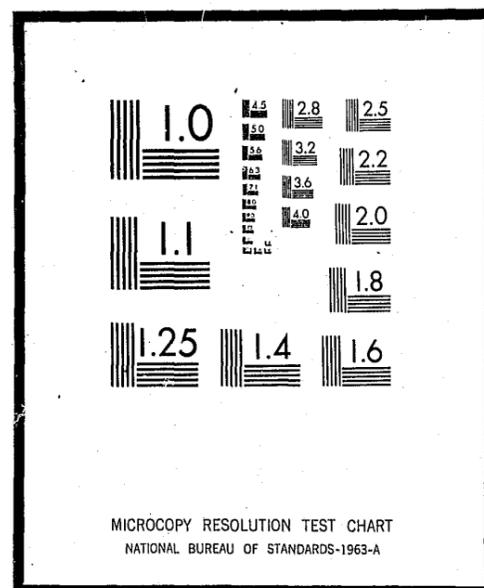


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ROUTING PATTERNS
IN THE
JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM
IN SIOUX CITY:
A CASE HISTORY APPROACH

by

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INTRODUCTION

This research was designed 1) to develop a typology of career trajectories to show the different routing patterns youngsters experience in the juvenile justice system and 2) to identify the criteria which are used at critical decision points in this system and which determine the career trajectory types.

The four career trajectories were identified as recurring patterns in the data on the most frequent offenders: the slow failure, a youngster who enters the juvenile justice system at an early age and continues to commit offenses which result in a gradual deepening of his involvement in the system until he reaches the training school; the fast failure, a youngster who begins his official delinquent career later, accumulates a somewhat less serious offense history, but who also reaches the training school; the apparent success, an older juvenile who has been officially out of trouble for about two years; and the potential success, an older juvenile who has not had Youth Bureau contact for a year.

Four decision points in the juvenile justice system, the Youth Bureau, the Intake Office, the Probation Office, and the State Department of Social Services, were studied to learn what criteria were used in determining the disposition of delinquent youngsters coming to their attention. The report generally outlines the options present at each point, the general guidelines described as being in use, and the quantitative data derived from those case histories processed through these points.

A brief overview of the research process precedes the presentation of these findings. A more detailed description of the research process is given in Appendix A. Background information on the cases included in the sample and further descriptive data gathered in conjunction with the career information are presented in Appendices B and C.

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The research design called for a two-stage sampling process which would produce a stratified random sample of 200 cases of youth who had had some contact with the juvenile justice system. An initial systematic sample of 528 cases drawn from the Sioux City Youth Bureau file was stratified on the basis of age and number of contacts. Ages ranged from four to 18; contacts were classified as "minimal" if there were only one Youth Bureau contact, "moderate" if there were from two to five contacts, and "maximal" if there were six or more. A second sample was then drawn from the first 528 cases. A 20% random sample (64 cases) of the "minimals" was taken, a 50% sample of the "moderates" (72 cases), and a 100% sample (64 cases) of the "maximals."

Interview schedules were developed for use in interviews with the parents or parent substitutes, with the juveniles themselves, with public and private agency personnel who had worked with the juveniles, and with members of the Youth Bureau. Paid interviewers were trained and began the data collection process by interviewing the parent or parent substitute. If the parent agreed, the youngster was interviewed; if the parent signed a release of information, staff members of the juvenile justice system and/or of social agencies who had worked with the youngster were interviewed and the youngster's Youth Bureau record was obtained.

Because of the continued need for replacements at a rate which made it difficult to maintain control over the project's time schedule, a final set of replacements was drawn to bring the sample size up to 200 cases. Of the 200 cases attempted, one or more interviews were completed in 165 cases, or 82.5%. The remaining 35 cases were dropped after an average of 4.13 attempts per case. There were 162 completed parent interviews, with 138 releases of information obtained, and

131 juvenile interviews. Agency interviews totaled 105, Youth Bureau interviews were attempted only on maximal cases and 36 were completed. The table below shows the distribution of completed interviews by offense groups.

OFFENSE GROUP	COMPLETED INTERVIEWS				TOTAL
	Parent Interviews	Juvenile Interviews	Agency Interviews	Youth Bureau Interviews	
MINIMALS	48	35	2	0	85
MODERATES	60	49	18	0	127
MAXIMALS	54	47	85	36	222
TOTAL	162	131	105	36	434

Three juveniles who were in the custody of the state were interviewed and releases of information were obtained even though parent interviews could not be completed. The final research sample on which this report is based includes 48 "minimal" cases, 60 "moderate" cases, and 57 "maximal" cases, for a total of 165 cases. These 165 cases represent a total of 681 contacts with the Youth Bureau.

TYPOLOGY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENT CAREERS

The search for career trajectories in the juvenile cases studied began with an examination of the most serious offenders since it was believed that their histories would reveal the most fully developed careers. Analysis of the sample of 57 cases of "maximals," i.e., juveniles having six or more complaints recorded at the Youth Bureau, resulted in the characterization of four career patterns: the slow failure, the fast failure, the apparent success, and the potential success.

Career patterns are based on the following factors: 1) age of entry into the juvenile justice system, i.e., age at time of first delinquency contact with the Youth Bureau; 2) number of complaints and frequency of subsequent contacts; 3) seriousness of the justice system's disposition of each incident, i.e., "depth" of the youngster's involvement in the system, ranging from none at all ("no official action taken" or "warned and admonished and released") to state custody of the youngster and placement in a training school (defined as "the bottom" of the system); and 4) the rate of decline or progression in the system, i.e., the length of time taken to reach the youngster's deepest involvement.

Careers were defined as "successes" or "potential successes" if the youngster had not had any contact with the Youth Bureau for a year or longer. Careers of youngsters, however, who had no Youth Bureau contact because they remained placed in state juvenile homes or training schools were not considered successes. Careers were considered "failures" if the juvenile had had Youth Bureau contact within the last half year.

Using these criteria, it was possible to type 12 cases as "apparent successes" or "potential successes," with six cases closely approximating a success

model, and 18 cases as "failures," with nine cases approximating the failure model. Slightly under 80% of the maximal cases are thus fitted or approximated to the four-fold typology.

The Slow Failure

The juvenile career characterized as a "slow failure" contacts the justice system early, between the ages of five and eleven; he is in the system a long time, from five to twelve years, and more or less continuously in contact with the Youth Bureau through a series of offenses. He is processed more deeply into the correctional system, often as a result of clusters of offenses, until he is placed in a group home or becomes a ward of the state. There is no diminution of his involvement in the justice system. His decline is usually marked by a series of plateaus representing time spent on unofficial probation, official probation, in a foster or group home, and then finally perhaps in a state institution.

Eight maximal cases in the research sample show this pattern. The youngsters, all males, range in age from 14 to 17 years, with an average of 15.8 years. The average age of their entry into the justice system is about 7.2 years (computed in six-month periods, with a range between 5½ and 10½ years).

Offense patterns vary somewhat. The average number of delinquency complaints registered against the youngster is 21.3. The average number of times the youngster has contacted the Youth Bureau is 14.8. All the cases are currently in the system, and at their point of deepest involvement. They have spent from 5½ to 11½ years, or an average of about 7½ years, reaching this point. In every case the youngster has been removed from the home to a group home or custody has been awarded to the state.

In addition to the eight cases fitting the "slow failure" model in all respects, there are five cases of early entry into the system (average entry age is 8½ years, with a range between 6½ and 10 years) who have not yet played out the

full role of "slow failure," but who seem to fit the model in many respects. Their average number of complaints is 10.4, ranging from 6 to 18; the average number of Youth Bureau contacts is 8.2. They have been in the system from five to eight years, with an average of 6.4 years. Four of the cases are males and one is a female. All of them are either on official or unofficial probation. However, since they are almost the same age (average age is 15.6 years) as the "slow failure" group, but have not gotten as deeply involved in the system, they may represent successful stalling by the probation process of the delinquent's decline into deeper involvement in the justice system.

The Fast Failure

The "fast failure" refers to the career of a youngster who entered the justice system in his early teens and in the space of two to four years became a ward of the state, usually confined to a state training school. Ten cases in the research sample follow this model, six males and four females.

Age at the time of first contact with the Youth Bureau ranged from ten to fifteen years, with an average of 12.7 years. Like the slow failures, all are currently at the point of their deepest involvement in the justice system: seven of the ten are at state training schools, two are at state homes for juveniles, and one is a ward of the state but not placed in an institution. Unlike the slow failures, these youngsters have only spent from two to five years in the system, with an average of about 3½ years. Their average age, 16.3 years, is somewhat older than that of the "slow failures."

In terms of offense patterns, the "fast failures" were recorded to have from 8 to 39 complaints, with an average of 14.9, somewhat less than the "slow failures." Their average number of Youth Bureau contacts, 9.7, is also less. They have, then, telescoped the process of "hitting bottom" in the juvenile justice system when compared with the more gradual "slow failures."

Four cases, all male, pose a special problem in classification. They are similar to "fast failures" in the rapidity with which they reach their depth of involvement, and they are similar to "slow failures" in the early age at which they enter the justice system. However, at this point their average age is only 11. They entered the system between the ages of 8 and 10 (average of 8.9 years), have been in the system three years or less (average of 2.1 years), have accumulated from 7 to 15 delinquency complaints (average of 11 complaints) with from 6 to 13 Youth Bureau contacts (average of 8.3 contacts). The depth of their involvement ranges from unofficial probation to placement in a group home. It is difficult to type these "accelerated" early entries since none of them has yet reached the age of twelve. If they continue to be active cases, but the depth of their involvement levels off, they will fit the "slow failure" model.

The Apparent Success

The career described as a "success" concludes with a period of about two years free of delinquency complaints and Youth Bureau contacts. All six such cases in the study sample are males, currently 17 or 18 years old (average is 17½ years), who have not had juvenile justice involvement since they were 15 or 16. Their age of entry was 13 or 14, with one case entering at 16, (average age of 14.2 years). Their delinquent careers were short, averaging less than a year and a half. Yet in that time they accumulated an average of 13.2 delinquency complaints (range from 8 to 29) in an average of four Youth Bureau contacts (range from two to eight). Their depth of involvement varied, including unofficial probation (two cases), official probation (one case), court hearing and referral outside the justice system (two cases), and foster home placement (one case).

An analysis of the data on the 60 "moderate" cases, i.e., juveniles having from two to five contacts with the Youth Bureau, revealed only four cases, two

males and two females, whose careers met the "apparent success" criterion of two years without Youth Bureau contact or complaints. All four are 17 or 18 years old now. Eleven cases from the sample of minimalists, nine males and two females, met the criterion. More than half of these were also 17 or 18 years old. Only three had had any involvement beyond the Youth Bureau: one had gone to court, another had been on unofficial probation, and the third had been referred to Intake.

The Potential Success

Juvenile careers involving no Youth Bureau contact for at least a year, but which had had it the year before, were termed "potential successes." Six cases, five female and one male, were in this category. Their average age is 17.2 years. Age of entry into the justice system ranged from 12 to 14 years, with the average being almost 13 years. The average length of their involvement was 3 years; depth of involvement varied from unofficial probation (two cases), to official probation (three cases), to state custody (one case). The number of complaints averaged 8.3, with a range from 6 to 14, and the number of Youth Bureau contacts averaged 7.5, with a range from 4 to 12.

A last group of six similar cases approximates in some respects both the success and the failure career models. However, since they are closest in patterning to the "potential successes" in age of entry, number of complaints and number of contacts, and second closest in length and depth of involvement, they are considered approximations of that model.

These six cases, five males and one female, had their first contact between the ages of 12 and 16 (average age of 13.8 years). They have had the relatively short term involvement (average of 2.5 years) associated with the success model and have progressed no deeper than official probation (two cases). Their average number of offenses is nine and Youth Bureau contacts is 6.7. Since their

average age is already 16 years, it seems unlikely that there will be a spurt of delinquency complaints which would result in the deepening of their involvement and define them as "fast failures."

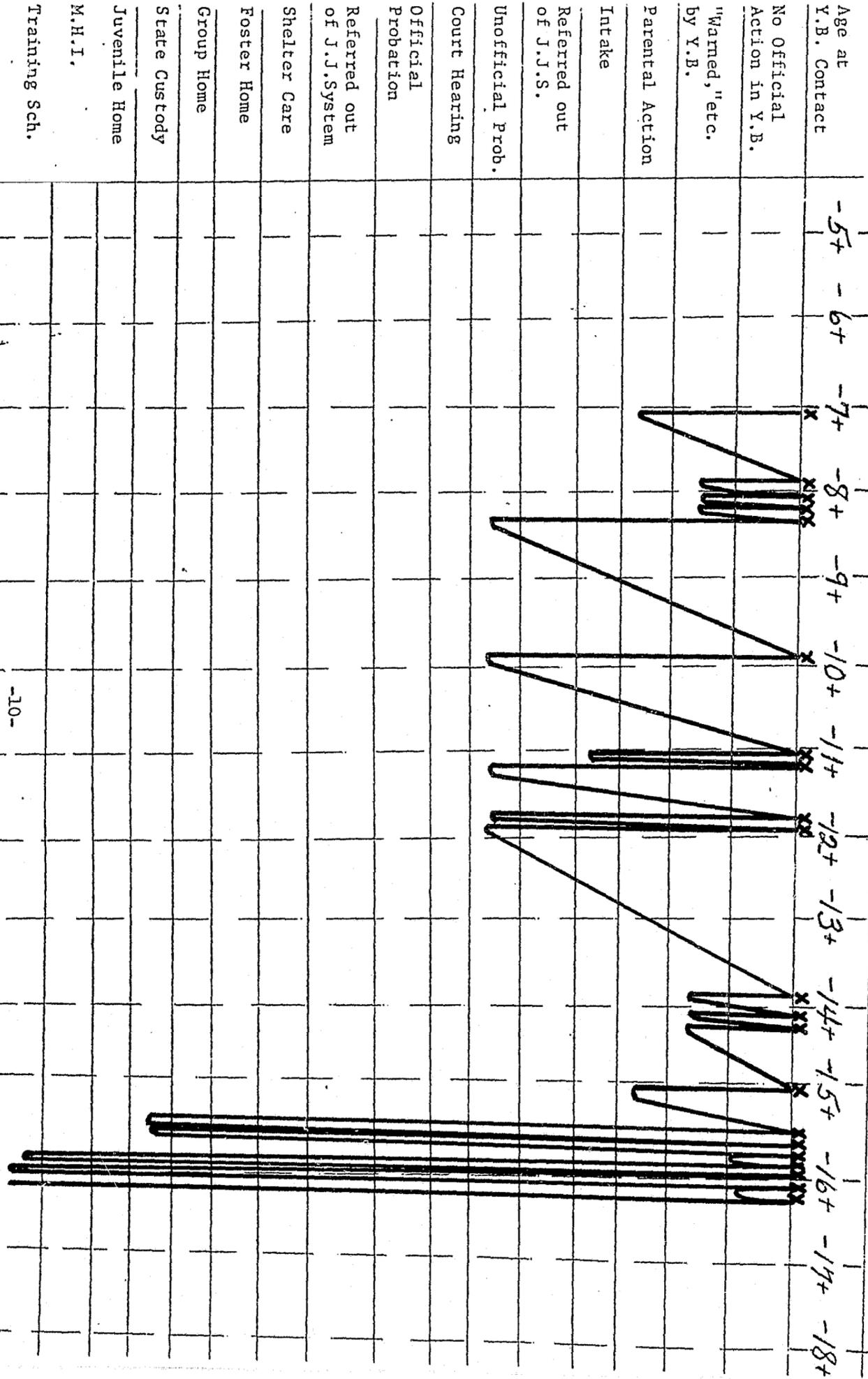
A summary of the four career models is given below in table form. Cases representative of each of the types are graphed on the following pages.

