Appendix 2.

who have entered the system have been judged, sentenced, punished and/or released without a formal hearing.



JUVENILE COURT: CHART IV

Those who have reached this level of the system must face a Juvenile Court judge or a referee. A referee is a court officer appointed by the Juvenile Court judge. He is empowered to hear and decide all juvenile cases without exception and decisions of a referee are appealable to the Juvenile Court judge. However, in those cases where the referee sentences a juvenile to the Youth Authority, the case must be reviewed by a Juvenile Court judge. The referee as well as the judge are charged with determining whether the juvenile shall be judged delinquent, and, if so, what action should be taken against him.

The first stage of the hearing is in order to determine whether the juvenile did, in fact, do what he is charged with. The typical hearing is quite informal with only the Juvenile Court judge or referee and the juvenile and his parents or guardian present. After In Re Gault²⁸ the right to counsel was assured, but the actual extent to which lawyers participate in Juvenile Court cases is not known, but the provision of a lawyer if the juvenile's parents cannot afford one, as well as the possibility of having the District Attorney participate in the hearing, is provided for in California law.

At this stage there are a number of options open to the Juvenile Court judge or to the referee. He can dismiss the case either with or without a reprimand. He can transfer the case to another social agency such as welfare, mental health or a private institution of some sort. The Juvenile Court

²⁸ In Re Gault, 387 U.S. 1, 55 (1967).

judge or referee can, after a waiver hearing, remand individuals between the ages of sixteen and seventeen to the adult criminal court for prosecution there.

If declared a ward of the court, that is delinquent, then the juvenile can be placed on either formal probation, non-ward supervision or with the California Youth Authority, or he may appeal to a higher court. Appeal, in fact, is usually refused by higher courts on the grounds that a record has not been created. That is, the juvenile's court record will be sealed, while appeal would result in a permanent criminal record.

Before any of these actions can be taken, however, a pre-sentencing report must be prepared by the intake officer. In California a judge or referee is permitted to look at the report only after he has made his determination of the facts of the case. In practice, therefore, the report is not prepared until after a judge or referee has decided to declare the juvenile a ward. The report is then used to help the judge or referee determine what type of sentence to impose on the juvenile.

Non-ward supervision and formal probation both involve some supervision from the court and, consequently, some restrictions on the behavior of the juvenile. Non-ward supervision is really a continuance of the case for six months with an implied promise of dismissal if the juvenile behaves himself during that time. This option appears to be little used in California. If the juvenile is assigned to formal probation and successfully completes it he is returned to the pool of all juveniles, but with a substantial record of his various contacts with the system.

If the juvenile commits any infraction of the rules governing his conduct

during his period of probation distinct from actions that would return him to the intake officer for actions as discussed in the last section, two things can happen to him. Either the infraction can be adjusted by the probation officer--stricter requirements, longer probation, reprimand, etc., or the juvenile can be returned to the court for possible assignment to the Youth Authority. If the juvenile has another contact with the police during this period, the result, as outlined above, can be stiffer sentences or perhaps less of an exercise of discretion in favor of the juvenile.

In addition to commitment to the Youth Authority there is the possibility of placing the juvenile in either a foster home or a county ranch. The foster home is used where a change of environment is thought to be called for, often in Section 600 cases, and the county ranch is a type of correctional institution that is similar in many ways to some Youth Authority facilities, but which is under the control of the Juvenile Court. Those youths who are committed to the Youth Authority pass beyond the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court and into the final phase of the system.

