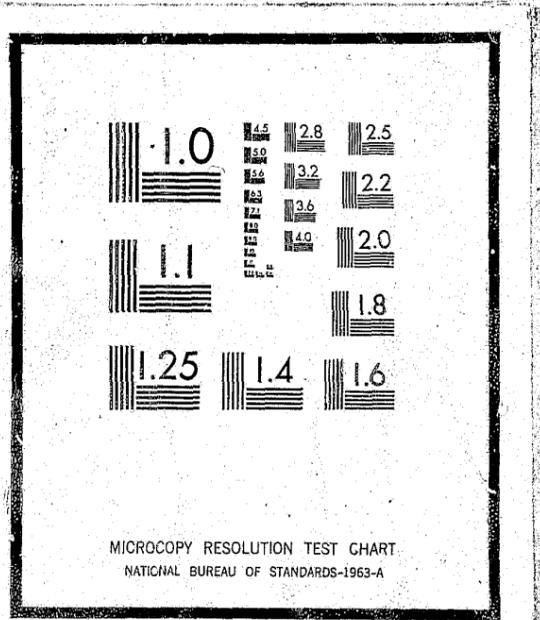


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NORFOLK JUVENILE NON-INSTITUTIONAL
 PRE-ADJUDICATION OUTREACH
 DETENTION PROGRAM

Evaluation Study Final Report

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The Metropolitan Criminal Justice Center operates the Pilot City Program in Chesapeake, Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Virginia Beach, Virginia. Established in September, 1971, the Center is a research and program planning and development component of the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia. The Center's Pilot City Program is one of eight throughout the nation funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the U. S. Department of Justice. The basic purpose of each Pilot City program is to assist local jurisdictions in the design and establishment of various projects often highly innovative and experimental in nature, which will contribute over a period of years to the development of a model criminal justice system. The progress to date of one such project is the subject of this monograph. Each Pilot City team is also responsible for assuring evaluation of demonstration projects, for assisting the development of improved criminal justice planning ability within the host jurisdictions, and for providing technical assistance to various local agencies when requested.

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I. SUMMARY

A. Findings

The ensuing evaluation report documents the three major accomplishments of the Norfolk Juvenile Non-Institutional Pre-Adjudication Outreach Detention Program:

1. During its seven months of full-implementation, it has reduced the amount of institutional pre-adjudication detention by 19.1%.

2. It has met its primary goal of assuring that children in the outreach program remain accessible to the Juvenile Court and trouble-free prior to adjudication.

3. It has demonstrated that outreach detention is currently less expensive and will continue in the future to be less expensive than institutional detention to operate.

Good planning, careful management, and the cooperative efforts of many concerned individuals and organizations have resulted in the successful initiation and operation of the Outreach Detention Program. The first year of operation* has been very productive as indicated by the extent of achievement of program goals. The goals are to maintain juveniles "trouble free" in the community, in contrast to more secure detention facilities, and to have them accessible to the court. All but one juvenile have been accessible to the court. None have

*Actually, 11 months including initial training in February of 1974, and 10 months of working with juveniles.

gotten into further trouble while in the program, although the staff thought it advisable to return one other to secure detention in order to prevent possible difficulties.

The program management has worked effectively with all other elements of the criminal justice system to insure the acceptance and workability of the program. Management has also built community support for the program, which in turn will continue to help insure its successful goal achievement.

B. Recommendations

Based on experience to date and mindful of the need to make important budgetary and funding decisions regarding the continued operation of the program, the evaluators make the following recommendations:

1. The program should be continued, being refunded from whatever sources are available, and plans made for continuing and expanding it as a permanent part of Norfolk's juvenile justice services.
2. Cash allotments for activities of program participants should be reduced to \$5.00 from \$10.00 per week. Community contributions are meeting part of this need.
3. Training funds should be increased somewhat, if possible, both for management and staff. It is crucial that the expenditure of these funds be left open and at the discretion of project management so that identified training needs can be addressed as they become apparent throughout the year in the

day to day operations of the program. This discretionary training decision making is essential if best results for the expenditures are to continue to be obtained. Funding should be ample for both staff and management.