TYPOLOGY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENT CAREER TRAJECTORIES

TYPES	<u>X̄ Age of Entry</u>	<u>Greatest Depth of Involvement</u>	<u>X̄ Length of Involvement</u>	<u>Youth Bureau X̄ Complaints</u>	<u>X̄ Contacts</u>
Slow Failure	7.2 yrs.	Training School	7.5 yrs.	21.3	14.8
Fast Failure	12.7 yrs.	Training School	3.5 yrs.	14.9	9.7
Potential Success	13.0 yrs.	State Custody	3.0 yrs.	8.3	7.5
Apparent Success	14.2 yrs.	Foster Home	1.3 yrs.	13.2	4.0

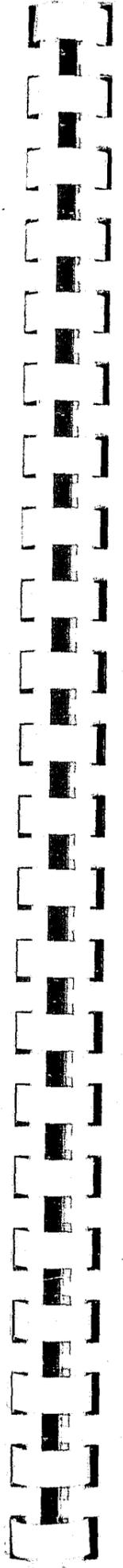
A Note on the Untyped Cases

The twelve cases which did not approximate any of the four models included two cases whose length of involvement was so short that a pattern could not be established from the single cluster of offenses, two cases in which younger "fast failures" showed gradual progression out of the system, two cases in which "slow failures" likewise showed some diminution of involvement, one case of a "slow failure" with very little Youth Bureau contact, two cases in which the youngster had been out of trouble for six months but less than a year, and three varying cases in which offenses continue but there is no pattern of involvement in the justice system at all.

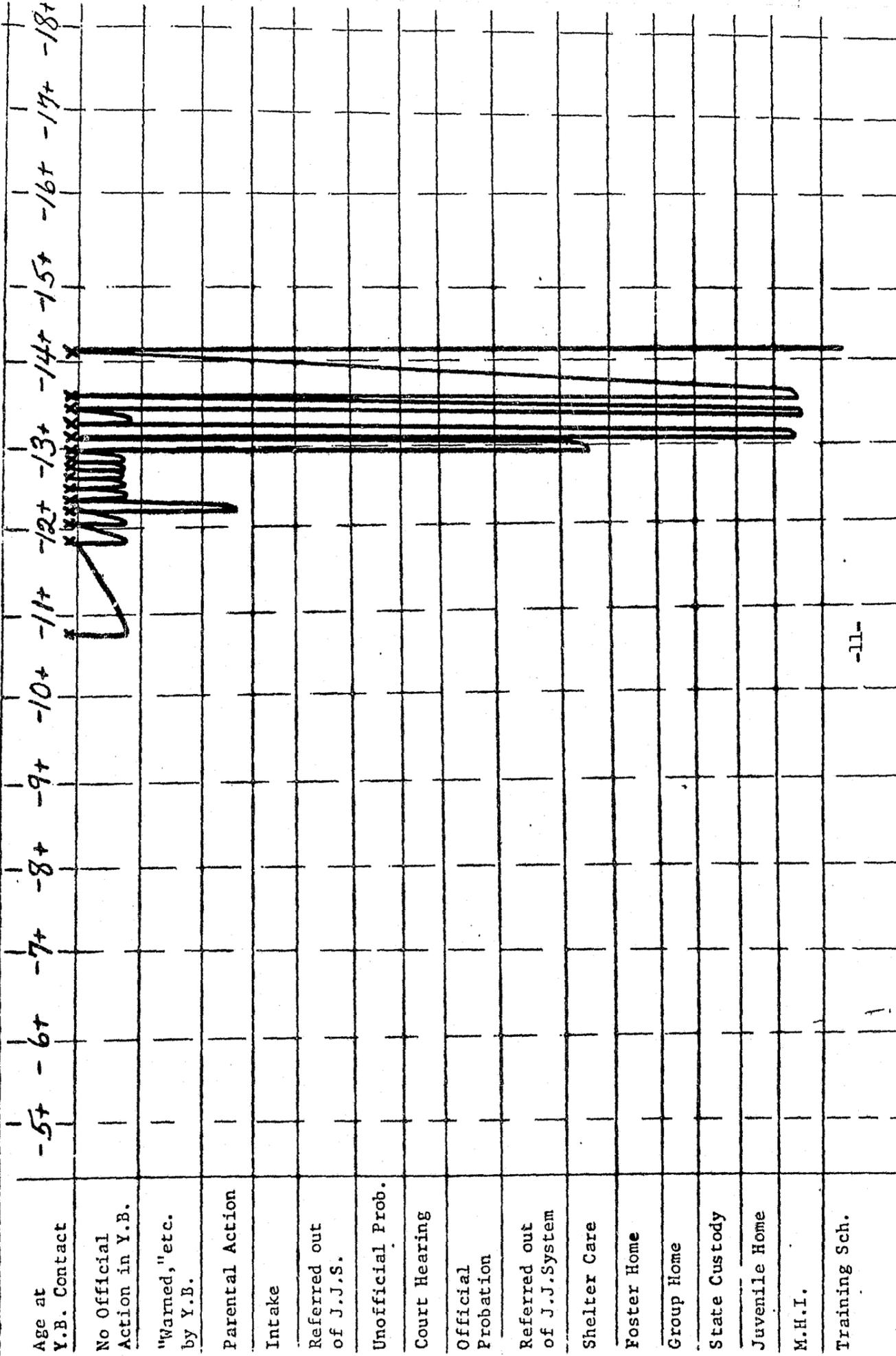


M.H.I.
Training Sch.

SLOW FAILURE



FAST FAILURE



M.H.I.
Training Sch.

Unofficial Prob.
 Referred out
 of J.J.S.
 Intake
 Parental Action
 by Y.B.
 "Warned," etc.
 Action in Y.B.
 No Official
 Y.B. Contact
 Age at

-5+ -6+ -7+ -8+ -9+ -10+ -11+ -12+ -13+ -14+ -15+ -16+ -17+ -18+

POTENTIAL SUCCESS

APPARENT SUCCESS

Age at Y.B. Contact	-5+	-6+	-7+	-8+	-9+	-10+	-11+	-12+	-13+	-14+	-15+	-16+	-17+	-18+
No Official Action in Y.B.														
"Warned," etc. by Y.B.														
Parental Action														
Intake														
Referred out of J.J.S.														
Unofficial Prob.														
Court Hearing														
Official Probation														
Referred out of J.J. System														
Shelter Care														
Foster Home														
Group Home														
State Custody														
Juvenile Home														
M.H.I.														
Training Sch.														

Verification of the Typology

Independent and striking confirmation of the classification of cases into the four-fold typology is provided by the ratings assigned to the youngsters by their probation officers. All of the cases classified as "successes" and 15 of the 18 cases classified as "failures" were the subjects of interviews with probation officers. The following table summarizes the ratings made of these juveniles' likelihood of staying out of trouble. It shows that no careers classified as apparent or potential "successes" had been rated low, and no careers classified as "failures" had been rated high in likelihood of staying out of trouble. The distribution of ratings given to all the maximal cases included in probation interviews is shown for comparison purposes.

LIKELIHOOD OF STAYING OUT OF TROUBLE*

	LOW	MOD. LOW	MOD.	MOD. HI	HIGH	NO RATING
"Successes"	0%	0%	25%	8%	33%	33%
"Failures"	27	33	13	0	0	27
All Maximals	20	18	18	18	8	16

*Percentages in this and subsequent tables may not equal exactly 100% due to rounding off the numbers.

In addition, ratings by probation officers on other dimensions generally reflect a more favorable opinion of those cases whose careers are classified as "successes." The following table summarizes these ratings. Probation officers were asked to rate the juvenile in terms of their last contact with him.

Characteristic of Juvenile	Career Type	Rating Scale					No Rating
		Low 1	2	3	4	High 5	
Insight	S	0%	17%	33%	17%	0%	33
	F	13	20	40	0	0	27
Hostility	S	33	33	0	0	0	33
	F	7	7	20	27	13	27
Frustration	S	0	42	25	8	0	25
	F	0	7	0	53	13	26
Positive Self Concept	S	0	33	33	8	0	25
	F	27	27	20	0	0	26
Cooperativeness	S	0	8	8	50	0	33
	F	0	60	0	13	0	27
Courtesy	S	0	0	8	33	17	42
	F	0	7	53	13	0	27

Youngsters characterized as "successes" were rated as more courteous and cooperative, and as having a better self-concept and more insight than the "failures." They were perceived as less frustrated and much less hostile.

Comparison of "Successes" and "Failures"

Cases considered as "successes" among the maximal offenders obviously differ from the "failures" in the continuity of the youngster's presence in the home. They are similar, however, in the continuity of parental figures. The parent who was interviewed had not been out of the home for any extended period of time in 92.85% of the "success" cases and 83.33% of the "failure" cases; for both types, the other spouse had not been out of the home in 50% of the cases. Parents of "successes" are slightly more likely than parents of "failures" (85.71% to 77.77%) to report that they are getting along all right with their youngsters now, though both groups are very positive.

In terms of ethnicity, "successes" and "failures" are about equally likely to be white. The following table shows their relative socio-economic status, as measured by the median income of their census tracts.

	Census Tracts			
	High Status	Med.Hi Status	Medium Status	Low Status
"Successes"	0%	28.6%	7.1%	64.3%
"Failures"	0	16.7	33.3	50.0

In terms of attitudes, "successes" are likely to report as most trustworthy either probation officers (28.57%) or lawyers (21.42%) when presented with a list of positions associated with the juvenile justice system. The only category considered most trustworthy by a comparable percentage of the "failures" was parole officers (22.22%). Of those categories with whom the youngsters were certain to have had contact, police and teachers scored the lowest. Parents of "successes" chose probation officers and judges (28.57% for both) as those they would trust the most; parents of failures chose

"social workers" most frequently (22.22%).

Asked whom they would trust the least, "successes" named parole officers (28.57%), though it is doubtful that most of them would have had contact with any of them. Parents of "successes" also chose parole officers (28.57%). "Failures" chose parole officers (27.77%) and judges (22.22%). There was no pattern to the responses of the parents of "failures."

"Successes" reported that they would be most likely to get a fair deal from social workers or the police (28.57% for both) if they were in trouble. "Failures" chose judges (27.77%). Parents of "successes" chose social workers (50.00%) while parents of "failures" chose judges (22.22%).

DECISION POINT CRITERIA

Five decision points in the juvenile justice system can be easily identified: the Youth Bureau, the Juvenile Intake Office and the Juvenile Court, the Probation Office, and the Bureau of Family and Children's Services of the Iowa Department of Social Services. The five represent publicly funded staffs legally authorized to deal with delinquent youngsters. To preserve anonymity, only those points staffed by more than one person were involved directly in the interviews of the study. Data gathered from the Youth Bureau files relative to the Intake Office and the Juvenile Court are included, but no interviews were conducted with these two positions.