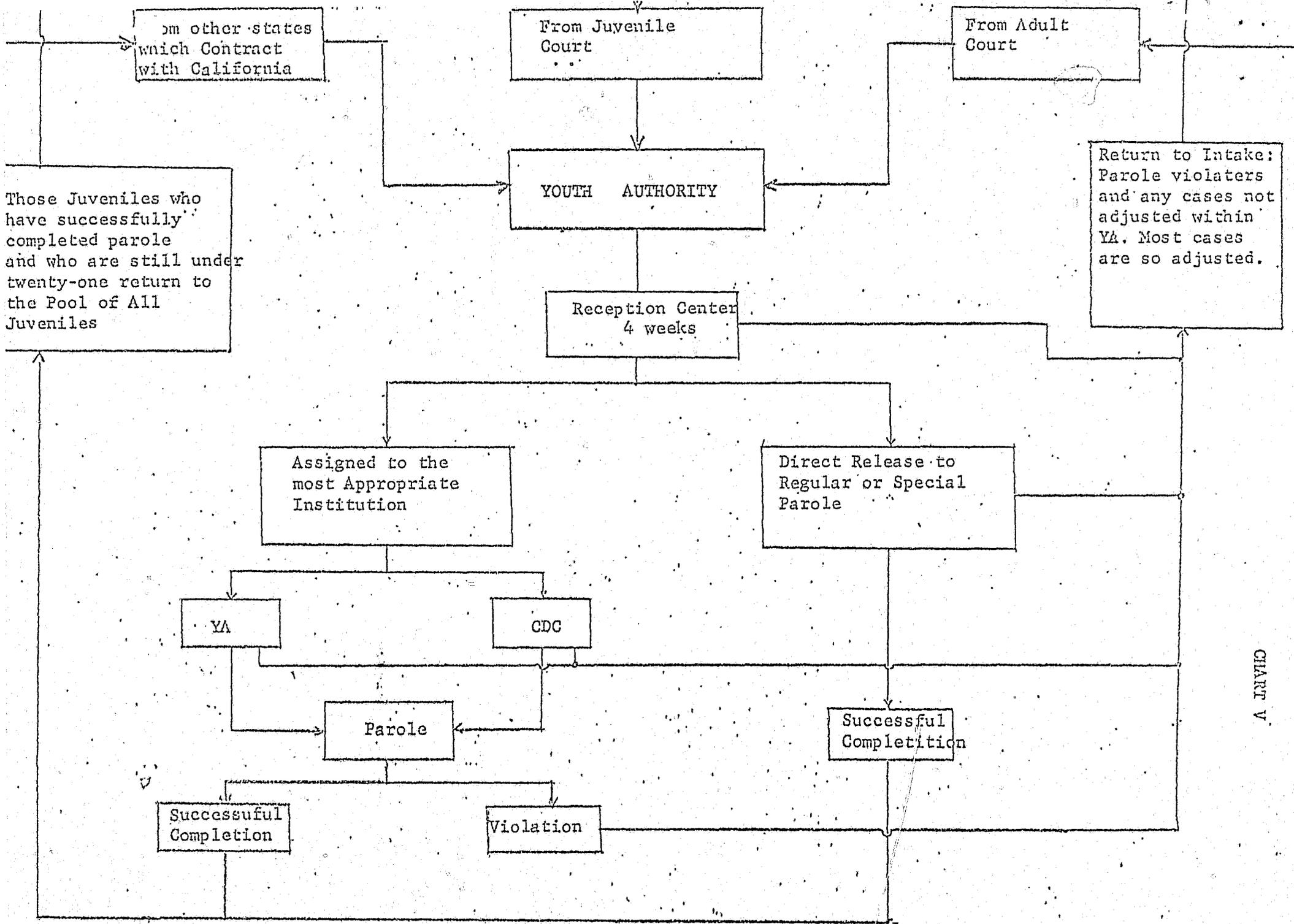


CHART V

YOUTH AUTHORITY POPULATION MOVEMENT

CALENDAR YEAR 1970

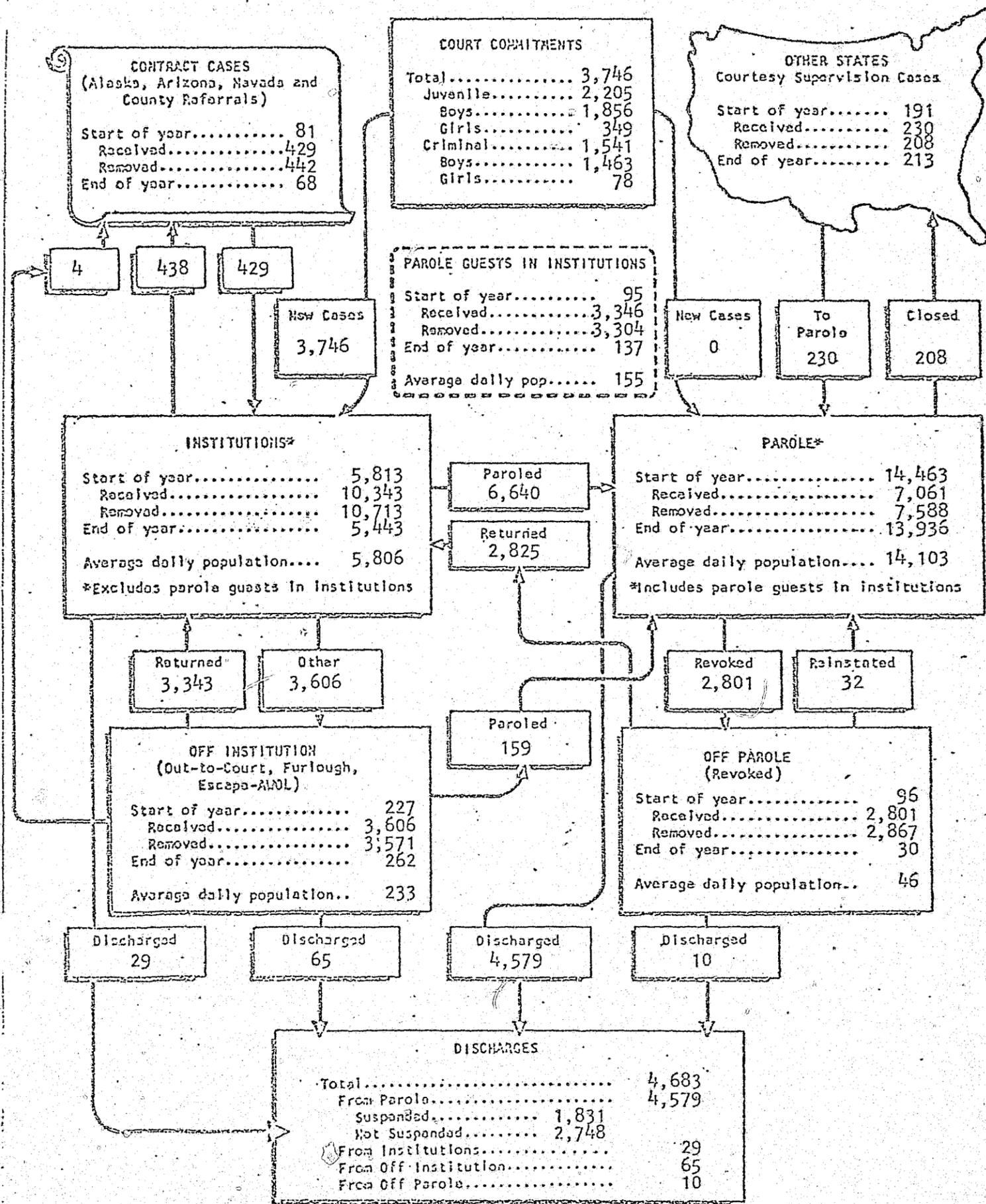
THE YOUTH AUTHORITY: CHART V

The Youth Authority is the tip of the immense pyramid that we have been describing. It is here, aside from detention and county ranches, that juveniles are incarcerated with the purpose of extracting punishment, separating threatening individuals from society, deterring violations of the rules by others, and rehabilitating individuals.