4. Funds for evaluations should be reduced or eliminated. By the completion of the first year, much of the evaluation design work will have been accomplished. A reduction from \$7,000 to \$5,000 is not unreasonable and will still allow ample funds to analyze and evaluate changes and further developments in the program. If necessary, further reductions could be made by using local university based evaluators or municipal staff.

5. Additional funds are needed for temporary residential placements of youths; arrangements for providing these funds must be worked out.

6. Additional shelter home space is needed, as well as a halfway house for runaways. The former would provide required temporary residential space; the latter, while meeting this need, might also prevent involvement of some youths with the juvenile justice system.

7. As is now happening, efforts should continue to be made to prevent involvement of youths with the justice system so that the necessity for and use of all detention programs, secure, less secure, and outreach, is reduced.

All persons involved with this effort to date are to be commended for work well done.

However, we would be remiss if we did not express our judgment that there are additional needs for change and improvement

in other parts of the system. The intervention and helping efforts with problem families are not having all the positive impact and reduction of court loads that had been hoped. Further efforts must be made in this direction in order to prevent youths from and with problem families from becoming involved with the system in such a negative fashion. Statistics are at present unavailable, but there are indications that far too many juveniles are still being detained in the adult jail facility. Probably state laws should be changed to eliminate this area of judicial discretion. The results have never been proved to be beneficial to any youth so treated, and in many cases can be shown to be both harmful to the youth, and expensive to society in the long run.

A full range of family and youth services outside the purview of the justice system should be developed and used extensively. This would result in generally better therapeutic experiences for all concerned, and would free the time and resources of all personnel connected with the courts to deal with more serious problems, and with more workable correctional alternatives.

II. INTRODUCTION

A. Background

In recent years the City of Norfolk has had a problem with the number of juveniles who have been detained in the (adult) jail facility. While perhaps legal, this situation is undesirable and unwise. The jail does not meet certain minimum standards with respect to privacy and other physical features, and the care of the juveniles, which results from these conditions and from operating policies and conditions, has resulted in a number of unfortunate incidents, including assaults and suicides.

It is still not clear why these conditions were allowed to come about by the supposedly responsible adults associated with the handling (care and/or treatment are inappropriate words in this situation) of the juveniles enmeshed in the institutions involved, although investigation has revealed that part of the problem is the result of official policy, which provides that when the juvenile detention home has reached its capacity, older individuals entrusted to this institution for their well being, as well as for the safety of the community, will be transferred to the jail. Others arrive there by other means.

A study of the problem, using 1971 data¹ only shows that for the year, 259 juveniles were transferred from the detention home

¹W. Anthony Fitch, Donna M. Bishop, and Walter J. Diggles, A Study of Juvenile Detention in the City of Norfolk, Virginia, College of William and Mary Metropolitan Criminal Justice Center, no date)

to the jail, and 341 were placed directly in the jail.² This study goes on to state that "Examination of Youth Center statistics shows, however, that one or more beds at the Youth Center were unoccupied on 253 of the 352 days on which children were detained at the City Jail." (ibid, p. 23) Such a situation is appalling.

The study of juvenile detention practices raises other serious questions about the need for or desirability of detention itself for many of the alleged offenders, and indicates that the functional jailing of some youths of "status" offenses, that is, those which are offenses only for the young, and not for adults, is an inappropriate means in which to deal with the problems of personal, family, and social adjustment of which the alleged behavior is symptomatic. In summary, there were too many children in jail, and substantial reason to believe that too many children were being detained in secure custody. Alternatively, it seemed possible that other means of maintaining children in custody could be devised, and that the overflow problem could be alleviated by some means other than the construction of more secure detention facilities.

To accomplish these ends, that is, a reduction of the number of juveniles in jail, and of the number in secure custody, a number of programs have been instituted by the City of Norfolk, assisted by the provision of State and Federal funds. One program provides additional legal staff for the Office of Commonwealth's Attorney. This program is designed to divert those

²op. cit., p. 20

individuals whose infractions are minor, and to improve the prosecution of those individuals, who, in the judgement of the attorneys involved, warrant such treatment. Another program is designed to provide increased and improved probation services for the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court. It is hoped that this program will result in more therapeutic handling of children in problem family situations, and that, as a result of this and other actions, fewer matters will be brought for adjudication, and more problem families diverted to helping agencies within the community.