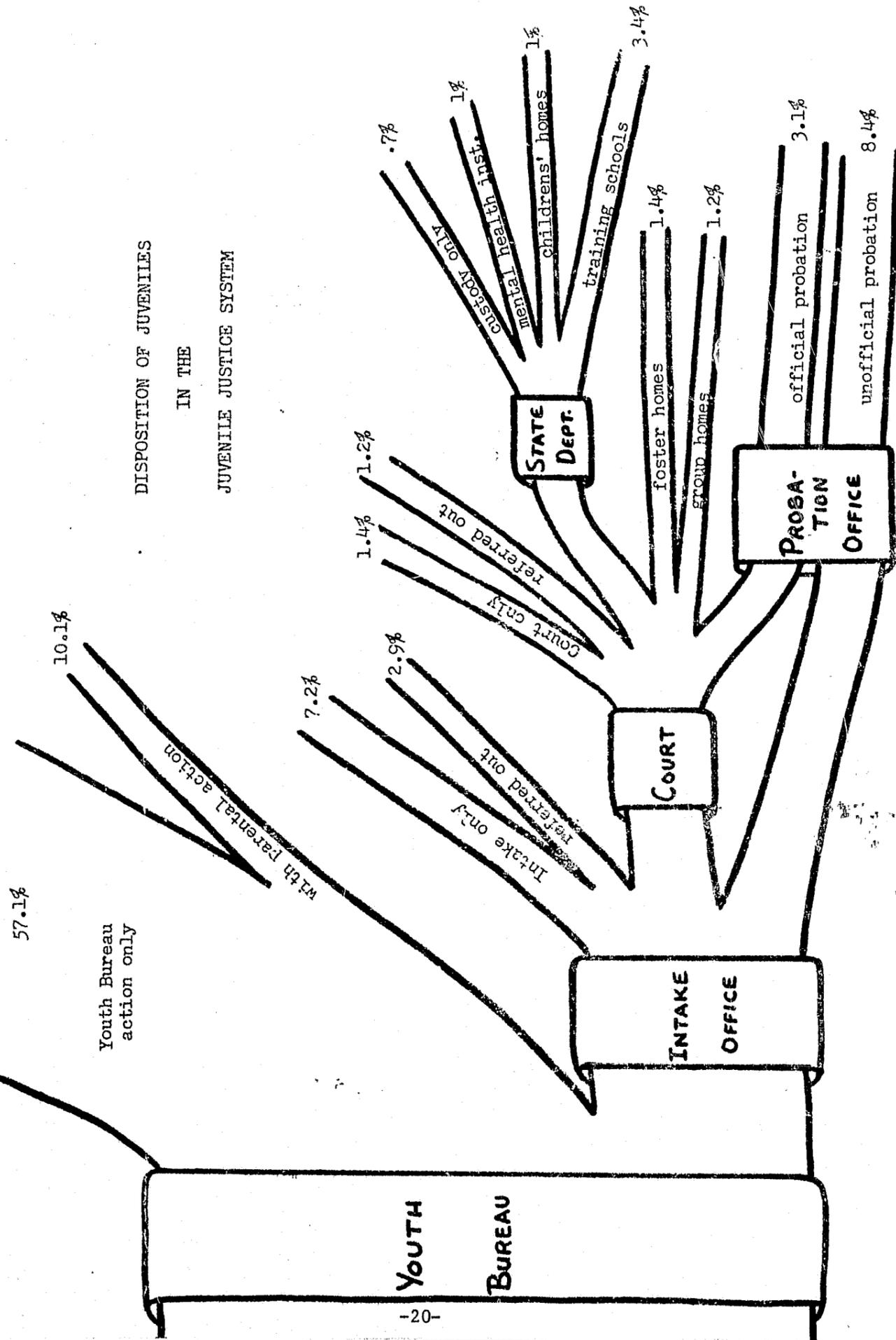
The Youth Bureau, the ordinary point of entry into the juvenile justice system, acts as the crucial gatekeeper. Though there are other ways to enter the system, the ordinary channel is through a Youth Bureau complaint. The Youth Bureau has the initial discretionary power to decide which complaints will result in further routing into the system and which will be handled summarily. Of all decision points in the system, the Youth Bureau deals with the most heterogeneous population of juveniles; it is responsible for the first "sorting" operation. It deals with these "unsorted" juveniles in a kind of crisis situation and on the relatively narrow basis of a legal infraction. It must make its decisions quickly, within the legal framework provided, and in terms of its own role definition as an arm of the law.

In practice, the Youth Bureau diverts most juveniles away from the juvenile justice system. Over 60% of all first contacts are handled summarily, regardless of age. For youngsters between the ages of 10 and 12 years, the diversion rate of first contacts is 85%. About 40% of all complaints against juveniles received by the Youth Bureau result in no further response. This does not include the 7.4% of the incidents in which the Youth Bureau receives a commitment of some kind from

parents or parent-substitutes to take action relative to the complaint. A little over a third of all complaints are referred on into the system by the Youth Bureau.

Disposition of complaints by the Youth Bureau reflects to some extent the seriousness of the offense, the number of previous contacts, and the age of the juvenile. It also reflects the officers' understanding of their gatekeeper position in the juvenile justice system. Consequently, in general, further routing through the system is reserved for those youngsters whose behavior is convincingly anti-social or truly "delinquent." Symptomatic or pre-delinquent behavior which can hardly be considered "junior crime" is dealt with summarily.

Of the total number of individual youngsters (not complaints or incidents) represented by the study sample, over two-thirds (67.2%) do not go beyond contact with the Youth Bureau. The following diagram shows this major diversionary action of the Youth Bureau, as well as the outcomes of those youngsters who are processed more deeply into the system. It is a cross-sectional view of the distribution of youngsters throughout the system at a single point in time.



It is obvious that the Intake Office receives a "selected" group of youngsters from the Youth Bureau. In turn, it exercises its discretionary power to sort the youngsters, as does the Court, the Probation Office, and the Bureau of Family and Children's Services of the State Department of Social Services. The diagram oversimplifies the system, especially since interaction between the various decision points is required whenever the behavior of the youngster necessitates a review of or change in his status. In addition, foster and group home placements may be in conjunction with Probation Office or State Department supervision. Private agencies relate to this system as points of referral for services. In the material which follows, the operation of these decision points is examined more closely.

The Youth Bureau

This specialized unit of the Police Department exercises the first discretionary power the youngster experiences in the juvenile justice system. The range of possible dispositions which the Youth Bureau can make in a given juvenile incident, depending on the location of the youngster in the system, include:

- 1) taking no official action whatsoever
- 2) handling the case alone
- 3) referring the case to the Juvenile Intake Office
- 4) referring the case to the Probation Officer
- 5) referring the case to the State Department of Social Services or another agency.

The most frequent reason given by the Youth Bureau officers for the action taken in any given incident was "standard procedure." Probing for further explanation resulted in comments which are summarized in the following eight general guidelines. Quotes by the officers illustrate the guidelines.

- 1) A record is kept of every encounter or complaint.
- 2) The first encounter is handled by the Youth Bureau alone, usually by means of a warning followed by the youngster's release to his parents. One officer termed this their "free ride" for the first offense.
- 3) If parental control is present, the youngster is usually not referred to Intake. If parents are concerned and cooperative, the Youth Bureau will rely on them to keep the youngster out of further trouble. "Our feeling is to make the parents aware of it and let them handle it." "We didn't refer the case to Juvenile Intake because the parents agreed to contact Lutheran Social Services." On the other hand, if a mother requests help in handling a youngster, the Youth Bureau will refer the case to Intake.

- 4) If property is recovered or a promise of restitution is made, the youngster will usually not be referred. "Since the father made restitution, the matter was dropped." Other examples include a 10-year-old whose fourth Youth Bureau contact involved larceny from a city truck and whose disposition read, "juvenile card made--tools recovered." Another case involved three such dispositions for a youngster when parents agreed to pay for broken school windows (at age 9, his second contact, and at age 12, his eighth contact) and to make restitution for a larceny at age 15, his eleventh offense.
- 5) If the juvenile is young, he is usually not referred. This is especially true if either of the two preceding guidelines are also operative. The age of 10 seems to be an informal point, cutting off special consideration.
- 6) If the nature of the complaint is serious, or if there is a combination of complaints, the youngster will usually be referred to Intake. One officer summed it up: "Seriousness of the offense dictates what we do." "A more serious offense would warrant referral to Intake." "The value of the merchandise taken indicated the probation office." "Seriousness and frequency is our gauge. Sometimes there are exceptions, for instance, if a kid is extremely hostile."
- 7) If there is a history of previous complaints, the youngster will usually be referred to Intake. Referring to a runaway case, an officer commented, "The previous record dictates that something must be done." Another, speaking of the eighth contact of a 12-year-old bike thief, remarked, "It was apparent that his conduct wasn't going to change." One officer reported that it was "a rule of thumb" that a youngster whose first 3x5 card at the Youth Bureau is filled, "needs some help."

When the offense is serious and there is a previous record of complaints, Intake is most likely. "It's department policy that for more serious offenses, plus several other contacts before, we refer to Probation."

8) If the youngster is on probation or under the jurisdiction of the state, he will be referred back to that office. "Our job is investigation. If he's already on probation, then we send copies of the complaint to the probation office." "It's standard procedure to turn it over to the parole officer,"

Each case is handled individually, though, and the relevant guidelines are applied jointly. The procedure seems to be a low level reaction to early, non-serious offenses. An interesting "special case" was outlined by one of the officers. Commenting on a 16-year-old first-offender with multiple felonies who was put on probation, an officer said, "We moved fast to try to save him. If a kid has stayed out of trouble for 16 years and then has contact, he'll probably go straight if he gets the right help. We feel he has a lot going for him--for some reason he suddenly got off the path, but we can help him." (This youngster's career is one of those classified as a "success.")

Analysis of the data collected from the Youth Bureau records and in interviews with the juveniles and parents gives a detailed picture of the experiences of the juvenile as he encounters the juvenile justice system at its entry point. This information, which generally illustrates the operation of the eight guidelines just outlined, is presented in the narrative and charts which follow.

Minimal cases may give some approximation of the pattern experienced by first offenders since they are, by definition, juveniles with a single contact with the Youth Bureau. The following table compares Youth Bureau

dispositions of the first contacts of the moderate and maximal cases with the dispositions of the single Youth Bureau contacts of the minimal cases.

YOUTH BUREAU DISPOSITIONS OF INITIAL CONTACTS

DISPOSITION	<u>Minimals</u> (48)	<u>Moderates</u> (60)	<u>Maximals</u> (57)
No official action	6.3%	15.0%	15.7%
Youth Bureau only	69.3	63.3	64.8
Referred to Intake *	10.4	13.4	13.9
Referred to State or other agency	2.1	1.7	1.7
No data	12.5	6.7	3.5

*Includes cases referred to the Probation Office before the Intake Office was established.

Except for fewer cases in which no official action is taken with regard to minimal, there is little difference in the initial Youth Bureau dispositions received by the three categories of juveniles. About 15% of the cases in each group are referred and about two-thirds are handled by the Youth Bureau alone.

The influence of the juvenile's age on the disposition of first contacts is shown in the following table. Distributions for each category of offender were weighted (minimal totals multiplied by five and moderates by two to correct for different sampling proportions) and then all three were combined to

give an over-all picture of the relationship of the youngster's age to the seriousness of the Youth Bureau's disposition of his first contact.

YOUTH BUREAU'S INITIAL DISPOSITION, BY AGE

INITIAL Y.B. DISPOSITION:	Age at First Contact*			
	Under 10 Yrs.	10-12 Yrs.	13-15 Yrs.	16-17 Yrs.
No Official Action	16.1%	3.3%	12.7%	2.4%
Youth Bureau Only	62.9	85.6	62.4	64.3
Referred to Intake**	6.4	5.6	12.7	21.4
Referred to State or Other	12.9	5.6	0	0
No Data	1.6	0	12.1	11.9
Weighted Total N	62	90	173	84

* Eight cases for which age at first contact was unknown are not included.

** Includes referrals to Probation Office before Intake Office was established.

Regardless of the youngster's age, the Youth Bureau is likely in over 60% of the cases to handle the first incident by itself. In addition to making out a juvenile card, this may include warning and admonishing the juvenile, calling his parents, and releasing him to parents or relatives. This is most likely to happen if the youngster is 10 to 12 years old. If he is younger, there is some

dispositions of the first contacts of the moderate and maximal cases with the dispositions of the single Youth Bureau contacts of the minimal cases.

YOUTH BUREAU DISPOSITIONS OF INITIAL CONTACTS

DISPOSITION	Minimals (48)	Moderates (60)	Maximals (57)
No official action	6.3%	15.0%	15.7%
Youth Bureau only	69.3	63.3	64.8
Referred to Intake *	10.4	13.4	13.9
Referred to State or other agency	2.1	1.7	1.7
No data	12.5	6.7	3.5

*Includes cases referred to the Probation Office before the Intake Office was established.

Except for fewer cases in which no official action is taken with regard to minimal, there is little difference in the initial Youth Bureau dispositions received by the three categories of juveniles. About 15% of the cases in each group are referred and about two-thirds are handled by the Youth Bureau alone.

The influence of the juvenile's age on the disposition of first contacts is shown in the following table. Distributions for each category of offender were weighted (minimal totals multiplied by five and moderates by two to correct for different sampling proportions) and then all three were combined to

give an over-all picture of the relationship of the youngster's age to the seriousness of the Youth Bureau's disposition of his first contact.

YOUTH BUREAU'S INITIAL DISPOSITION, BY AGE

INITIAL Y.B. DISPOSITION:	Age at First Contact*			
	<u>Under 10 Yrs.</u>	<u>10-12 Yrs.</u>	<u>13-15 Yrs.</u>	<u>16-17 Yrs.</u>
No Official Action	16.1%	3.3%	12.7%	2.4%
Youth Bureau Only	62.9	85.6	62.4	64.3
Referred to Intake**	6.4	5.6	12.7	21.4
Referred to State or Other	12.9	5.6	0	0
No Data	1.6	0	12.1	11.9
Weighted Total N	62	90	173	84

* Eight cases for which age at first contact was unknown are not included.

** Includes referrals to Probation Office before Intake Office was established.

Regardless of the youngster's age, the Youth Bureau is likely in over 60% of the cases to handle the first incident by itself. In addition to making out a juvenile card, this may include warning and admonishing the juvenile, calling his parents, and releasing him to parents or relatives. This is most likely to happen if the youngster is 10 to 12 years old. If he is younger, there is some

likelihood (about 20%) that he will be referred. A somewhat smaller percentage (about 15%) experience no official action at all; these cases are likely to be runaway complaints which were cancelled by parents or relatives. As the age increases at which the first contact occurs, there is a greater reliance on referral to the Intake Office. A comparison of first contact dispositions of the "successes" and "failures" revealed no difference in their patterns.

The pattern of Youth Bureau dispositions for all incidents for each category of juveniles is shown below. Handling the incident by itself is the Youth Bureau's dominant option for contacts with minimal and moderates, but incidents involving maximal show a much more diversified disposition pattern. The weighted total shows that about 46% of all incidents are handled by the Youth Bureau alone, with about 34% being referred to another point in the juvenile justice system.