From Figure 1 one can obtain some idea of the flow of wards into and out of the Youth Authority. In 1970 a total of 10,373 individuals were received into the system. Of the total, 3,746 were court commitments, 2,205 from Juvenile Courts and 1,541 from criminal courts. Other sources of inmates include 2,825 who were taken off parole and returned to institutions, and 3,343 who were returned to institutions from furlough, escape, AWOL or out-to-court. It is interesting to note that almost two-thirds of the institutional intake of the Youth Authority is accounted for by juveniles who are already in the Youth Authority, either on parole or as runaways. A few cases, 429 in 1970, were received from Alaska, Arizona, Nevada and county referrals, jurisdictions that have a contract with the Youth Authority to institutionalize some of the juveniles sentenced from their areas. In addition, institutions handled 3,346 individuals in the category "Parole Guests in Institutions", whatever that may be.

Even with over 10,000 admittances and an initial population of 6,000 the average daily population of all Youth Authority institutions was only 5,806.

Without going into excessive detail I will now describe the outline of the Youth Authority's correctional programs. An initial commitment is first



made to either the Northern Reception Center-Clinic in Sacramento or to its southern counterpart in Norwalk. Here the juvenile is subjected to approximately four weeks of intensive physical, educational, psychological and/or psychiatric examinations. At the end of this period the juvenile is then either assigned to "the most appropriate institution" or ordered released to either the regular or the special parole programs. The proportion of juveniles placed directly on parole after their initial stay in a reception center has run as high as 22% in recent years.²⁹ The remaining juveniles are sentenced to one of the fifteen Youth Authority-institutions or to one of the four institutions run by the State Department of Corrections that accept juvenile offenders. Inmates of the Department of Corrections facilities are almost always over eighteen and they represent a much higher percentage of commitments from adult court than do the other Youth Authority facilities.³⁰

The Youth Authority institutions range in size from conservation camps with 80 inmates up to the mammoth Youth Training School in Ontario with 1200 inmates. In general, the facilities for boys are age graded while those for girls are not.

Once in a Youth Authority institution the youth is held under an indeterminate sentence. That is, he may be kept within the system--either in an institution or on parole--as long as it is deemed necessary to keep him there. However, there is an upper age limit of twenty-one with the possibility of having it extended to twenty-three in some cases. The policy of indeterminate

²⁹ Patterns of Juvenile Justice in California, op. cit., p. 59.

³⁰ See Appendix 3 for a description of Youth Authority institutions, their location, their capacity and the ages and sex served by each institution.

sentences, one that is universal in the United States, is based squarely on the idea of treatment that underlies the entire philosophy of juvenile correction. Juveniles are not institutionalized, at least officially, to punish them for this would imply a more or less exact amount of incarceration. Rather, they are institutionalized in order to cure them by modifying their delinquent behavior. This behavior modification--like all medical treatment--must be continued until successful, no matter how long or short the period required may be.

From Table 2 we can see that in 1970 the mean length of stay in a Youth Authority institution was 10.5 months for boys and 8.7 months for girls. Those in Department of Corrections institutions were incarcerated for an average of 15.5 months. In all but 29 out of 6,669 cases in 1970 the juvenile was not completely released at the end of his institutionalization but was paroled.³¹

Table 2

MEAN LENGTH OF STAY IN INSTITUTIONS PRIOR TO RELEASE ON PAROLE
BY INSTITUTION OF RELEASE* (in months)

Institution of Release	1969 Calendar Year	1970 Calendar Year	1969-70 Fiscal Year	1970-71 Fiscal Year (to date) 6 months.
Boys - CYA Total	9.9	10.5	10.0	10.5
Schools	10.2	10.8	10.4	10.9
Fricot	13.7	11.3	11.2	12.5
Nelles	9.1	9.2	9.2	9.0
Close	9.3	10.2	9.6	10.4

(continued)

³¹ Population Movement Summary, Calendar Year 1970, Division of Research State Department of the Youth Authority.

Institution of Release	1969 Calendar Year	1970 Calendar Year	1969-70 Fiscal Year	1970-71 Fiscal Year to date (6 months)
Schools (cont.)				
Paso Robles	9.3	10.1	9.5	10.6
Holton	8.9	10.4	9.4	10.7
Preston	10.1	10.9	10.2	10.9
Youth Trng. Sch.	11.7	12.4	12.1	12.3
Ventura	-	10.2	-	10.2
Camps	6.8	7.8	7.1	7.8
Girls - CYA Total	8.6	8.7	8.4	9.0
Los Guilucos	10.6	9.9	10.0	10.4
Ventura	7.7	8.2	7.8	8.3
CDC Institutions	15.1	15.5	15.2	16.1
DVI	15.2	15.3	15.4	15.9
Other	14.4	16.0	14.5	17.5

*Includes time in clinic.