A third program, aimed directly at the problem of overcrowding and high costs of secure detention is the Outreach Detention Program which is the subject of this evaluation. It and the development and use of a less-secure detention facility are the main efforts in reducing the transfer of juveniles to the City Jail as a result of overcrowding.

B. Objectives

The Norfolk Juvenile Non-Institutional Pre-Adjudication Outreach Detention Program was designed to demonstrate that it is both practical from an operational point of view and economical from a financial point of view to return alleged juvenile offenders, who would otherwise be detained in a secure facility prior to the adjudication of their cases, to their own home and community. Such a program was designed and implemented in order to reduce the burden on detention space, and thereby the number

of juveniles transferred to the adult jail facility as a result of overcrowding at the secure detention home. The program is also intended to provide a key element in a developing system of specialized detention services addressing the specific pre-adjudication needs of each juvenile. It can aid in the avoidance of the otherwise necessary capital expenditures for additional detention facilities, and result in the protection of detained children from physical and sexual assaults.

The basic operating objectives of the program are quite specific. Children in outreach detention are to remain trouble-free, and are to be available to the Court as required. Remaining trouble-free assures that the individual will do no harm to himself or to others.

III. PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

A. Program Design

The program is operated under the auspices of the Norfolk Juvenile Detention Home. It is staffed with six persons, one Outreach Detention Social Worker, who is the supervisor of the project, four Children's supervisors, and one clerk typist. The supervisor is responsible to the Superintendent of the Detention Home, who is the Project Director.

The program design specified that each of the four Children's Supervisors carry a maximum caseload of five, and that the average caseload be as close to this number as circumstances permit. Given current operating procedures in the Juvenile Court, approximately three weeks elapse in the normal case between the filing of a petition and the disposition of the case. Many of the children involved have normally been placed in the custody of the detention home during this period. If the flow of individuals does not vary too widely with seasonal and other circumstances, and if the program continues to be successful in dealing with its participants, it is estimated that approximately 340 children can be handled in the course of a 12 month span who would otherwise have to be maintained in the secure or less-secure detention facilities.

Operations of the program build upon, but substantially differ from prior detention processes. In a typical situation, a juvenile may be placed in detention to await court disposi-

tion of his case. The immediate daily responsibility for the juvenile rests with the detention home staff members who deal with the juvenile in his various living activities at the facility. Additional responsibility is vested in the probation officer from the juvenile court who must see the individual occasionally in preparation of his case for court action. With the Outreach Detention Program, the same concept of shared responsibility is continued; the crucial difference is that the detention workers now function in the community rather than in the detention facilities.

Basically, the program is designed so that whenever the court decides that a juvenile is to be detained, he will be considered for placement in the Outreach Detention Program. He will ordinarily be placed in the program unless there is some particularly important reason for institutional detention. The decision as to the specific detention decision is delegated to the Superintendent of Detention, who operates within guidelines and criteria established by the program with the approval of the Juvenile Court Judges.

The basic criteria for participation in the program are the following:

1. The child has a home, real or surrogate, to go to.
2. The parents will at least not be resistive to close supervision.
3. The case is not of a notorious nature that makes the child wholly unacceptable to the community.

4. There is an Outreach Supervisor available with capacity for the child, that is, there is room in the program.
5. The location of the child's home does not offer an impediment to close supervision.

In practice, it has worked out that each case is considered only in the context of the current situation and the apparent readiness of the individual concerned to benefit from the program. No charges automatically disqualify an individual, and the presence or absence of a past record of involvement with juvenile authorities similarly does not automatically disqualify a potential participant. Program management has made it a practice to provide that in each case the youth to be supervised be acceptable to the outreach supervisor, who makes a judgement as to whether or not it appears possible to establish and maintain a suitable, well functioning personal interrelationship, which is essential to the successful working of the program. In all cases, there must be no bond outstanding, and the legal requirement that the child will do no harm to himself or to the community must be met. The criteria and careful selection processes have insured that this has been the case for every child selected, although it has occasionally seemed advisable to return participants to secure detention when they are having difficulties adjusting to the requirements of living in the community.