YOUTH BUREAU DISPOSITION	Youth Bureau Contacts			Total*
	<u>Minimals</u>	<u>Moderates</u>	<u>Maximals</u>	
No official action	6.3%	16.4%	18.5%	15.02%
Youth Bureau only	69.3	57.2	28.3	46.34
Referred to Intake	8.3	17.1	29.5	20.88
Referred to Probation	2.1	1.3	15.8	8.29
Referred to State or other agency	2.1	4.6	6.4	4.88
No data	12.5	3.3	1.5	4.59

* The total is weighted to correct for different sampling proportions; minimal totals are multiplied by five and moderates by two.

Youth Bureau records also indicated if commitment to some kind of action, e.g., restitution by the parent or child, was obtained. In 12.5% of the minimal's

contacts, 7.9% of the moderates', and 4.6% of the maximals' contacts some commitment of this nature was a part of the Youth Bureau's handling of the incident. An over-all weighted total for all such contacts would be 7.4%.

Arrest and detention are two additional prerogatives of the Youth Bureau which can be used in conjunction with the five options listed earlier. In terms of total use, arrest plays a relatively minor role in Youth Bureau dispositions. The following table summarizes the arrest use in all the incidents for the three categories of juveniles in the sample, as it is related to the type of offense.

TYPE OF OFFENSE	ARREST USE					
	MINIMALS		MODERATES		MAXIMALS	
	Total Offenses	% Arrested	Total Offenses	% Arrested	Total Offenses	% Arrested
Status	13	8.3%	54	14.81%	181	26.52%
Multiple Status	20	0	1	100.00%	11	63.64%
Misdemeanor	10	16.7%	59	8.47%	105	3.81%
Status & Misd. Combination	0	0	0	0	5	80.00%
Multiple Misdemeanor	0	0	1	0	9	11.11%
Felony	0	8.3%	21	19.05%	107	15.89%
Felony and Status or Misd.	0	0	2	0	27	22.22%
Multiple Felonies	0	0	8	0	33	33.33%
Other*	5	0	6	0	3	0
Total	48	8.33%	152	11.84%	481	20.37%

*This includes 11 contacts for which data is not available since no release of confidentiality was obtained and the Youth Bureau files could not be used, and 3 cases in which a dependency complaint occurred after a youngster already had contact with the justice system.

Of the frequent offenses among maximals, i.e., those accounting for 100 or more Youth Bureau contacts each, a status offense is most likely to involve an arrest (26.52%), a felony next most likely (15.89%) and a misdemeanor least likely (3.81%). Though the number of incidents is small, the maximals' arrest rate in contacts involving multiple status offenses (63.64%) is much greater than the arrest rate for multiple felonies (33.33%). The majority of status offenses recorded by maximals involves running away, and the relatively high arrest rate in status cases reflects this fact rather than the gravity of the offense.

In an attempt to show the relationship of the disposition choice of the Youth Bureau to the seriousness of the delinquency contact, distributions found for each of the juvenile categories were weighted to correct for different sampling proportions and then combined in the following table.

NATURE OF THE COMPLAINT	YOUTH BUREAU DISPOSITIONS					
	No Official Action	Youth Bureau Only	Referred to Intake	Referred to Prob.Off.	Referred to State, Etc.	No Data
Status	42.1%	29.4%	16.9%	5.1%	4.2%	2.3%
Multiple Statuses	23.1	7.7	38.5	15.4	15.4	0
Misdemeanor	0	81.1	11.8	4.0	3.1	0
Status & Misd.			60.0	20.0	20.0	
Multiple Misd.		9.1	45.5	36.4	9.1	
Felony	1.0	44.2	32.7	12.6	8.0	1.5
Felony & Status or Misd.		19.4	48.4	32.3		
Multiple Felonies		26.5	46.9	22.4	4.1	
Other				2.5	7.5	90.0

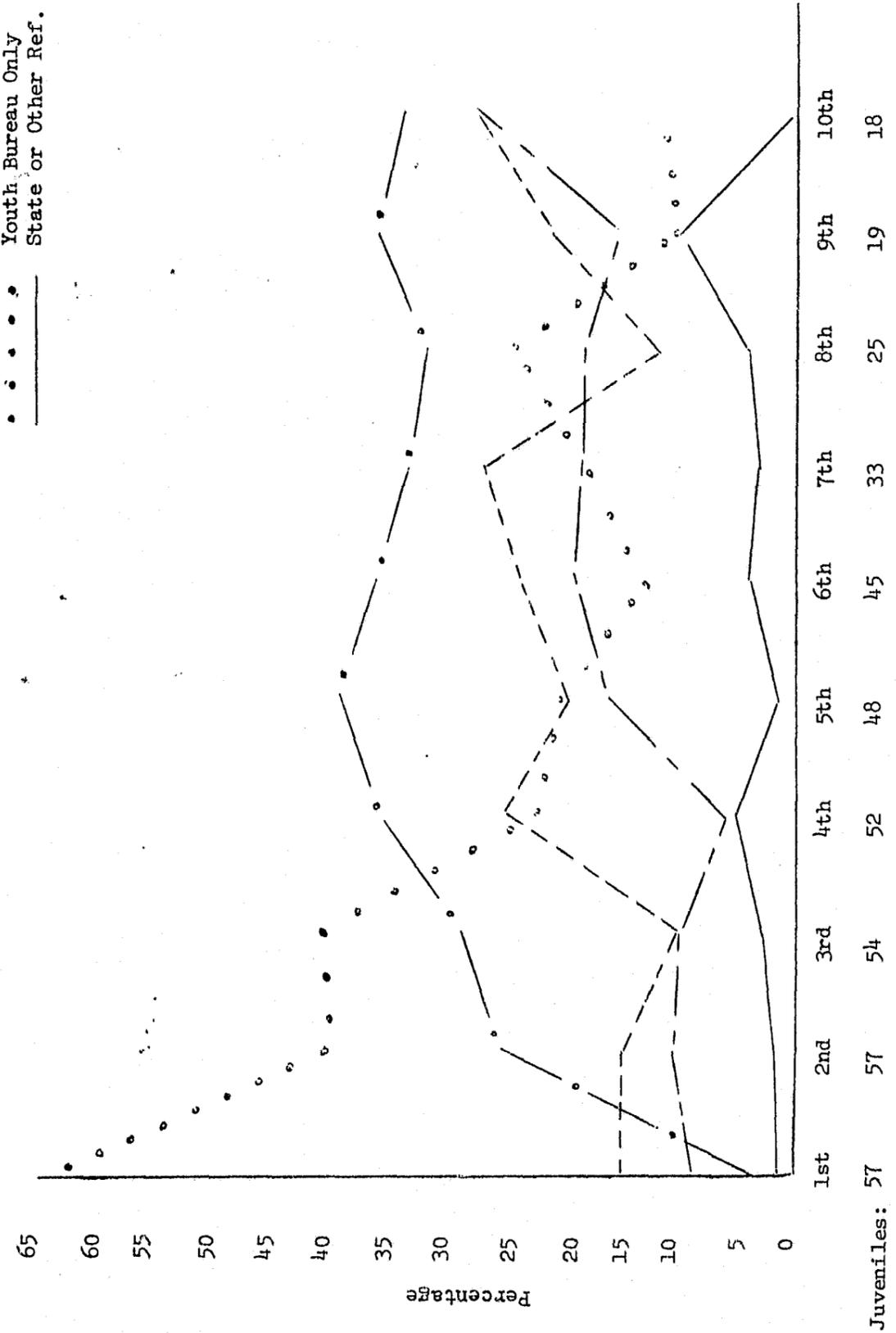
The table shows that there is some tendency for the disposition to be related to the seriousness of the complaint. Three complaint categories account for over

85% of the complaints and show this pattern: in more than 40% of the status complaints, no official action is taken (reflecting the preponderance of reported runaways in this complaint category); in about another 30%, the Youth Bureau handles the contact alone; over 80% of the misdemeanor complaints are handled by the Youth Bureau alone; felony complaints are about equally likely to be referred to Intake or the Probation Office (45.3%) as to be handled by the Youth Bureau alone (44.2%).

The dispositions resulting from the maximals' series of Youth Bureau contacts up to and including their tenth, are graphed below. The number of juveniles involved at each contact point is indicated. (Subsequent contacts, up to and including a twenty-third, involve fewer than 15 youngsters and are not graphed.) Intake referrals increase dramatically in the early contacts, as cases which the Youth Bureau handled alone decrease. The proportion of referrals to the probation and state offices increase as juveniles continue their contacts. The continuous relatively high rate of "no official action" reflects especially the frequent runaway complaints which are cancelled.

TYPE OF Y.B. DISPOSITION, BY CONTACT

--- Probation Ref.
 --- Intake Ref.
 --- No Official Action
 ••• Youth Bureau Only
 --- State or Other Ref.



Y.B. Contacts

Each parent and juvenile was asked by the interviewer to recall the "troubles" the youngster had had with the law and to recount how the incident had been handled. They were then asked how satisfied they were with the way the case was handled. Though these accounts included comments about further dispositions made to or by other social agencies if these were involved, they center on the role of the Youth Bureau and so the information will be reported here.

A total of 481 contacts was identified by Youth Bureau records of the maximal cases. Of these, 127 or about 26% were recalled by juveniles in such a way that they could be matched with the recorded incidents. Parents also recalled 127 identifiable incidents, though these are not all the same cases. Their reported satisfaction or dissatisfaction is shown in the table below. Parents are about 10% more satisfied than their children with the handling of incidents; the youngsters are about evenly divided between satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

SATISFACTION WITH HANDLING OF CONTACT

	<u>% Very Sat.</u>	<u>% Satisfied</u>	<u>% Non-committal, Ambivalent</u>	<u>% Dissatisfied</u>	<u>% V.Dissat.</u>
Parent	10%	44%	15%	26%	5%
Juvenile	4%	40%	15%	39%	2%

A comparison of the reactions expressed by "successes" and "failures" in the table below shows that parents and juveniles in the "success" career categories disagree in their general evaluation of the handling of their cases. More than 75% of the parents are satisfied, including a high percentage who are very satisfied. Yet almost two-thirds of the youngsters are dissatisfied.

Parents and juveniles in the "failure" career categories are quite similar

to each other in expressed satisfaction, falling about midway between the high satisfaction of parents of "success" career cases and the low satisfaction of juvenile "successes." Since it seems reasonable to expect respondents to recall dissatisfying incidents more than the satisfactory ones, the findings may actually underrepresent satisfaction. Parents of "failure" career cases are more ambivalent or non-committal than any other group. Juveniles whose careers are classed as "failures," though they are more negative than their parents, are still less dissatisfied than the juvenile "successes."

SATISFACTION OF SUCCESSSES AND FAILURES

		<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>% Very Sat.</u>	<u>% Satisfied</u>	<u>% Non-committal, Ambivalent</u>	<u>% Dissatisfied</u>	<u>% V. Dissat.</u>
Successes	Par.	26	30.8	46.2	3.8	15.4	3.8
	Juv.	23	4.3	17.4	13.0	56.5	8.7
Failures	Par.	38	7.9	36.8	31.6	18.4	5.3
	Juv.	54	5.6	42.6	13.0	37.0	1.8

In their turn, Youth Bureau officers were asked to describe the attitudes of the juveniles with whom they had dealt and about whom they were being interviewed. Of the 35 replies, 17 cases were described as having "good," "average," or "cooperative" attitudes; 18 were described as having some negative aspects in their attitudes, e.g., "uncooperative," "hostile," "liar," or "withdrawn." Analysis of the "success" and "failure" sub-groups revealed the same evenly divided pattern. Somewhat similarly divided results were obtained when the officers were asked to comment on the appearance of the youngsters; "successes" received a slightly lower rating than failures.

The Juvenile Court Intake Office

Analysis of any further disposition of incidents after the Youth Bureau's action shows that in most cases there is no further action. In more than three-fourths of the incidents involving minimal and moderates, the Youth Bureau response is the only response made; in almost half of the maximal incidents there is no further disposition. This means that the complaint does not produce any deepening involvement in the juvenile justice system. The table below shows the distribution of complaints in terms of the way they were handled subsequent to the Youth Bureau.

YOUTH BUREAU CONTACTS

FURTHER DISPOSITION	<u>Minimals</u>	<u>Moderates</u>	<u>Maximals</u>
None, No Data	79.2%	77.0%	45.9%
Referred "back"*		1.3	22.0
Parental involvement**	12.5	1.9	4.6
Referred out of the System	4.2	1.3	1.9
Unofficial Probation	2.1	5.3	8.7
Court Hearing only***	2.1		.8
Official Probation		1.3	3.1
Court or Prob., + Referral out		.7	1.2
Shelter Care		.7	.4
Foster Home		1.3	2.3
Group Home			2.5
State Custody		.7	1.5
Mental Health Institute		1.3	.8
State Child m's Homes		1.3	1.2
Training Schools			2.9

*Indicates that the incident did not produce a change in the juvenile's status in the justice system.

**Ordinarily refers to a commitment to action obtained by the Youth Bureau.

***Any entry below this on the table will ordinarily presuppose a court action.

The next decision point in the juvenile justice system since the fall of 1970 has been the Juvenile Court Intake Office. Referrals can come to this office directly from parents, from the police, from schools, and from social agencies. Of the Youth Bureau incidents included in this study, 20.88% (weighted percentage)

were referred to the Intake Office by the police. Another 8.29% were referred to the Probation Office. This percentage includes about 3% of the incidents which were referred to the Probation Office before the establishment of the Intake Office; the remaining 5% are incidents which were "referred back" to the Probation Office since the youngster was already in their charge. In the analysis below, only referrals made specifically to the Intake Office by the Youth Bureau are considered.

Four Youth Bureau incidents involving minimal, 26 involving moderates and 142 involving maximal were referred to the Intake Office. The four minimal incidents resulted in one court hearing, a referral out of the system, and no further recorded action in two cases. In the 26 incidents involving moderates, 14 showed no further action taken, six were placed on unofficial probation and two on official probation, two were referred out of the system--one before and one after a court hearing, one incident resulted in placement in a foster home, and one in custody by the state. Only three youngsters classified as moderates were referred to the Intake Office more than once; in each case no further action was taken.