In Table 3 we have the average length of time on parole prior to removal from parole. In 1970 for those who successfully completed parole, the mean time on parole was 25.8 months for boys and 29.2 months for girls. In fact, a large proportion of those placed on parole violated it in one way or another. For this group their average period of commitment to the Youth Authority must be quite long.

If a juvenile has gotten to this point--that is successfully completed a stay in a Youth Authority institution and successfully completed parole--and if he is still less than twenty-one, he will return to the pool of all juveniles. Violators of institutional rules and parole regulations may be adjusted within the institutions or they may be returned to the Juvenile Court for further prosecution. The most common form of adjustment within an institution is, of course, a longer stay, and possibly a transfer to a different

Table 3

MEAN LENGTH OF STAY ON PAROLE PRIOR TO REMOVAL FROM PAROLE
By Type of Removal and Sex
(In Months)

TYPE OF REMOVAL	1969 CALENDAR YEAR			1970 CALENDAR YEAR			1969-70 FISCAL YEAR			1970-71 FISCAL YEAR TO DATE (6 months)		
	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS
Total.....	19.4	18.8	23.2	21.2	20.1	27.0	20.1	19.3	24.7	21.8	20.7	28.2
Non-violators..	26.5	25.8	29.2	27.9	26.7	32.7	27.2	26.3	30.9	28.1	26.9	33.1
Violators.....	15.6	15.4	17.2	17.2	16.7	21.0	16.1	15.9	18.0	17.8	17.0	23.1
Revoked.....	11.5	11.5	11.9	12.2	12.1	12.8	11.7	11.7	12.2	12.5	12.3	13.5
Discharged...	22.9	22.0	32.2	24.9	23.7	34.5	23.3	22.6	30.7	26.0	24.4	37.2

institution. It is not hard to rank the institutions on the basis of openness, proportion of the population committed by adult courts, and average length of stay, to get some idea of the relative difficulty and therefore punishment that would accompany a reassignment.

As noted several times, parole violators make up a large part of the Youth Authority. In fact, in 1970 almost 10,000 juveniles on parole violated the conditions of their parole in one way or another. Almost all of these 10,000 cases were related directly to additional violations of the laws, other than being AWOL from parole.

The types of treatment available in Youth Authority institutions is extremely varied. "Program content...varies from the relatively intensive, experimental treatment strategies in the new Stockton institution to the more typical combination of education, vocational, recreational, individual and group counseling format of the conventional state school."³²

³² Patterns of Juvenile Justice in California, op. cit., p. 59

Table 4

DISPOSITION OF PAROLE SUSPENSIONS BY TYPE OF VIOLATION

CALENDAR YEAR 1970

TYPE OF VIOLATION	TOTAL		DISPOSITION OF SUSPENSION			
			Restored to parole		Revoked or Discharged	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
TOTAL.....	9,342	100.0	4,682	50.1	4,660	49.9
Technical violation (AWOL).....	1,283	100.0	640	49.9	643	50.1
Technical violation (other).....	427	100.0	332	77.8	95	22.2
Law violation:						
No prosecution.....	1,192	100.0	606	50.8	586	49.2
Prosecuted but acquitted or dismissed.....	691	100.0	594	86.0	97	14.0
Pend. trial at time of removal fr. parole..	224	100.0	-	-	224	100.0
Law violation - convicted:						
Fine, susp.sent., or prob.less than 2 yrs..	1,682	100.0	902	53.6	780	46.4
Probation of 2 years or more.....	488	100.0	49	10.0	439	90.0
Sentenced to less than 30 days in jail.....	357	100.0	265	74.2	92	25.8
Sent. to 30 but less than 90 days in jail..	548	100.0	439	80.1	109	19.9
Sentenced to 90 days or more in jail.....	1,002	100.0	855	85.3	147	14.7
Sent. to prison, reformatory or C.Y.A.....	1,448	100.0	-	-	1,448	100.0

Further investigation of the personal characteristics of the inmates of Youth Authority institutions and the types of experiences they have had are possible and extremely interesting, but are unfortunately beyond the scope of the present paper.³³

³³ See the Annual Series, A Comparison of Characteristics of Youth Authority Wards, California Department of the Youth Authority, and The Institutional Experiences Summary by William Cook and Dennis Johns, California Department of the Youth Authority Research Report #44, May, 1965. Also see Appendix 4.

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Appendix 1.

§ 600. Persons subject to jurisdiction. Any person under the age of 21 years who comes within any of the following descriptions is within the jurisdiction of the juvenile court which may adjudge such person to be a dependent child of the court:

(a) Who is in need of proper and effective parental care or control and has no parent or guardian, or has no parent or guardian willing to exercise or capable of exercising such care or control, or has no parent or guardian actually exercising such care or control.

(b) Who is destitute, or who is not provided with the necessities of life, or who is not provided with a home or suitable place of abode, or whose home is an unfit place for him by reason of neglect, cruelty, or depravity of either of his parents, or of his guardian or other person in whose custody or care he is.