In the day-to-day workings of the program, a number of important design considerations have been implemented, which in

turn have resulted in a highly successful first year of operations. The children's supervisors work in an informal two-man team, a "buddy" arrangement that enables either supervisor to assume responsibility for the other's cases when the other must be absent. The continuity of close supervision is too important to be interrupted when a supervisor must take an unplanned day off for illness or other reasons. In addition to providing this backstopping, the buddy system also provides for interaction between all members of the groups assigned to the supervisors, thereby providing enhanced social support for successful continuance in the program. Joint activities and outings have further served to reinforce this essential social support.

The program is basically designed so that there is a maximum of five children in a given supervisor's caseload at any given time. During the initial operations this maximum was not met, but such was probably just as well as all concerned were just getting to know the program routines and requirements, and it was important not to make any mistakes which might have negative effects on essential judicial support for such an innovative program. In recent months, attention has been given to defining and dealing with constraints which have worked to limit the number of persons and person days that have been in the program. A clear need is the availability of surrogate homes, particularly for females who are often unable for a variety of reasons to be returned to their parents' homes. Arrangements have been made with an organization called Helping Hands to obtain volunteer homes for program participants, and the revised budget also pro-

vides for funds to purchase suitable accommodations commercially for older, more self-sufficient youngsters. Equally important, the maximum caseload of five children per supervisor has been maintained (except for the occasional backstopping). It is important that this figure not expand, so that the intensive interaction and support aspects of the program will not be lost.

To best meet the needs of the participants, the court, and the community, the supervisors work long hours on a flexible schedule. They have no prescribed office hours, and, in fact, no office. They work out of their cars, and their clerical duties are purposefully kept at the absolute minimum consistent with responsibilities to the court, the program, and the child. The only written work required of them are periodic mileage reports for reimbursement purposes, occasional administrative paper work that is unavoidable, such as personnel forms, and a "log" of activity expense, also for accounting purposes, and significant case data. The program is designed to keep written work to a minimum, in order not to interfere with the interaction between supervisor and participant. Ordinarily the transmission of case material is handled verbally, but if a probation officer or other official requires written materials, it will be provided.

The supervisors keep in close daily touch with their charges, and with the parents, teachers, police, and others who play a significant role in the children's lives. In addition to contacts relating to various emergency matters, or matters of immediate concern to the participants, the supervisors arrange for recreational sessions, group discussions, and other activi-

ties that will assist in stabilizing the child in the program. The results have been most gratifying.

B. Operations

The program began operation in February of 1974. Staff were selected and initial training sessions were conducted. Following this carefully planned beginning, the first youths were admitted to the program in March, 1974. As the staff became more confident of their ability to handle themselves and the youths entrusted to their supervision, they gradually began to accept youths with more serious charges, as long as other program selection criteria were met, and those who looked as if they might be poorer risks in the outreach program. Table I presents information on the operation of the program through the last seven months of the calendar year. The data show that over three and three quarters person years of the detained youths' time was spent in the outreach program in this seven month period after things were well established. Assuming a cost savings of approximately \$11.50 per person day, this period amounted to a savings to the government of \$15,916.00, exclusive of capital costs, and of possible future costs to society as a result of negative learning in the secure detention situation.

TABLE I

PERSON DAYS IN OUTREACH DETENTION

1974 Month	Male	Female	Total
June	51	74	125
July	73	110	183
August	138	74	212
September	198	88	286
October	166	54	220
November	66	55	121
December	161	76	237
Total	853	531	1,384

The impact of the Outreach Detention Program on the total detention population is presented in Table II for the same seven months period. A maximum of 28.5% of the person days in detention were spent in the outreach program in the month of September. The minimum percentage of person days in the program was 10.9%, which took place in June. Overall, the Outreach Detention Program reduced institutional detention by 19.1%.

TABLE II

Person Days In Outreach As A % Of Person Days In Detention
Selected Months

	Detention	Outreach	% in Outreach
June	1,146	125	10.9
July	979	183	18.7
August	1,116	212	19.0
September	1,002	286	28.5
October	954	220	23.1
November	971	121	12.5
December	1,089	237	21.8
7 Months	7,257	1,384	19.1

Discussions with program personnel indicate that much of the fluctuation in the percentage of person days is a function of the severity of the charges of the pre-adjudication court population of any given time. When the judges require the posting of a cash bond, for instance, the youths cannot be allowed to participate in the outreach program. Even with these and with other constraints, such as the lack of surrogate homes for otherwise eligible participants, over the seven months period represented in the statistics, almost 20% of the person-days of those in detention have been spent in the outreach program.