The table below shows what happened to the Youth Bureau's referrals of maximal incidents to the Intake Office, specifying the sequence of the referrals if a youngster had more than one. Thirteen juveniles were referred only once, nineteen were referred twice, thirteen were referred three times, and ten were referred four or more times. Two juveniles classified as maximal had never been referred to the Intake Office.

FURTHER DISPOSITION OF Y.B. REFERRALS TO INTAKE

FURTHER DISPOSITION	Referrals								Total	%
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th		
None, No Data	17	7	4	1	1	1			31	21.8
Referred Back	3	15	14	3	2	1	1		39	27.5
Parental Involvement	2								2	1.4
Referred out of the System		1							1	.7
Unofficial Probation	17	9	2						28	19.7
Court Hearing Only	1	1			1				3	2.1
Official Probation	2	3	1	3					9	6.3
Court or Prob., + Ref. out	3				1				4	2.8
Shelter Care	1								1	.7
Foster Home	3	1							4	2.8
Group Home	4	1	1	1			1		8	5.6
Mental Health Institute	1								1	.7
State Custody*	1	4	1	2	2	1			11	7.7
TOTAL	55	42	23	10	7	3	1	1	142	

*Includes placement in state children's homes and training schools.

About half of the referrals to Intake of incidents involving minimal and moderate resulted in no further action. Less than a third of the referrals of maximal incidents resulted in no action, a number equal to the number which resulted in unofficial probation. Slightly over 28% of the Youth Bureau incidents involving maximal referred to Intake were taken to court. About the same percentage were referred back to a previous disposition, ordinarily unofficial probation, to give the earlier arrangement another chance.

A comparison of the Intake experiences of "success" and "failure" careers is difficult since many of these careers, especially those of the "slow failures," developed a good part of their history before the Intake Office was established.

The Probation Office

If an incident or complaint precipitates any involvement in the juvenile justice system beyond the Youth Bureau, it is most likely to be unofficial probation. This represents one of a number of options after the Juvenile Intake Office decides that a youngster is to be turned over to the Probation Office.

The first choice has been whether or not to go to court. If a case is not taken to court it is handled as "unofficial probation," a short-term counseling situation. If the youngster is believed to need a more structured relationship with the Probation Office, or if the unofficial probation arrangement does not work out, a petition is filed and a court hearing is held. If the youngster is placed on "official probation," a number of options are open to the probation officer, working with the court. He can

- 1) work with the youngster through regularly scheduled conferences, setting such limits as he believes are necessary to have the youngster avoid future contact with the law and/or
- 2) refer the youngster to other agencies for specialized services and/or
- 3) place the youngster in a foster home or
- 4) place the youngster in a group home.

Of the incidents included in the study, minimal encounters never reached the stage of producing official probation. This can be interpreted to some extent as the typical experience of the first offender. Moderate encounters show something of the same range of outcomes as maximal encounters. Interviews were held with probation officers concerning those juveniles who had been on probation. Sixty-two interviews were completed, involving one minimal, 12 moderate, and 49 maximal cases.

Asked what they felt the maximal cases needed when they were referred to the Probation Office, about 35% of the cases were described as needing regular counseling, psychiatric help or help with personal problems. Another 29% needed "restrictions," "limits," or "structure." About 18% of the youngsters needed to

be removed from the home; most of these also were described as having other needs as well. In about 6% of the cases, the youngster needed "someone to talk to," informal counseling, or a probation aide. In 12% of the cases there was no data available on the worker's opinion of what the youngster needed since the probation officer who handled the case was no longer there and the interview was based on case records.

Probation officers interviewed about maximal cases reported that they were able to give the needed treatment in over 75% of the cases. The treatment reported as given or arranged by the Probation Office is summarized below for the two types of careers and the total number of maximals about whom interviews were obtained. Several cases were reported to have received more than one type of treatment; percentages thus total more than 100%. Differences in wording due to the open-endedness of this and the previous question make direct comparison difficult.

Treatment Given	MAXIMAL CASES			%
	"Successes" (11)	"Failures" (15)	Total (49)	
Informal supportive relationship	1	1	5	22
Regular counseling, direction	6	3	17	74
Unofficial probation	3	1	7	30
Setting limits, structures	2	2	8	35
Official probation	1	0	5	22
Psychiatric care	1	4	7	30
Foster home	1	3	5	22
Group home	1	4	5	22
Special educ. arrangements	0	0	2	9
Transfer to the State	0	0	1	4

The most frequent treatment is some type of regular counseling or direction, often involving the setting of guidelines and limits for the youngster. It can be official or unofficial probation, depending on whether or not court action has been taken.

Probation officers were asked, "What are some of the reasons you handled

[this case] in the way that you did?" The results are summarized in the table below, for all maximals and according to career types.

Reasons for Treatment	MAXIMAL CASES		Total (49)
	"Successes" (11)	"Failures" (15)	
Home and family problems	6	3	15
Personal-emotional problems		4	9
Failure of other programs		4	7
Positive aspects of case			4
Inapplicable, no reasons*	5	4	14

*Generally represents cases whose probation officer no longer works on the probation staff.

The most frequent reason cited by the probation staff for its actions with regard to juveniles referred to them, was some reference to the home or family situation. This was always true in cases of out-of-home placement, but in other cases as well. Home and family problems included too little and too much discipline (usually the former), communication problems, conflict between parent and juvenile, and general instability and disorganization of family structure and interaction. "The main problem was a lack of love and security in the home." "We had a lot of problems with the parents and no control over them." "There is no mother and the dad is gone much of the time--working two jobs." "There was no father, no male image."

Personal-emotional problems were identified as the reason for the probation officer's action in nine cases. "There was some drug use, he was burning himself on his arms...." "Pretty intensive counseling was the positive support she needed."

A kind of admission of defeat characterized the explanations of the probation staff in seven cases: "everything fell through" and "the problems were never solved at any level." "We tried to structure his environment without confining him, but we finally had to turn him over to the state for placement in the state training school." "There were no other alternatives on the county level." Often

repeated running away marked the progression toward a more controlled setting. Sometimes the staff member's comment expressed the desire to impress the youngster with the importance of the law: "he had been thumbing his nose at the law" and "I had overlooked two previous referrals and he thought I was taking a passive attitude so I had to try and change his outlook."

In four instances the probation staff member noted a strength in the youngster or his situation as the reason for a particular arrangement, e.g., unofficial probation. "He was a good kid, could be handled without a judge" and "his attitude was good--I didn't feel he was a hardcore delinquent."

In describing the manner in which the Probation Office contacted and serviced the maximal cases, the staff gave the following data which show some differences between the experiences of maximals with "success" careers and those with "failure" careers, even at the initial contact. Typically, both types come to the Probation Office by means of a Youth Bureau referral, as do maximals in general.

<u>Probation Office Contact and Service</u>	<u>% Successes</u>	<u>% Failures</u>	<u>% Total</u>
The first contact was followed by immediate service.	83	53	78
Significant contact was established within a month.	58	26	61
The youngster was alone at the time of the first contact.	8	20	16
The youngster's version of the situation which brought him was based on his legal offense.	67	27	51
The youngster's attitude was favorable, good, cooperative.	58	27	41
The youngster was contacted frequently, about weekly.	58	27	43
Staff involvement with the youngster was intensive.	92	60	78
The youngster needed to be removed from the home.	17	40	18
The county paid for the costs of service for the youngster.	33	67	67

When the probation staff was asked to describe the parents or parent-substitutes of the maximal cases who had been on probation, about one-third of

the mothers of the "successes," but only 7% of the "failure" mothers received generally favorable comments. Over half (53%) of the "failure" mothers were characterized as weak, passive, or unable to cope, as compared with 25% of the "success" mothers. Only half of the "success" fathers and one-third of the "failure" fathers were known. Of these, none of the latter were described in positive terms while half of the former were. Asked about other significant adult models or influences, the probation officer in many cases could not identify any. However, when models were reported, no negative ones were described as influencing the "successes," but 27% of the "failures" were believed to be experiencing them. On the other hand, 25% of the "successes" were said to have positive role models, but only 7% of the "failures."

The following influences in the home, shown for both career types and for all maximals, were reported by the probation staff.

<u>Home Situations</u>	<u>"Successes"</u>	<u>"Failures"</u>	<u>Total</u>
Alcoholism	50%	27%	29%
Drugs	17	13	16
Mental illness	8	20	12
Irregular marital status	42	60	49
Criminal influence	25	27	33
Unemployment	17	33	22
Illiteracy	8	20	20
Economic need	33	53	35

Except in the case of alcoholism and drugs, negative influences are more likely to be found in the homes of "failures" than in the homes of "successes." The presence of disability, suicide models, and geographic mobility were about the same for all groups.

Probation officers were asked to rate the maximals in terms of their general intelligence, verbal ability, and physical appearance. The following

table shows the ratings for both career types and for all maximals about whom interviews were held with the probation staff.

Characteristic	Group	Rating Scale					No Rating
		Low 1	2	3	4	High 5	
Intelligence	"Success"	0%	17%	42%	17%	0%	25%
	"Failure"	0	0	40	27	7	26
	Maximals	0	16	49	16	4	14
Verbal ability	"Success"	8	17	25	17	0	33
	"Failure"	0	13	33	20	0	33
	Maximals	4	18	41	18	0	18
Physical appearance	"Success"	0	8	42	8	8	33
	"Failure"	0	7	60	7	0	27
	Maximals	2	4	65	8	4	16

"Failures" are perceived as more intelligent than "successes," as having somewhat better verbal ability, but as being somewhat lower in physical appearance.

The State's Family and Children's Bureau

When it is determined by the Court that custody of the juvenile delinquent should be taken away from the parents or parent substitutes, the staff of the Family and Children's Bureau of the State Department of Social Services assumes responsibility for planning and services for the youngster. The placement options open to them include

- 1) supervision of the youngster in his own home or independently
- 2) placement in a foster home or group home
- 3) placement in one of the state institutions, e.g., Mental Health Institute, state juvenile home, or state training school.

Casework services to the youngster, education or psychiatric services and similar referrals, and special liaison services to the youngster and his family are part of the State Department's relationship with the youngster.

Of the total number of Youth Bureau contacts, 3.3% of the moderates' incidents and 6.4% of the maximals' incidents resulted in a new disposition involving the State. About 8% of the Youth Bureau referrals to the Intake Office result in the state assuming custody of the youngster. Of the individual juveniles represented by the study sample, at least 6.1% reach this level of justice system involvement. (Some of the children in foster and group home placements shown on the diagram given earlier are also in the custody of the State.) These youngsters represent the final "sorting" by the system.

Two moderate cases were processed through the system to State jurisdiction. A 17-year-old girl who was "drinking, doing dope and guys," was committed to the State at the age of 16 on the recommendation of her mother and stepfather. Placed in a foster home, then transferred to a state juvenile home because of continued running away, the girl was finally given an independent placement where she could receive vocational training since she had finished high school and "no one else in the immediate family or relatives wanted her."

The other moderate case is a 16-year-old boy described as "out of touch with reality" and suspected of arson who was committed to the Mental Health Institute after three contacts with the Youth Bureau. These two cases represent serious multi-problem situations and rapid processing through the system. They do not show the gradual "sinking to the bottom" characteristic of many of the maximal cases.

Twenty maximal cases, 14 boys and 6 girls, were juveniles committed to the custody of the State. Half of the incidents which resulted in this disposition were status offenses; however, this disposition ordinarily followed a series of earlier attempts to deal with the youngster. On the average, it was after about eight contacts with the Youth Bureau that these juveniles became State cases. The quickest reaction was transfer of custody after the second contact and the slowest occurred after the nineteenth Youth Bureau contact. The time lapse between the youngster's first Youth Bureau contact and the transfer of custody to the State averaged about 3½ years, with a range from less than a year to nine years. Fifteen of the State cases were immediately placed in an institution. Of the remaining five cases, two were subsequently institutionalized. The average age for placement in the training schools was about 15 years.

Interviews with State Department of Social Service social workers were conducted on 16 maximal cases. The most frequently reported treatment needed by the youngster at the time custody was transferred was removal from the home (43.75%). Another 25% were described as needing restrictions and limits, but not placement outside the home.

Asked to describe how they handled the cases, the staff reported that when the youngster was placed in an institution, their direct contacts were relatively infrequent and not intensive. They worked with the counselors at

the institutions, maintained family contacts and arranged home visits when appropriate, and made plans for post-institutional placement.

In addition to the nine cases in which this liaison function with an institution was described, the State staff indicated that more intensive case work and counseling was given in five cases. Special consideration and arrangements for the youngster's education was also reported in five cases. Family therapy (rather than just family contacts) was tried in four cases; two were described as a "losing battle" and "not particularly successful." Arranging inter-institutional transfers in three cases and referral of one case to a private agency for group work were additional services reported by the staff.

Three recurring types of comments revealed the main complicating factors perceived by the State social workers. In five Indian cases, the problem of culture conflict was mentioned; integrating Indian youth into their own culture and dealing with their hostility are seen as staff goals which are difficult to meet with the resources available now. The pattern of running away requires increasingly strict custodial placement; there is a sense of defeat in placing a youngster in a training school because he has "blown everything else." As one worker summarized a situation:

N. has a driving urge to be placed in Sioux City with his friends. The training school wants to place him with a brother-in-law in I seriously doubt that the disagreement will be reconciled. N. will then have his way by taking off from his brother-in-law's and after his arrival in Sioux City I'll probably be taking him back to the training school for a felony.

Lastly, and not unrelated to the previous problems, State staff report difficulty in placing older, peer-oriented youngsters whose own homes are characterized as "destructive" or "very detrimental." A successful case described by a worker illustrates the point: "N. is not a boy who will have the

opportunity to return home as a placement. He will continue into adulthood with diminished relationships with both parents. Group placement has been a life saver since it afforded him the opportunity to belong someplace."