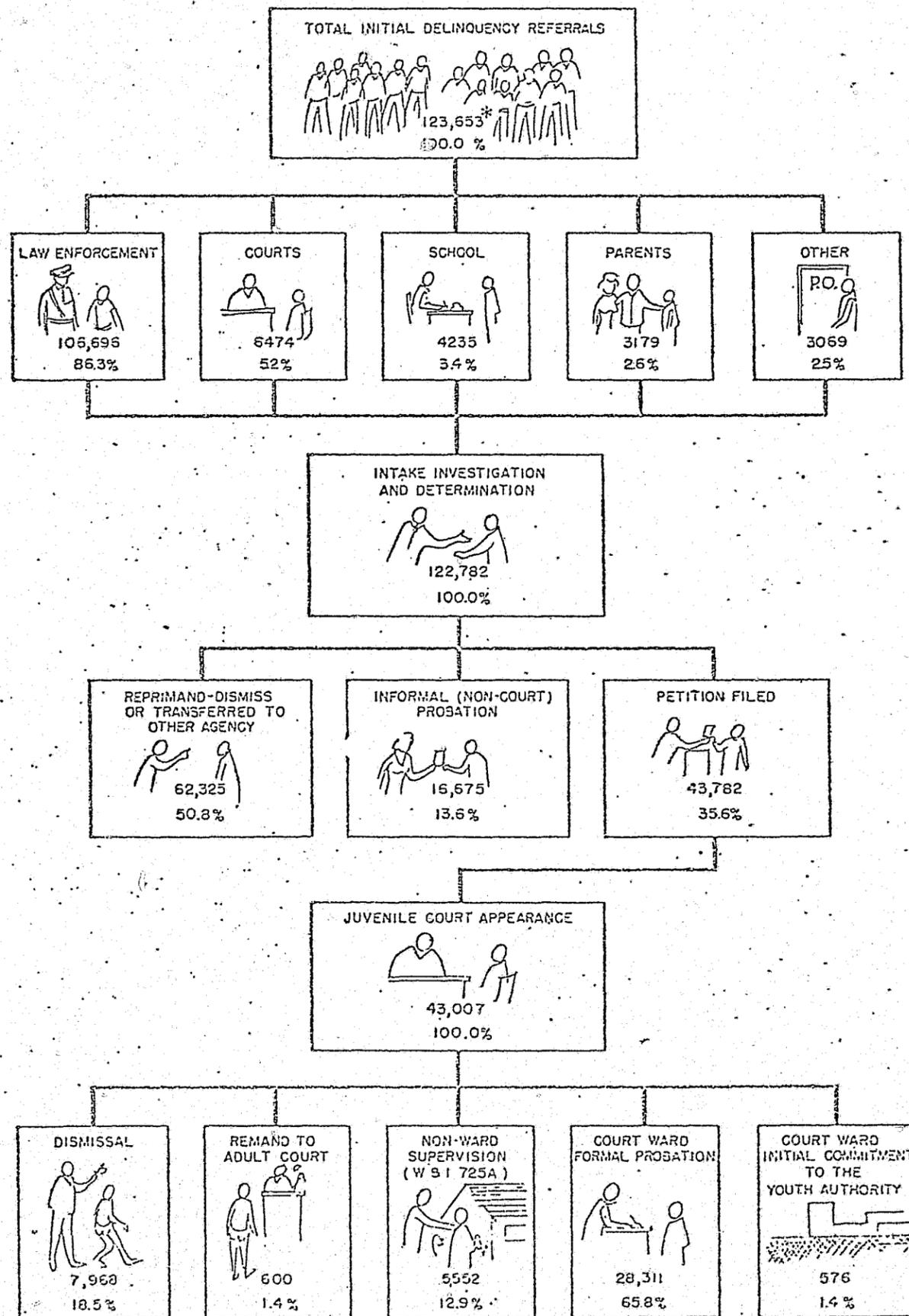
(c) Who is physically dangerous to the public because of a mental or physical deficiency, disorder or abnormality. (Added Stats.1961, c. 1616, p. 3471, § 2, as amended Stats.1965, c. 535, p. —, § 1.)

§ 601. Minors habitually refusing to obey parents; habitual truants; minors in danger of leading immoral life. Any person under the age of 21 years who persistently or habitually refuses to obey the reasonable and proper orders or directions of his parents, guardian, custodian or school authorities, or who is beyond the control of such person, or any person who is a habitual truant from school within the meaning of any law of this State, or who from any cause is in danger of leading an idle, dissolute, lewd, or immoral life, is within the jurisdiction of the juvenile court which may adjudge such person to be a ward of the court. (Added Stats.1961, c. 1616, p. 3471, § 2.)