TABLE III

Person Who Violated Program Goals During The
First Year Of Operation

GOAL	VIOLATIONS
Available to Court	1
Trouble free	0

The data in Table III clearly show how well the program has met its primary goals. There can be no argument with the basic success of this innovative venture in its first year of operations.

Additional remarks with regard to the operation of the program are contained in the evaluation section, each introduced in the context in which it is relevant. In summary, it should be again emphasized that the program design and implementation has been successful in every way.

IV. PROGRAM EVALUATION

A. Overview

In accordance with the research design submitted in provisional form in May 1974, a series of guided interviews were conducted with those individuals knowledgeable about the program. Those selected represented key elements in the system responsible for working with problem juveniles in Norfolk. The system elements represented are project management, court management, court social services staff, the City Human Resources Department, the City Criminal Justice Planning function, the Pilot Cities, and the Outreach supervisors themselves. The interviews were conducted in a three-day period from July 8th through 10th, and again in early December. These interviews, prior observations and correspondence, and statistical information on program operations comprise the basic information and data based on which this evaluation is based.

The materials below are organized in three major areas as contained in the original grant proposal; namely, Managerial Considerations, Organizational Considerations, and Overall Program Effectiveness.

B. Managerial Considerations

1. "Does management have control of the project, especially with regard to alternative detention decisions?"

The answer to this is generally "Yes." With regard to all aspects of the program except detention decisions, management has and is exercising a very capable control of the project. Detention decisions are occasionally shared with the judges. Although the judges have increasingly relied on the recommendations of project personnel, there was some variation in judicial reception of the program at first; this initial hesitancy has been largely overcome. The basic situation now is workable and the detainees are being moved to the program in accordance with the appraisal of project management.

2. "Is there good two-way communication between management and the children's supervisors and between management and the Court?"

With respect to the communication between management and the children's supervisors, there is excellent communication. In addition to good day-to-day working relationships, which also shows good communication among the children's supervisors themselves, the program manager conducts a monthly review session with each of the supervisors at which their work is discussed and critiqued; areas where improvements may be made are indicated and, in general, the performance of the program is discussed openly and effectively.

Communication between management and the Court is more complex. Management is communicating effectively with the judges although there is some variation in their response. Project management is also building sound patterns of communication

with various members of the Court's service staff. There have been some misunderstandings or other difficulties with regard to procuring certain items of information and data from the Court, but this is a function not of poor communication but rather of other difficulties internal to the Court.

3. "Is there sufficient control to provide accountability while permitting individual creativity?"

Both staff and project management are enthusiastic in the manner in which they have been given freedom to devise creative solutions to the problems which they encounter in their work. Mr. Ferguson has clearly delegated all operating responsibility for the program to Mr. Bradby and stands by to assist him in any manner as he may be requested by Mr. Bradby. In return, Mr. Bradby has defined the goals and objectives of the program to the Outreach supervisors, and they, in turn, are completely free to devise and work their own solutions to problems which may come up in the handling of detainees. Because of the clear controls on the program itself--i.e., that the children being supervised should meet the simple rules imposed on them to participate in the program, should remain trouble-free, and should be available to the court if necessary--there is adequate accountability for everyone's actions.

4. "Has management been able to convey commitment to the project?"

The answer to this is very positive with regard to the current staff. In turn, they are getting increased acceptance

and commitment on the part of court personnel and the judges, as well as getting some acceptance and commitment in the community. One of the originally selected supervisors whose employment was terminated was clearly not strongly committed to the program. In addition to his motivational problems, there were other aspects of his work which were unsatisfactory. Another supervisor later accepted other employment, and has been replaced. Overall, management has conveyed very successfully its own commitment to the project and is working with good success to secure acceptance and commitment on the part of others in the criminal justice system and the community at large.

5. "Are staff activities truly an extension of management?"

As described above, the style of management is permissive insofar and so long as goals are being met. In this sense, then, staff activities are 100% an extension of management.

C. Organizational Considerations

1. "Is confidentiality of information with regard to juveniles being maintained?"