The percentage summaries of the descriptions of parents, home conditions, and attributes of the juveniles under State jurisdiction are almost invariably more negative than the percentage summaries of the descriptions given by the Probation Office about the population of youngsters with whom they work. Since almost all State youngsters were included in the Probation interviews, the differences in percentages point up the progressive "sorting" process in the juvenile justice system. Thirteen of the State cases represent "failure" careers, two are untyped, and one is a "success."*

The table below compares the probation workers' estimates of negative factors with those of the State workers.

<u>Home Conditions</u>	<u>Probation</u>	<u>State</u>
Alcoholism	28.57%	56.25%
Drugs	16.32	31.25
Mental illness	12.24	18.75
Irregular marital status	48.97	93.75
Criminal influences	32.65	50.00
Unemployment	22.44	62.50
Illiteracy	20.40	37.50
Economic need	34.69	68.75
Disability	22.44	43.75

*The "success" case is a 17-year-old educably retarded Indian boy who was committed to the State at the age of 15 after a second Youth Bureau contact (truancy). However, the court order was lost and the State did not get the boy until two years later. Describing the boy as not needing "treatment" as such, the worker said he had "showed him some interest and helped him find a job."

<u>Parents</u>	<u>Probation</u>	<u>State</u>
Mothers: weak, passive, unable to cope	40.81%	62.50%
8th grade or less education	14.28	31.25
Fathers: aggressive, hostile, too strict	16.32	50.00
8th grade or less education	24.48	18.75
Negative adult models	20.40	37.50
<u>Attributes of Juveniles</u>		
At time of initial contact:		
Negative, hostile, uncooperative attitude	30.60	62.50
Believed justice system to be unfair	4.08	31.25
Negative appearance	16.32	18.75
At time of last contact:		
Hostile	30.60	25.00
Uncooperative	36.73	37.50
Frustrated	46.93	50.00
Lacked insight	30.61	62.50
Negative self concept	48.97	62.50
Low verbal ability	22.44	37.50
Low estimated intelligence	16.32	31.25
Negative appearance	6.12	6.25

When asked to estimate the likelihood that the juveniles with whom they work will stay out of trouble, the State staff give only 12.5% a better than even chance of doing so; one out of four cases was described as having a very low likelihood of staying out of trouble.

State custody of juvenile delinquents ends with the youngster's eighteenth birthday. At this time the jurisdiction of the juvenile justice system ceases. At whatever point in the system the juvenile finds himself when he becomes eighteen, further processing in the system stops for him.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The picture of the juvenile justice system which emerges from this research effort is of a sequence of levels representing increasingly coercive responses to juveniles who have come in repeated conflict with the law. The system seems to operate in the following way for most youngsters in the system.

A youngster has contact with the Youth Bureau for a relatively minor infraction, and the Youth Bureau handles the situation, attempting to deal with it in such a way that it will be the youngster's first, last, and only brush with the law. When the Youth Bureau becomes convinced because of repeated contacts that their pressure is not sufficient to straighten out the youngster, they refer the case to the Intake Office. This eventually happens to about one-third of the youngsters the Youth Bureau contacts. The Intake Office reviews the referrals and decides which ones will be handled without the formal legal pressure of a Court adjudication. Ultimately, however, petitions are filed on about 40% of the youngsters referred to Intake.

The Juvenile Court then hears the case and, with about 82% of its youngsters, eventually applies some form of official pressure. For more than half of the youngsters, this official pressure eventually involves transfer of custody to the State. The State, then, finally institutionalizes more than nine out of ten of the youngsters transferred to it.

Seeing the juvenile justice system in this way, as a series of sortings, with increasingly coercive responses, it is inevitably a sequential process whereby the failures of one level are passed on to the next level, e.g., note the increased negativeness of state cases (cf. pp. 46-47). What is disturbing is the continually rising "failure rate" of the levels of the system, if the

need for the increased pressure of the next level is taken to indicate the "failure" of the current level. Put in these harsh terms, the Youth Bureau "fails" with one out of three of its youngsters, Intake and unofficial probation "fail" with about two out of five of the failures referred to them, informal Court pressure is insufficient for more than four out of five reaching the Court, and non-institutional placement is insufficient for nine out of ten transferred to State custody.

Since a youngster's chances of "hitting the bottom" rise so dramatically once he enters the system, strong statistical arguments can be made for increased diversion from the system altogether as a youngster's "best bet" for staying out of a training school. Such arguments are countered, however, by society's position that "something must be done" in response to juvenile delinquency. Nevertheless, the whole movement in this century to differentiate the juvenile justice system from the adult justice system, beginning with the establishment of juvenile courts and continuing down to the recent Youth Bureau specialization in police departments, testifies to the fact that what what "must be done" should be different from the dominantly punitive orientation of society to adult offenders.

The treatment orientation of the juvenile justice system is the legal basis for its informal procedures. The total situation of the youngster, rather than his specific infraction, is the focus of the system's intervention. Recent challenges to the constitutionality of juvenile justice system procedures stem from the fact that it is still used basically as a coercive system. However, a graduated series of non-coercive or minimally coercive responses to juvenile offenders has been interposed between apprehension and the "maximum security" of a juvenile correctional institution. To reach institutional "treatment" for instance, a youngster must ordinarily be processed through a

series of preliminary and perhaps inappropriate stages. The model of the "slow failure" illustrates this policy, so expensive in terms of human life and tax dollars.

Because the system is viewed as punitive one even by the people who staff it, there is a tendency to defer further processing, to give the youngster "a break," even when the need for a more structured type of response is indicated. This self-imposed restriction on their use of discretionary power by the various levels in the system, operating as an informal rule of thumb and with good intentions, reduces the degree to which individualized justice, i.e., treatment-oriented justice, can occur.

It is pointless to attempt to blame any point in the system for its conceptualization and operation as a sequential model for processing failures. The juvenile justice system simply reflects the attitudes and practices characteristic of society as a whole. It is heartening, however, to realize that the sensitivity of the people operating the system led them to seek an evaluation of their procedures. The following general recommendation attempts to outline a different conceptualization of the system, one which reflects the special purpose and powers of the juvenile justice system. It is followed by three more specific recommendations designed to help implement the new model.

Recommendation 1: That the juvenile justice system be seen as a non-sequential multi-service system designed to handle on an intensive basis a very diversified population of juvenile offenders.

Essentially, this recommendation proposes that the element of coercion be viewed as simply one aspect of the treatment response to a young offender by the juvenile justice system. The degree of "structure" or "limits" associated with a particular disposition expresses the need of the youngster, and not the hostility or retaliation of society. A young offender who is apprehended by the police, referred to Intake, and taken to Juvenile Court for a hearing could, then, be im-

mediately subject to any one of a wide array of responses involving varying degrees of coercive structure, including none at all. The recommendation contradicts the notion that a reciprocal downward spiral of interaction between the youngster and the system must occur before certain highly structured response options become available to the youngster. Rather, the basis for the justice system's response to the juvenile offender would be a diagnosis of his particular total situation to determine which treatment would best insure that the youngster stay out of trouble permanently.

A corollary of the first recommendation is obviously that a wide variety of services must be available. Since several new programs are already being implemented, proposed, or studied by the community, no recommendation for the addition of specific services is being made, even though gaps in the network of services were revealed by the research. Rather, a specific procedure is proposed which, it is hoped, will provide a continuous monitoring of the adequacy of service alternatives.

Recommendation 2: That the personnel staffing the juvenile justice system, as well as representatives of service agencies used by the system, meet on a monthly basis to discuss current problems in the treatment of juvenile offenders, to exchange information on community resources, and to formulate proposals for improving their services.

The focus of these meetings would be the treatment options needed by the juvenile justice system in order to function effectively. They would differ from the on-going regular meetings of the juvenile justice staff in that they would not ordinarily be devoted to the formulation and clarification of internal staff policy. They would deal with such questions as, for instance, the need for additional group home placements for girls, family life education opportunities, new specialized services for Indian offenders, and possible programming for runaways.

Pressure on existing services or underutilization of current programs could be discussed. New programs could be explained by their sponsors and their artic-

ulation with existing services assured. The meetings would provide a forum for cooperative planning and perhaps even result in cooperative staffing of treatment programs. In addition, these meetings might explore new avenues for funding the treatment options open to juvenile offenders.

Increasing the volume of court-ordered treatment will at least initially increase county costs. Though there is no legal barrier to incurring such costs, it will be important to maintain close informational ties with local political leaders. Ways of applying federal eligibility guidelines defining welfare recipients and potential welfare recipients in terms of inadequate social functioning as well as income levels might increase the possibility of federal reimbursement for services to some offenders. The utilization of other related federal programs could be studied. Possibilities and problems associated with purchase of services contracts could be discussed.

Reorganization of the state and county departments of social services will necessitate some adjustment in the ways they have related to other existing agencies. These meetings could smooth this transition insofar as juvenile delinquents are concerned. By bringing together the group of juvenile justice system professionals, the meetings would also constitute an easily accessible and valuable source of input to the SIMPCO Youth Needs Planning Commission.

The data show that immediate service and frequent and intensive contact are associated with "success" careers (cf. p. 40). Granted that the treatment orientation of the juvenile justice system would become firmly established and that a wide variety of treatment options would be available, the task of evaluating the youngster and determining the appropriate treatment for him must still be accomplished before intensive service can begin. In addition, this must be done as quickly as possible and in as non-stigmatizing a process as possible. The third recommendation relates to this problem.

Recommendation 3: That the evaluation function of the Intake Office be emphasized, reflecting the intensive treatment orientation which, it is recommended, will come to characterize the entire juvenile justice system.

For the Court to use its discretionary power wisely, it needs accurate and pertinent information. While the Intake Officer is not authorized to prepare a formal social history, he does interview the youngster and his parents or parent substitutes as part of his process of deciding whether or not to file a petition. It is recommended that the Intake Office gather enough information on the general adjustment of the youngster and on the social functioning of the family so that these aspects can be weighed along with the report of the Youth Bureau of their investigation of the alleged complaint against the youngster. This is crucial, especially in the case of a young child, in determining whether to file a dependency or a delinquency petition, if a petition is to be filed at all. This preliminary information-gathering would also reveal the degree to which voluntary cooperation in a treatment plan by the parents or parent substitutes might be counted on in lieu of a petition.

It is recognized that these enlarged evaluation activities would consume much more time than is available. The very low percentage of maximal cases in which some parental involvement and concern can be formalized by the Intake Office without going to Court (1.4%, cf. p. 36) testifies to the difficulty of dealing effectively in a single, short information-gathering session with parents who are often highly defensive about their youngster's repeated contacts.

An even smaller percentage of maximal cases are referred directly out of the juvenile justice system by the Intake Office (.7%, cf. p. 36), probably reflecting to a large degree the unwillingness of these parents to seek outside help at their own expense. Of all youngsters in the juvenile justice system, 2.9% are referred by the Intake Office out of the system without going to Court (cf. p. 20). The rate of voluntary follow-through for these referrals is unknown. New voluntary programs, to be successful, will need to have good groundwork done at this point

in the system, and this will take staff time.

The implementation of this recommendation will require a sensitivity to the legal rights of the child, on the one hand so that the procedures used do not violate his constitutional due process rights and, on the other hand, that his right to a decent, safe, and stable home environment is also protected.

Increasing the emphasis on the evaluation responsibilities of the Intake Office, without ignoring its administrative and legal duties, may require some addition to or reorganization within the staff serving the Juvenile Court. This will be especially true if the type of case referred to Intake currently listed as involving no further disposition (about 22%) is seen as an active case requiring evaluation. It will also be true if the number of referrals to Intake is increased. And this is the precise intent of the fourth recommendation.

Recommendation 4: That any youngster coming in contact with the Youth Bureau who is under ten years of age or who is experiencing his third contact in an 18-month period be referred to the Intake Office.

Youth Bureau officers are the first to admit that they are not always successful in ending the delinquent career of a youngster by their first contact with him. In the sample of 48 single offenders (minimals), only eight who had been handled summarily by the Youth Bureau had stayed out of trouble for two years or more and could be classified as "first time successes" (cf. p. 8). Adjusting for different sampling proportions, this represents 9.6% of all the youngsters having juvenile cards on file at the Youth Bureau.

This is not an unexpected rate. The report of the youngsters' need for systematic guidance and support and the documentation of unfavorable home conditions mean that a police unit primarily responsible for apprehension and investigation, even though it is staffed with able and sensitive persons, will not ordinarily be in a position to deal with a youngster's larger problem situation in any continuous way.

As a major first step in the re-conceptualization of the juvenile justice system, it is recommended that youngsters under the age of ten be referred to the Intake Office where more intensive evaluation will enable the Court to make an appropriate early disposition. The average age of entry of the "slow failure" is 7.2 years (cf. p. 9); it is hoped that more structured intervention at his initial contact will forestall the unfolding of his tragic career trajectory.

About 15.2% of the Youth Bureau's first contacts are with youngsters under ten years of age. About 80% of these receive summary action or no official action (cf. p. 26). Of the "first time successes", however, only 2.4% are youngsters whose first contact occurred before the age of ten. Two of the moderate "successes" contacted the Youth Bureau before the age of ten, but neither of these received only summary action. None of the maximal youngsters considered "successes" had had his first Youth Bureau contact before the age of ten (cf. pp. 7-8).

Minimization of the very young offender's first contact, though often appropriate in terms of the minor nature of the complaint, does not seem to be effective in the long run. It is recommended that the complaint incident be viewed as symptomatic of a larger problem situation with which, when verified, the Court should deal. Though some deterioration in home conditions may occur during the course of the youngster's "slow failure," it is likely that the high incidence of negative family factors found at the probation and state levels already exists at this initial contact. Effective justice system response at this first point should alter the youngster's prospects.

Currently the Youth Bureau refers about 20% of the first offenders under the age of ten (cf. p.26). Since there is no noticeable difference in the pattern of Youth Bureau action between their handling of single offenders and their handling of the first contact of offenders who later come back as moderates or maximals (cf. p. 25), it is recommended that no exceptions be made to this guideline until enough time passes that some estimate of its effectiveness can be determined.