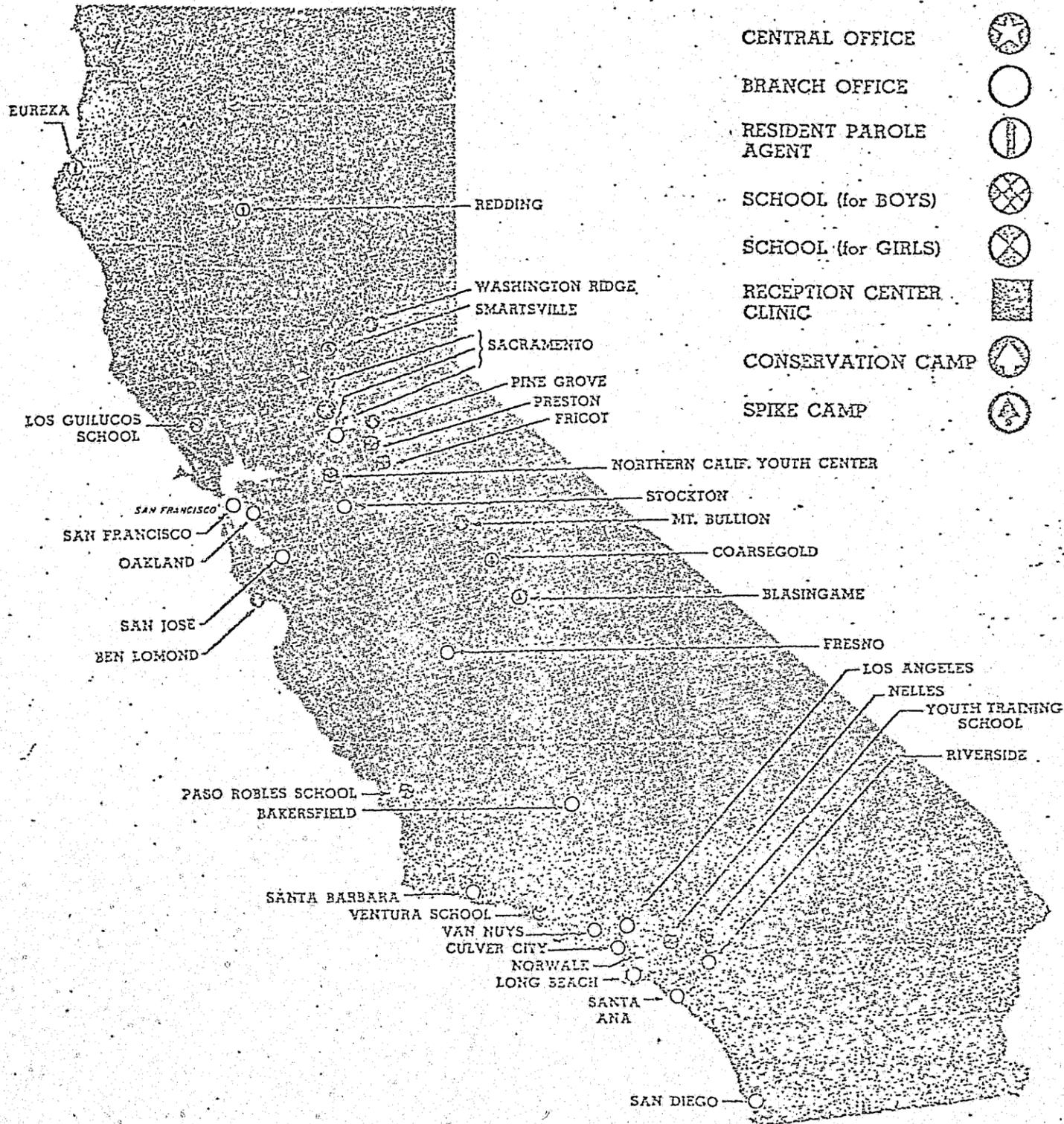
§ 602. Minors violating laws defining crime; minors failing to obey court order. Any person under the age of 21 years who violates any law of this State or of the United States or any ordinance of any city or county of this State defining crime or who, after having been found by the juvenile court to be a person described by Section 601, fails to obey any lawful order of the juvenile court, is within the jurisdiction of the juvenile court, which may adjudge such person to be a ward of the court. (Added Stats.1961, c. 1616, p. 3472, § 2.)

Appendix 2.

FLOW CHART OF JUVENILE COURT PROCESS FOR DELINQUENTS



Appendix 3.



Appendix 3.

CALIFORNIA YOUTH AUTHORITY INSTITUTIONS		CAPACITY	AGES SERVED
1.	Northern Reception Center-Clinic, Perkins	250 Boys 63 Girls	All ages
2.	Southern Reception Center-Clinic, Norwalk	350 Boys	All ages
3.	Fricot Ranch School for Boys, San Andreas	220	8-15
4.	Fred C. Nelles School for Boys, Whittier	640	12-16
5.	Preston School of Industry, Ione	846	16-20
6.	Northern California Youth Center, Stockton (A central facility providing logistic and administrative services for several satellite schools)	0	0
7.	O. H. Close School for Boys (Satellite), Stockton	400	13-15
8.	Karl Holton School for Boys, Stockton	400	15-16
9.	Dewitt Nelson School for Boys, Stockton (Opens 7/1/69)	400	17-21
10.	Youth Training School, Ontario	1200	17-22
11.	Los Guilucos School for Girls, Santa Rosa	270	All ages
12.	Ventura School for Girls and Reception Center	450	All ages
13.	Ben Lomond Youth Conservation Camp	80	17-21
14.	Mt. Bullion Youth Conservation Camp	80	17-21
15.	Pine Grove Youth Conservation Camp	80	17-21
16.	Washington Ridge Youth Conservation Camp	80	17-21
17.	Department of Corrections Institutions	<u>POPULATION</u>	*
	(a) Deuel Vocational Institution and Reception Center, Tracy	878	18 & up
	(b) California Medical Facility, Vacaville	52	18 & up
	(c) California Rehabilitation Center, Norco	43	18 & up
	(d) California Institution for Women, Frontera	13	18 & up

* A small minority may be under 18.