The evaluators were unable to discover any problems of violation of confidentiality with regard to the juveniles. There have been no leaks and no problems with the preservation of confidentiality.

2. "Is project information conveyed to the court in a useful format?"

The information is being conveyed to the court in a useful format to the judges and to the court social service workers and others in the criminal justice system. The impact of this has been so positive that in at least one case the disposition of a juvenile offender was materially affected by the recommendation of Outreach Detention program personnel that the defendant be allowed to continue a month in a similar, closely supervised situation. This was permitted and it worked.

3. "Are court social services staff utilizing information produced by the Outreach Detention staff?"

The answer to this is in the affirmative. The only concern that project staff expressed is that they not become the sole research utilized by court staff. Court staff are seriously overburdened and are forced to rely on whatever help they can get from other sources in the system. They are becoming very receptive to information and recommendations from the Outreach Detention workers and are strongly motivated to utilize this information in their own decision-making and recommendations.

4. "Are juveniles receiving the anticipated number of contacts by the children's supervisors?"

The answer to this is affirmative. All of the children receive the minimum number of contacts as proposed, and additional contacts are made with certain children as when necessary. For some individuals, supervisors have acted almost as babysitters for extended periods of time during the day when this has been indicated by the situation as advisable.

5. "Are children's supervisors available at all times to meet the needs of their supervisees?"

The answer to this is in the affirmative. There have been no problems with supervisor availability. Occasionally, a message or request from a supervisee has been delayed at the detention home due to a shortage of staff over the weekend. However, the supervisors are now aware of this communication difficulty and are coping with it. Supervisors themselves cover occasionally for each other in supervisee contacts. This has worked very effectively.

6. "Are detention criteria adequate and are they being observed?"

The detention criteria, explicated in the Program Design section above, are certainly adequate insofar as the current operations of the program. They are necessarily somewhat vague. However, this has allowed for discretion on the part of the program management in the selection of potential program participants and has worked very well. There has been, as noted above, some difficulty involved in getting specific decisions from the judges, although program management reports that in individual cases where specific requests have been made of the bench, these have always been resolved to the satisfaction of the Court and program staff.

D. Overall Program Effectiveness

1. "Was the training program adequate in laying the framework for the program's operation?"

The answer to this is mixed. Staff, at the time, evaluated some aspects of the initial training activities in a relatively negative fashion. However, it is possible that their own lack of experience at that time did not allow them to appreciate the utility of some of the information with which they were provided. Additional funds were expended for in-service training which focused more closely on the needs of the staff and was delivered in such a manner as to make it very acceptable to the staff. Content of the later training included group processes and group cohesion, child and family counseling, facets of behavior modification such as contracting, and highlights of Reality Therapy and Gestalt Therapy.

The main learning with regard to program operations has been conducted on the job. The program was very carefully initiated with a relatively small number of participants in order that the staff could become acquainted with the obligations and appropriate behaviors associated with their role as supervisors and work very closely with the program supervisor, Mr. Bradby. They have all learned to handle themselves effectively in the social situations created by the conduct of the program. This has been a most successful beginning, and much successful learning in problem solving involved in carrying out of their jobs has been accomplished as a result.

2. "Are youths who enter the program just as accessible to the court for study and hearing as youths detained in the traditional manner?"

The answer to this is in the affirmative. Of all the youths who have participated in the program, all but one have been accessible to the court. The one missed one court date and was returned to secure detention.

3. "Are youths relatively trouble-free in their period of outreach detention?"

Trouble-free is defined by the program personnel as being officially in no difficulties with any authority, school, police or other social agencies. In every case, all of the youths who have been maintained in the program have been maintained completely trouble-free for this period. One or two have indicated some problems in adjustment and have been returned to normal detention, but again there was no official contact with authorities in a troublesome situation. Therefore, all youths have been maintained completely trouble-free during outreach detention.

4. "Are the number of youths detained in jail reduced through the existence of this program?"