The second part of the recommendation refers to youngsters of any age having three contacts in an 18-month period. It is suggested that these also be referred to the Intake Office. This guideline is meant to operate in addition to any other guidelines prompting referral. Intake referrals currently peak after the fifth Youth Bureau contact (cf. p. 31). It is hoped that this recommendation will move the peak to an earlier stage in the juvenile's career.

A look at the "success" models (pp. 12-13) shows this clustering of offenses and referral after the third contact in a year and a half. The absence of the pattern is evident in the "failure" models (cf. p. 10-11). The recommendation is based on the belief that such repeated contact in a relatively short period of time represents behavior which is again symptomatic of a larger problem situation requiring evaluation and treatment.

Though the Youth Bureau referral pattern is not correlated with the officers' personal feelings about the youngsters' attitudes ("successes" are referred more, but they are not described as being more or less cooperative than "failures"- cf. p. 33) the dissatisfaction of over half the "successes" with the handling of their cases may stem from this greater likelihood of referral. Note, however, that parents of "successes" represent a group which is extremely satisfied with the handling of their cases (cf. p. 33).

It is recognized that increasing the referral rate will, at least initially, increase the case load in the juvenile justice system and related agencies. Referring youngsters under ten who have committed minor infractions but live in problem-filled situations will almost certainly increase somewhat the number of children to be given services as dependent or neglected children. And this occurs at a time when the number of abused children being identified and served has increased so greatly that public information programs encouraging this type of referral have had to be discontinued.

Careful studies of local publicly-funded foster care show that placement

increases dramatically for youngsters aged 12 and 13 whose own behavioral and emotional problems at that stage preclude adoption. Earlier identification and treatment of at least some of these cases seems assured if all very young children having contact with the Youth Bureau are referred and receive an intensive evaluation.

In the long run, these recommendations are designed to reduce the case load in the juvenile justice system, at least in terms of its more structured and expensive programs. In the interim, some pressure on staff levels and service resources is inevitable. If rigid, short-sighted personnel policies on state and local levels or tight-fisted budget guidelines take precedence over the human needs of the youngsters in our community, the fast and slow failures within the juvenile justice system will be tragic reflections of our own failure to care.

APPENDIX A

The Research Design

It was decided that the research goal of assembling career information on the estimated 4000 youngsters who had had Youth Bureau contact would require that the study concentrate in a special way on youngsters who were more seriously involved in the juvenile justice system. However, the need for base line data in order to provide an accurate frame of reference meant that all types of youngsters needed to be represented in the study. A two-stage sampling process was devised to handle this problem: the first stage, a systematic random sample of 600 cases was designed to give a picture of the whole population of official juvenile delinquents; the second stage, a proportionate random sample of 200 cases, was to emphasize the serious "maximal" offenders.

Sampling

For the first stage of sampling, a measurement of the Youth Bureau file of current cards of youngsters under 18 years of age resulted in an estimated 3683 cards.* To achieve an initial sample of 600, since the cases were not numbered but only alphabetized, every sixth case was drawn. If the sixth case represented a case of neglect, abuse, abandonment, or some similar problem not involving delinquent acts of the youngster, that case was replaced by the next case; a total of 44 such cases were eliminated from the initial sample and replaced in this way.

Using this method, a total sample of 528 cases was drawn. This number is less than the 600 cases specified in the research design for several reasons: the elimination of persons over 18 but under 21 years of age from Youth Bureau files reduced the original estimated total of 4000; the lack of consecutive numbering

* Twenty-nine inches of cards, with an estimated 127 cards per inch.

which necessitated the crude physical measurement to achieve a more accurate estimate of the total number of cards also made systematic random sampling imperative; the number of persons whose record required more than one card could not be estimated easily and proved to be larger than expected. However, this discrepancy in the size of the first stage sample was not a serious problem in the researcher's opinion, and the project proceeded, based on an initial sample of 528 cases.

An identification number was assigned to each case included in the sample and a card completed with the following information: year of birth, sex, number of contacts (police complaint numbers), a date of most recent contact, and most recent home address. A master list of the identification numbers and names of the individuals was also made and carefully guarded to insure confidentiality.

Using the numbered cards a stratified proportionate research sample of 200 cases was drawn, with a replacement sub-sample. The stratification was based on the dimensions of age and number of contacts. Sex was not controlled for in the stratified sampling because 30% of the first stage sample was female, a large enough proportion to be adequately represented by simple random sampling since sex was not significantly related to either age or number of contacts. Because most of the cases in the first stage sample were recent (84.5% of males and 91.9% of females had had Youth Bureau contact since 1970), and recency was crucial to locating the respondents for interviewing, it was decided that further refinement of the stratification matrix for sampling purposes was not justified.

Proportions for the research sample were as follows: 20% sample (64) of persons of all ages having only one Youth Bureau contact, referred to as "minimals;" a 50% sample (72) of persons of all ages having from two to five contacts, referred to as "moderates"; and a 100% sample (64) of those having six or more contacts, referred to as "maximals".

Development of Interview Instrument

A five-page semi-structured interview schedule for parents or parent substitutes of the persons in the sample was developed. The schedule included an elastic section relative to the "troubles" with the law which the youngster had had, so that the same form could be used for minimal, moderate, and maximal contact youngsters. Approximately one-third of the questions were closed-ended, not counting the elastic "troubles" section which was entirely open-ended. A standard "release of information" form was also devised to obtain permission from the parent or guardian for interviews with the youngster and with agency personnel who had dealt with the case.

An eight-page interview schedule for the juveniles themselves, similar to that for parents, was developed and included the same elastic "troubles" section. Eight items in the youngster's form were identical with items in the parental form for comparison purposes.

A color-coded six-page interview schedule for agencies was also created. Three of the 21 items were closed-ended. This form was substantially revised for use with the Youth Bureau.

Selection and Training of Interviewers

An advertisement for research interviewers was run in a local paper for two days. Ten persons responded, were interviewed, and four were selected. Two training sessions were held for a total of seven hours of instruction. Included in this was the opportunity to interview a delinquent youngster not in the research sample, who had agreed to cooperate in the training sessions.

Interviewers were then assigned cases from the sample on a geographical basis to reduce mileage expenses. Weekly sessions with the interviewers maintained uniformity of interpretation of the interview schedule and assisted in coordinating the efforts of the project staff.

After working approximately three weeks one interviewer left the project for

other employment. A replacement was selected and trained who subsequently had to be terminated. The project continued with three interviewers.

Data Collection

Interviewers began contacting parents or parent-substitutes in September, 1973. An average of 2.83 house calls was required to complete an interview, and interviews averaged about 33 minutes in length.

If parents agreed, their youngsters were interviewed; if parents signed a release of information, social agencies and/or juvenile justice system officials who had worked with the youngster were interviewed.

Among the decisions made in the process of interviewing were the following:

- 1) If the parent of a minimal contact case agreed to be interviewed but refused to sign a release or permit the child to be interviewed, the case would nevertheless be retained.
- 2) Children in the sample currently nine years of age or younger would not be interviewed.
- 3) Moderate contact cases in which the youngster agreed to an interview, but the parent could not be interviewed, would be retained in the sample.
- 4) Welfare personnel who had worked with youngsters in the sample (nine cases) would not be interviewed, though the agency was willing to cooperate, since informal discussions revealed that the involvement was generally of a financial nature.
- 5) Only maximal cases would be included in the interviews with Youth Bureau Officers.

The Problem of Replacements

In the initial process of interviewing, 93 cases had to be replaced for a variety of reasons. The chart below details the reasons for replacement and identifies the type of cases involved. Inability to locate the respondent refers to cases for which there were no addresses on the Youth Bureau cards, cases who had moved from the given address and could not be located, and cases who had apparently correct addresses but could not be found at home after repeated attempts by the interviewers.

TYPES OF REPLACEMENT CASES:

Reason:	Minimal	Moderate	Maximal	TOTAL
Out of state	14	9	6	29
Iowa distance	9	2	2	13
Inability to locate	23	13	3	39
Refusal	3	5	4	12
TOTAL	49	29	15	93

In making replacements for minimal and moderate cases, cases from the same cell in the stratification matrix were randomly selected. If a cell became empty, a replacement was chosen from that cell in the same contact group which was closest in age to the case being replaced. Since all the maximals from the first stage sample were included in the research sample, the necessary fifteen replacements with maximal contact were obtained on a judgment basis from outside the original set of cases.

Because the need for replacements continued at a rate which made it difficult to maintain control over the time schedule, it was decided to draw a final set of replacements. This would bring the sample up to the complete 200 cases; interviewers would then try to complete as many as possible of these but further replacements would not be made.

Interviews with 37 of the parents or parent substitutes of the 200 cases could not be completed, either because the respondent's home could not be located, the respondent could not be found at home or was unable to be interviewed because of illness, or because the respondent refused. The following chart shows the types of cases which were not completed.

Reason	Minimals	Moderates	Maximals	Total
Unable to locate an eligible respondent	14	10	8	32
Refusal	0	2	3	5
Total	14	12	11	37

One case in which the youngster was in state custody was retained since all the other interviews could be completed and a release of information was obtained. A second case was replaced through a contact made by one of the interviewers. The final research sample was thus made up of 165 cases.

Information obtained in the interview process resulted in the reclassification of five cases. The original proportionate sample and the final research sample are shown below.

Offense Group	Original Sample	Re-class. Original Sample	Research Sample	% of Orig. Sample
Minimals	64	62	48	75
Moderates	72	72	60	83.3
Maximals	64	66	57	89.1

The nature and number of interviews completed has been detailed earlier (cf. p.3).

Data Analysis

Code books for each of the types of interviews were prepared so that the verbal material gathered by the interviewers could be translated into numbers for computer processing. Two trained coders prepared the data for key punching. Youth Bureau records were also coded and entered into the computer process. After preliminary analysis was under way, the personnel involved in developing the study were invited to a meeting to respond to early findings. Two similar meetings were held at the conclusion of data analysis to assist in the preparation of the study's recommendations.

APPENDIX B

Background Information about the Sample

Table:

I	Age of Juvenile Cases
II	Sex of Juvenile Cases
III	Race-Ethnicity of Juvenile Cases
IV	Socio-economic Status -- Census Tract of Juvenile Cases
V	Socio-economic Status -- Interviewer Estimate
VI	Occupational Status of Parents
VII	Family Structure -- Parents
VIII	Family Structure -- Siblings
IX	Family Structure -- Others in Home
X	Parent's Opinion of "Getting Along" with Juveniles
XI	Juvenile's "Feelings toward Family"
XII	Family Member Juvenile is Closest To
XIII	Parent's Report of Type of Discipline Used
XIV	Juvenile's Feelings toward Discipline
XV	Living Arrangements Made at Sometime for Juveniles
XVI	Reason for Juvenile Being Out of Home
XVII	Parents Out of the Home

TABLE I

AGE OF JUVENILE CASES

<u>Year of Birth</u>	<u>% MIN</u>	<u>% MOD</u>	<u>% MAX</u>
1955 - 18	10.41	6.66	5.26
1956 - 17	22.91	31.66	38.59
1957 - 16	14.58	21.66	24.56
1958 - 15	14.58	16.66	17.54
1959 - 14	10.41	1.00	5.26
1960 - 13	8.33	5.00	
1961 - 12	4.16	3.33	
1962 - 11	4.16		7.01
1963 - 10	4.16	1.66	1.75
1964 - 9	2.08		
1965 - 8		1.66	
1966 - 7	2.08	1.66	
1967 - 6			
1968 - 5			
1969 - 4	2.08		
\bar{x} age	14.63	15.42	15.75

TABLE II

SEX OF JUVENILE CASES

Sex	% of cases		
	MIN	MOD	MAX
Male	62.5	66.6	73.6
Female	37.5	33.3	26.3

TABLE III

RACE - ETHNICITY OF JUVENILE CASES

Race - Ethnicity	% of cases		
	MIN	MOD	MAX
White	94.28	89.79	72.34
Negro	0	4.08	8.51
Indian	5.71	2.04	10.63
Spanish-speaking	0	0	2.12
No data	0	4.08	6.38

TABLE IV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS - CENSUS TRACT OF JUVENILE CASES

SES level*	MIN		MOD		MAX		TOTAL	
	%	Rate per 1,000	%	Rate per 1,000	%	Rate per 1,000	Pop. under 18**	Rate per 1,000
High	16.67	1.04	16.67	1.30	3.51	.30	7,678	2.60
Med. High	27.08	1.34	20.00	1.24	21.05	1.23	9,695	3.81
Medium	39.58	2.12	38.33	2.56	28.07	1.78	8,973	6.46
Low	16.67	2.37	25.00	4.44	47.37	7.99	3,380	14.80

* Determined on basis of median income of tract reported in 1970 Census.

** Based on data taken from 1970 Census.

N.B. Institutionalized juveniles were categorized in terms of the current residence of their family.

TABLE V

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS - INTERVIEWER ESTIMATE*

SES	% MIN	% MOD	% MAX
(High) 5	4.2	1.7	1.8
4	10.4	8.3	3.5
3	50.0	53.3	36.8
2	25.0	35.0	40.4
(Low) 1	8.3	1.7	12.3
Unable to estimate	2.1		5.3

* Estimate based on interview with parent or guardian.

TABLE VI

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF PARENTS*

Occupational Status Score**	FATHER			MOTHER		
	% MIN	% MOD	% MAX	% MIN	% MOD	% MAX
(High) 75-99	18.75	15.00	21.05	16.67	5.00	0
50-74	22.92	25.00	15.79	6.25	10.00	19.30
25-49	27.08	36.67	38.60	47.92	63.33	52.63
(Low) 01-24	4.10	5.00	5.26	0	3.33	8.77
No Data or No Job	27.08	18.33	19.30	29.17	18.33	19.30

* As reported by juveniles.

** Classification of occupations based on U. S. Bureau of the Census,
"Socioeconomic Status Scores for Categories of Occupation Component."