(Showing Percents of Totals)

Characteristics	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Total first admissions ^a	4,059	4,602	5,337	5,194	5,733	5,488	6,190	5,470	4,998	4,690
Sex.....	4,059	4,602	5,337	5,194	5,733	5,488	6,190	5,470	4,998	4,690
Male.....	86.0	85.4	86.7	85.3	85.3	84.7	84.2	83.8	84.4	84.7
Female.....	14.0	14.6	13.3	14.7	14.7	15.3	15.8	16.2	15.6	15.3
Court.....	4,059	4,602	5,337	5,194	5,733	5,488	6,190	5,470	4,998	4,690
Juvenile court.....	73.6	72.8	72.2	72.0	76.2	76.0	75.1	75.5	71.4	67.5
Criminal court.....	26.4	27.2	27.8	28.0	23.8	24.0	24.9	24.5	28.6	32.5
Area of commitment.....	4,059	4,602	5,337	5,194	5,733	5,488	6,190	5,470	4,998	4,690
Southern California...	58.2	60.8	61.8	61.2	61.5	63.5	66.6	69.4	68.3	67.6
Los Angeles.....	36.6	38.4	39.7	38.3	40.6	41.8	46.3	47.5	43.8	39.6
San Diego.....	4.5	5.9	7.5	7.0	5.7	6.7	7.2	7.7	6.6	9.1
8 other counties....	17.1	16.5	14.6	15.9	15.2	15.0	13.1	14.2	17.9	18.9
San Francisco Bay area	23.8	21.2	21.4	21.2	22.0	21.3	18.3	16.4	16.5	15.7
Alameda.....	7.5	6.6	7.0	7.2	7.4	6.8	5.4	5.8	4.8	4.2
San Francisco.....	6.7	5.6	5.5	5.2	5.8	5.8	4.5	3.7	4.5	4.5
7 other counties....	9.6	9.0	8.9	8.8	8.8	8.7	8.4	6.9	7.2	7.0
Sacramento Valley....	5.4	4.9	5.0	6.2	5.3	5.8	5.3	4.0	6.0	6.7
San Joaquin Valley....	8.6	8.8	8.5	7.8	7.9	6.5	7.3	6.9	6.5	7.2
22 other counties....	4.0	4.3	3.3	3.6	3.3	2.9	2.5	3.3	2.7	2.8
Commitment offense.....	4,059	4,602	5,337	5,194	5,733	5,488	6,190	5,470	4,998	4,690
Offenses against persons.....	11.7	12.6	12.6	12.2	14.9	14.7	15.2	15.5	15.3	17.9
Offenses against property.....	43.3	42.9	44.2	47.8	44.4	42.4	40.0	39.1	36.8	33.4
Narcotic and drug offenses.....	6.0	6.7	4.5	3.6	4.0	4.9	5.7	7.6	13.2	14.5
W & I Code violations.....	24.0	23.8	24.4	20.1	25.7	26.4	27.5	26.4	24.9	24.0
Other.....	15.0	14.0	14.3	16.3	11.0	11.6	11.6	11.4	9.8	10.2
Ethnic group.....	4,023	4,602	5,337	5,194	5,733	5,488	6,190	5,470	4,998	4,690
White.....	59.8	59.8	58.0	56.2	53.6	53.9	51.5	52.8	54.8	56.9
Mexican-American.....	19.5	18.9	18.4	19.0	18.4	18.0	18.6	17.7	17.1	15.7
Negro.....	18.3	19.4	22.3	22.7	26.1	26.1	27.9	27.6	26.0	25.8
Other.....	2.4	1.9	1.3	2.1	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.1	1.6
Median age in years.....	16.9	17.0	17.0	16.9	16.7	16.8	16.9	16.9	17.2	17.3
Prior record.....	3,990	4,550	4,465	5,101	5,677	5,429	6,147	5,435	4,960	4,661
None.....	6.1	5.9	5.3	4.8	4.4	3.2	3.2	3.0	3.1	3.1
Delinquent contacts w/o commitments.....	49.5	49.8	49.2	44.3	44.6	45.1	44.5	45.4	47.7	48.0
One prior commitment..	32.8	32.3	34.2	37.1	36.6	35.9	37.1	36.8	36.4	35.2
Two or more prior commitments.....	11.6	12.0	11.3	13.8	14.4	15.8	15.2	14.8	12.8	13.7
Parental marital status.....	3,920	4,388	4,307	4,483	4,965	4,829	6,108	5,343	4,914	4,645
Not married.....	6.7	8.9	8.0	7.8	9.0	8.0	3.6	8.0	7.8	6.2
Unbroken.....	38.7	35.4	35.7	35.6	34.5	34.9	33.6	32.8	33.6	36.1
Divorced or separated..	36.9	39.4	41.1	44.3	44.6	44.2	47.0	43.3	42.7	43.2
Death.....	14.5	12.1	13.0	12.3	11.9	12.9	14.4	15.0	15.2	14.2
Other.....	3.2	4.2	2.2	-	-	-	1.4	0.9	0.7	0.3

^a Data for each item may vary due to availability of data.

Appendix 4.

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF TOTAL FIRST COMMITMENTS TO THE YOUTH AUTHORITY, 1964 - 1968

(Showing Percents of Totals)

Characteristics	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Total first admissions ...	5,488	6,190	5,470	4,998	4,690
Religion.....	5,116	5,915	5,204	4,807	4,456
Catholic.....	37.8	38.9	39.3	38.3	37.4
Protestant.....	60.9	60.5	59.9	60.8	61.5
Other.....	1.3	0.6	0.8	0.9	1.1
Tattoos.....	4,181	4,874	4,203	3,621	3,264
None.....	70.2	73.7	75.4	72.2	72.6
One or more.....	29.8	26.3	24.6	27.8	27.4
Narcotics.....	5,429	6,147	5,435	4,960	4,661
None.....	83.0	81.7	74.7	60.6	48.0
Dangerous drugs.....	5.2	4.7	4.0	4.1	7.1
Marijuana.....	9.4	12.0	19.3	31.0	38.9
Opiates.....	2.4	1.6	2.0	4.3	6.0
Weapons.....	5,429	6,147	5,435	4,960	4,661
None.....	77.6	82.7	86.4	90.0	87.8
Present offense.....	10.2	9.9	9.2	8.5	12.0
Past offense.....	9.9	6.0	3.3	1.1	0.1
Both past and present...	2.3	1.4	1.1	0.4	0.1
Number of escapes.....	5,429	6,147	5,435	4,960	4,661
None.....	89.8	88.0	88.1	89.1	89.0
One or more.....	10.2	12.0	11.9	10.9	11.0
Number of co-offenders....	5,429	6,147	5,435	4,960	4,661
None.....	46.1	47.6	47.8	47.8	51.5
One or two.....	40.5	38.7	38.9	39.8	37.2
Three or more.....	13.4	13.7	13.3	12.4	11.3
No. of prior depend. cont..	-	6,147	5,435	4,960	4,661
None.....	-	91.1	89.7	90.7	93.2
One.....	-	6.2	7.9	7.1	5.3
Two or more.....	-	2.7	2.4	2.2	1.5
No. of foster home placmts.	4,916	5,638	5,002	4,501	4,097
None.....	81.4	80.8	81.4	82.2	82.5
One.....	11.5	10.7	9.7	10.0	9.9
Two or more.....	7.1	8.5	8.9	7.8	7.6
Med. age at 1st del. cont..	14.0	14.0	13.9	14.0	14.0
Med. age at 1st prior com..	-	16.0	15.4	15.6	15.6
Med. months from 1st del. contact to YA commit....	30.9	31.0	33.3	34.6	35.3
Alcohol Assoc.w/offense...	-	6,147	5,435	4,960	4,661
None.....	-	76.1	78.9	85.8	90.0
Present offense.....	-	9.2	6.3	5.9	9.0
Past offense.....	-	9.9	9.1	5.6	0.7
Both past and present...	-	4.8	5.7	2.7	0.3

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF TOTAL FIRST COMMITMENTS TO THE YOUTH AUTHORITY, 1964 - 1968

(Showing Percents of Totals)

Characteristics	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Total first admissions....	5,488	6,190	5,470	4,998	4,690
Over-all alcohol usage....	5,429	-	5,435	4,960	4,661
None.....	64.8	-	64.9	63.6	62.1
Slight to moderate.....	24.0	-	27.3	32.4	32.3
Excessive.....	11.2	-	7.8	4.0	5.6
Evidence of psychol. disord.	4,854	5,300	4,732	4,238	3,847
Yes.....	25.1	28.7	28.6	27.3	27.7
No.....	74.9	71.3	71.4	72.7	72.3
Grade last enroll. in sch..	5,184	5,972	5,324	4,841	4,548
Grades 1-6.....	5.2	4.3	5.0	2.9	2.5
Grades 7-9.....	46.5	43.7	43.3	39.7	36.8
Grades 10-12.....	47.4	51.0	49.1	54.0	55.9
Graduates and college...	0.9	1.0	2.6	3.4	4.8
Attitude toward school....	4,873*	5,413	4,673	4,174	3,744
Positive.....	28.6	24.7	23.4	23.8	24.8
Indifferent.....	25.1	37.9	36.2	37.4	35.6
Negative.....	20.8	28.4	32.4	31.5	31.5
Extremely negative.....	25.5	9.0	8.0	7.3	8.1
Frequency of sch. misbehav.	-	5,567	4,875	4,372	3,990
None.....	-	12.5	11.6	10.7	11.0
Occasional.....	-	33.4	31.9	32.3	32.0
Betw. occasional & often	-	25.4	27.2	28.2	25.3
Often.....	-	28.7	29.3	28.8	31.7
Parental education level..	-	5,312	4,702	4,173	3,873
8th grade or less.....	-	32.0	29.5	27.8	25.6
High school or less.....	-	56.0	59.1	58.2	59.4
College.....	-	12.0	11.4	14.0	15.0
Family income fr. pub. asst.	-	5,555	4,960	4,447	4,089
None.....	-	73.6	72.3	73.4	73.6
Some.....	-	11.6	11.1	11.2	11.4
All.....	-	14.8	16.6	15.4	15.0
Socio-econ. level of family	-	5,629	5,018	4,524	4,144
Below average.....	-	65.7	62.7	59.8	57.9
Average.....	-	28.3	30.5	33.1	35.0
Above average.....	-	6.0	6.8	7.1	7.1
Father (or surrogate)					
Criminal Record.....	4,971	4,793	4,283	3,829	3,465
Yes.....	19.7	29.6	29.3	25.8	24.5
No.....	80.3	70.4	70.7	74.2	75.5
Descript. of ward's friends	-	5,610	4,971	4,442	4,104
No friends.....	-	218	165	139	96
Total with friends.....	-	5,392	4,806	4,303	4,008
Mainly delinquent.....	-	38.6	40.6	42.2	44.5
Mixed-tend. to delinq.	-	42.2	40.2	40.9	40.5
Mixed-tend. to non-del.	-	11.5	12.1	10.4	9.7
Mainly non-delinquent.	-	7.7	7.1	6.5	5.3

*Old code used different wording and 5 categories. "Positive" contains 2 top categories.

END