TABLE VII

FAMILY STRUCTURE - PARENTS

	<u>% MIN</u>	<u>% MOD</u>	<u>% MAX</u>
Both natural parents	74.28	65.30	48.93
One natural, one step-parent	5.71	18.36	6.38
One natural parent only	20.00	8.16	25.53
One step or foster parent			2.12
Foster parents			4.25
Other arrangement		4.08	4.25
No data		4.08	8.51

TABLE VIII

FAMILY STRUCTURE - SIBLINGS

<u>Number</u>	<u>% MIN</u>	<u>% MOD</u>	<u>% MAX</u>
Eight			2.12
Seven			4.25
Six	5.71	8.16	4.25
Five	8.57	8.16	8.51
Four	11.42	22.44	12.76
Three	25.71	12.24	14.89
Two	20.00	18.36	19.14
One	22.85	12.24	14.89
None or no data	5.71	18.36	19.14
\bar{x}	2.63	2.65	2.64

TABLE IX

FAMILY STRUCTURE - OTHERS IN HOME

<u>Others</u>	<u>% MIN</u>	<u>% MOD</u>	<u>% MAX</u>
Four-five relatives		2.04	4.25
Two-three relatives		4.08	2.12
One relative	11.42	6.12	12.72
One non-relative		2.04	8.51
None, no data	88.57	85.71	72.34

TABLE X

PARENT'S OPINION OF "GETTING ALONG" WITH JUVENILE

	<u>% MIN</u>	<u>% MOD</u>	<u>% MAX</u>
Positive	79.16	73.32	79.62
Neutral	10.41	16.66	14.81
Negative	6.24	9.99	3.70
Don't know, no response	4.16	0	1.85

TABLE XI

JUVENILE'S "FEELINGS TOWARD FAMILY"

	<u>% MIN</u>	<u>% MOD</u>	<u>% MAX</u>
Positive	82.84	85.70	68.07
Neutral	5.71	6.12	8.51
Negative	5.70	6.12	10.63
Don't know, no response	5.71	2.04	12.76

TABLE XII

FAMILY MEMBER JUVENILE IS CLOSEST TO

	<u>% MIN</u>	<u>% MOD</u>	<u>% MAX</u>
Mother	31.42	28.57	31.91
Father	17.14	14.28	2.12
Sister	14.28	24.48	25.53
Brother	34.28	16.32	23.40
Other female relative	0	2.04	0
Other male relative	0	4.08	2.12
No response	2.85	10.20	14.89

TABLE XIII

PARENT'S REPORT OF TYPE OF DISCIPLINE USED

<u>Discipline Type</u>	<u>% MIN</u>		<u>% MOD</u>		<u>% MAX</u>	
	<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Spouse</u>	<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Spouse</u>	<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Spouse</u>
Deprivation of Privileges	45.83	25.00	31.66	18.33	44.44	24.07
Talking, discussion	14.58	18.75	15.00	6.66	16.66	16.66
Scolding	6.25	6.25	0	8.33	1.85	5.55
Any combination of above	4.16	6.25	8.33	10.00	5.55	3.70
Any combination, plus physical punishment	16.66	16.66	26.66	15.00	18.51	9.25
Physical only	2.08	2.08	5.00	6.66	1.85	5.55
None used	6.25	10.41	11.66	15.00	5.55	12.50
No response*	4.16	14.58	1.66	20.00	5.56	24.07

* Includes cases of no parent or no spouse.

TABLE XIV

JUVENILE'S FEELINGS TOWARD DISCIPLINE

<u>Feeling</u>	<u>% MIN</u>	<u>% MOD</u>	<u>% MAX</u>
Satisfied	77.99	69.38	55.31
Ambivalent	2.85	10.20	8.51
Dissatisfied	8.56	14.28	23.39
Don't know, no response	8.56	6.12	12.76

TABLE XV

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS MADE AT SOME TIME FOR JUVENILES*

<u>Arrangements</u>	<u>% MIN</u>	<u>% MOD</u>	<u>% MAX</u>
Always at home	83.33	81.66	50.00
Foster home	0	5.00	1.85
Group home or institution	0	8.33	29.62
With relatives	6.24	1.66	9.25
Other arrangements	6.24	3.32	9.25
No response	4.16	0	0

* As reported by parents.

TABLE XVI

REASON FOR JUVENILE BEING OUT OF HOME

<u>Reason</u>	<u>% MIN</u>	<u>% MOD</u>	<u>% MAX</u>
Legally removed, because of child	0	8.33	18.51
Legally removed, because of parent(s)	0	0	1.85
To avoid trouble	2.08	0	3.70
Other reasons	8.33	6.66	9.25
No response	6.25	3.33	16.67
Not out of the home	83.33	81.66	50.00

TABLE XVII

PARENTS OUT OF THE HOME

Out of the Home	\$ MIN		% MOD		% MAX	
	Respondent	Spouse	Respondent	Spouse	Respondent	Spouse
Past, short*	0	2.08	3.33	0	0	0
Recent, short	0	0	1.66	1.66	1.85	0
Past, long	4.16	2.08	1.66	1.66	0	3.70
Recent, long	2.08	0	0	0	1.85	1.85
Recent divorce or separation	0	2.08	0	1.66	0	5.55
Past divorce or separation	0	10.41	0	6.66	0	22.22
Widowed, unmarried	0	4.16	0	6.66	0	1.85
Not out of home	91.66	71.08	88.33	76.66	94.44	61.11
No response	2.08	2.08	5.00	5.00	1.85	3.70

* "Past" was defined as two years or more ago; "short" as less than three months.

APPENDIX C

Additional Descriptive Data

Table:

- I Juvenile Justice System Positions "Trusted Most"
- II Juvenile Justice System Positions "Trusted Least"
- III Juvenile Justice System Positions "Most Likely to Give a Fair Deal"
- IV School Placement
- V Feelings toward School and Education
- VI Rating of Several Aspects of School
- VII Educational Aspirations
- VIII General Plans for the Future
- IX Plans to Marry
- X Reported Chances in the Future
- XI Expectations about Dying
- XII Opinions about Sioux City

TABLE I

JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM POSITIONS "TRUSTED MOST"

Position	MIN		MOD		MAX	
	Juven.	Parent	Juven.	Parent	Juven.	Parent
Judges	14.28%	10.41%	8.16%	15.00%	8.51%	16.66%
Lawyers	14.28	18.75	14.28	20.00	12.76	16.66
Police	25.71	12.50	6.12	3.33	0	7.40
Probation officers	8.57	8.33	8.16	15.00	19.14	18.51
Parole officers	2.85	0	4.08	0	14.89	0
Social Workers	8.57	10.41	10.20	10.00	14.89	12.96
Welfare Workers	0	4.16	2.04	1.66	0	1.85
School Counselors	11.42	18.75	30.61	15.00	12.76	11.11
Teachers	11.42	14.58	16.32	13.33	6.38	9.25
No response	2.85	2.08	0	6.66	10.63	5.56

TABLE II

JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM POSITIONS "TRUSTED LEAST"

Position	MIN		MOD		MAX	
	Juven.	Parent	Juven.	Parent	Juven.	Parent
Judges	2.85%	2.08%	6.12%	1.66%	8.51%	11.11%
Lawyers	2.85	12.50	2.04	23.33	2.12	7.40
Police	20.00	16.66	40.81	16.66	38.29	24.07
Probation officers	5.71	4.16	4.08	6.66	12.76	9.25
Parole officers	2.85	0	2.04	1.66	2.12	0
Social Workers	14.28	2.08	4.08	8.33	6.38	12.96
Welfare Workers	22.85	10.41	6.12	11.66	10.63	5.55
School Counselors	5.71	4.16	2.04	3.33	0	11.11
Teachers	20.00	29.16	28.57	6.66	14.89	5.55
No Response	2.85	18.75	4.08	20.00	4.25	12.96

TABLE III

JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM POSITIONS "MOST LIKELY TO GIVE A FAIR DEAL"

Position	MIN		MOD		MAX	
	Juven.	Parent	Juven.	Parent	Juven.	Parent
Judges	25.71%	6.25%	12.24%	16.66%	25.53%	11.11%
Lawyers	20.00	8.33	18.36	6.66	17.02	3.70
Police	17.14	14.58	12.24	20.00	4.25	7.40
Probation Officers	25.71	20.83	14.28	15.00	19.14	35.18
Parole Officers	2.85	2.08	6.12	5.00	12.76	7.40
Social Workers	5.71	12.50	6.12	10.00	12.76	20.37
Welfare Workers	0	2.08	0	0	2.12	0
School Counselors	2.85	20.83	18.36	10.00	4.25	3.70
Teachers	0	6.25	6.12	5.00	0	3.70
No Response	0	6.25	6.12	11.66	2.12	7.41

TABLE IV

SCHOOL PLACEMENT

Placement	MIN	MOD	MAX
Elementary			
Public	11.42%	4.08%	2.12%
Private	2.85	4.08	2.12
Junior High			
Public	28.57	18.36	6.38
Senior High			
Public	31.42	38.77	8.51
Private	5.71	8.16	4.25
Special Education	0	0	2.12
Vocational-Technical, GED, Adult Education	5.71	6.12	36.17
Not in School	14.28	20.40	36.17
No Response	0	0	2.12

TABLE V

FEELINGS TOWARD SCHOOL AND EDUCATION

	MIN	MOD	MAX
Very Positive	5.71%	6.12%	0
Mod. Positive	42.85	46.93	42.55
Ambivalent, non- committal	22.84	26.52	23.39
Mod. Negative	25.71	16.32	23.40
Very Negative	2.85	4.08	4.25
No Response	0	0	6.38

TABLE VI

RATING OF SEVERAL ASPECTS OF SCHOOL

		<u>Very Good</u>	<u>O.K.</u>	<u>Bad</u>	<u>Very Bad</u>	<u>No Response</u>
Classes	MIN	22.85%	42.85%	34.28%	0 %	0 %
	MOD	24.48	40.81	28.57	2.04	4.08
	MAX	10.63	51.06	25.53	4.25	8.51
Teachers	MIN	22.85	48.57	25.71	2.85	0
	MOD	16.32	46.93	28.57	4.08	4.08
	MAX	12.76	40.42	34.04	4.25	8.51
Other Students	MIN	20.00	60.00	20.00	0	0
	MOD	24.48	48.97	20.40	2.04	0
	MAX	14.89	42.55	31.91	4.25	6.38
Social Events	MIN	28.57	31.42	28.57	5.71	5.71
	MOD	26.53	32.65	28.57	4.08	8.16
	MAX	19.14	31.91	29.78	10.63	8.51
Sports	MIN	37.14	40.00	14.28	2.85	5.71
	MOD	44.89	32.65	16.32	2.04	4.08
	MAX	34.04	29.78	21.27	4.25	10.63

TABLE VII

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

	<u>MIN</u>	<u>MOD</u>	<u>MAX</u>
Wants to graduate from high school:			
Yes	91.42%	87.75%	82.97%
No	5.71	8.16	6.38
Maybe	2.85	2.04	8.51
N.A.*	0	2.04	2.12
Predicts graduation from high school:			
Yes	71.42	83.67	61.70
No	11.42	6.12	19.14
Maybe	17.14	10.20	17.02
N.A.*	0	0	2.12
Wants to continue education after high school:			
Yes	51.42	42.85	46.80
No	42.85	42.85	38.29
Maybe	2.85	14.28	6.38
N.A.*	2.85	0	8.51

* No answer, not applicable.

TABLE VIII

GENERAL PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

	<u>MIN</u>	<u>MOD</u>	<u>MAX</u>
Specific employment	48.57%	32.65%	40.42%
Employment (unspecified)	0	26.52	14.89
Armed Services	8.57	6.12	0
Marriage, family	17.13	8.16	6.38
Other plans	0	2.04	6.38
Don't know	22.85	22.44	25.53
No response	2.85	2.04	6.38

TABLE IX

PLANS TO MARRY

	<u>MIN</u>	<u>MOD</u>	<u>MAX</u>
Yes	80.00%	59.18%	51.06%
No	5.71	16.32	34.04
Don't know	14.28	22.44	10.63
No response	0	2.04	4.25

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

TABLE X

REPORTED CHANCES IN THE FUTURE

	<u>V.Likely</u>	<u>Likely</u>	<u>Maybe</u>	<u>Not very likely</u>	<u>No Response</u>
Of getting desired job:					
MIN	5.71%	42.85%	22.85%	22.85%	5.71%
MOD	16.32	28.57	22.44	24.48	8.16
MAX	2.12	36.17	10.63	42.55	8.51
Of going to adult court:					
MIN	2.85	0	34.28	63.85	0
MOD	2.04	4.08	40.81	53.06	0
MAX	2.12	10.63	29.78	55.31	2.12

TABLE XI

	EXPECTATIONS ABOUT DYING			<u>Don't know, other</u>	<u>No Response</u>
	<u>Soon</u>	<u>When Older</u>	<u>When very old</u>		
MIN	2.85%	11.42%	65.71%	17.14%	2.85%
MOD	4.08	36.73	28.57	26.52	4.08
MAX	10.63	34.04	31.91	19.14	4.25

TABLE XII

OPINIONS ABOUT SIOUX CITY

What should a community like Sioux City do for the young people here?	MIN		MOD		MAX	
	Juven.	Parent	Juven.	Parent	Juven.	Parent
Recreational facilities	62.85%	70.83%	63.26%	58.33%	51.06%	64.81%
Employment opportunities	5.71	2.08	0	8.33	17.02	1.85
Counseling services	2.85	2.08	4.08	1.66	0	1.85
Other answers and combinations	11.42	18.74	14.28	19.99	14.89	25.91
Don't know	11.42	2.08	14.28	1.66	4.25	3.70
Satisfied as it is or no response	5.71	4.16	4.08	10.00	12.76	1.85

What things in Sioux City make it hard to grow up here?*	MIN	MOD	MAX
Social problems, e.g., pollu- tion, crime, inflation	28.56%	22.44%	29.78%
"Nothing to do"	20.00	22.44	23.40
Generation gap	8.57	10.20	6.38
Other answers	17.13	20.40	10.63
Don't know, no response	11.42	4.08	8.50
Sioux City is O.K.	14.28	20.40	21.27

* Juvenile responses only.

END