Statistics on this point are not completely available. Clearly, there has been some reduction in the number of youths in jail as a result of not having to be transferred there when the secure detention facility becomes overcrowded. Unfortunately, there have been some youths sent to jail for brief periods of time due to overcrowding early in the operation of this program, largely as a function of the higher seasonal load on the detention program. The indirect effects of the program are also

positive in that a number of personnel are more aware of the probable negative effects of incarceration of jail, including, among others, the judges who are occasionally responsible for this. The actual impact of the program is difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty because of the development and implementation of other programs in the criminal justice system in Norfolk which are also impacting the number of youths detained or in jail. These factors preclude any exact quantification of the impact, but there undoubtedly has been some, and in the desired direction, i.e., a reduction of juveniles in jail. But more work, beyond the scope of this particular project, needs to be done on this problem. But this program, Outreach Detention, has been a success.

V. COSTS AND COST COMPARISONS

The grant application documentation originally projected two estimates for project costs. The first, which includes certain one-time-only costs for such items as training, equipment, and evaluation, was projected to be \$10.00 per day per child. By omitting the non-recurring first year expenses, it was estimated that the costs per day per child would be approximately \$9.00. In contrast, then current estimates indicated a per capita daily cost in institutionalized detention of \$19.00, a figure which reflects neither past capital costs, nor the expenditure, estimated at \$200,000 to \$400,000 necessary to construct twenty beds necessary to accommodate the estimated 340 children to be handled in the Outreach Detention Program. This estimate was based on the then current estimate of \$10,000 to \$20,000 per bed for construction costs. If one assumes a figure at the mid-point, then \$300,000 would have been required. It is reasonable to assume that 1% of the capital costs, as a monthly return, is sufficient to cover the costs of (interest on) the capital, repairs, and depreciation. This would be \$3,000 per month. Assuming an average thirty days per month, the daily value or cost as expressed by the imputed rent, works out to be \$5.00 per bed per day. If this had to be added to the other costs, \$19.00 per day, the total would be \$24.00 per child per day.

Since these estimates were developed, two things have taken place. Actual operating costs of the Outreach Detention Program per child day have been higher, due to the smaller than anticipated number of children in the program across whom the costs could be spread. Second, actual operating costs in the detention facility projected construction costs and have increased markedly under the impact of inflation. As of mid-September of 1974, the costs for the Outreach Detention program were calculated to be \$14.50 per child, and the current operating costs of secure detention approximately \$26.00 per child per day. Since that time they may have increased \$27.00 per child per day. Construction costs have also escalated, so the daily costs which would result from possible necessary capital construction expenditures must also be considered to have risen between 50 and 100%, to the neighborhood of \$7.50 - \$10.00 per child per day. Clearly, under any set of cost figures, it is far more economical to provide for children in the Outreach Detention program than in secure detention.

One must be careful in using the average cost per child per day as a measure of program costs. There is a certain minimum fixed cost which must be met in order to operate any of these detention programs. If a program is operating at a capacity such that it is not necessary to add additional funds for flexible operating costs, then it is impossible to reduce aggregate operating costs by reductions in population. As a result of this, if the population numbers decrease, there are

fewer individuals across whom to average the costs, and the average cost per person will rise. But the total program costs will not. They will remain fixed at the established operating minimum. One arrives at the paradox, then, that the better the correctional institutions carry out their tasks, and the fewer individuals they have to deal with, the more expensive, other things equal, will be the costs of treating these fewer individuals.

Our investigation of the cost structure has inclined us to make the judgement that all program costs are being kept as low as is possible consonant with sound program functioning. Excess capacity inevitably results in all the detention programs as a result of the uneven demands for detention services. However, administrators in Norfolk are doing a very good job of making this capacity available on a regional basis* so that the services being provided can be used by those in need; at the same time, minimum fixed costs are spread out over a larger population, and are partially paid for by additional user jurisdictions.

It is impossible to assign dollar amounts to the negative costs which may be associated with a detention experience in secure detention. A great deal of study has been carried out emphasizing the negative learning experience which this entails for many detainees, showing that it often leads to socialization

* During the first eleven months of 1974, 90 juveniles from other jurisdictions were admitted to the Norfolk facility.

or enculturation into a deviant, criminal sub-culture. This results in high costs to society incurred both in losses due to criminal depredations, and also in higher long term correctional or custodial costs for the individuals as they are apprehended.

While exact numbers cannot be developed given the deficiencies on our current state of knowledge, it seems probable that the experience in Outreach Detention will result in fewer negative results, and therefore fewer costs, to the individual and to society, than one assumes would be the case if these individuals were maintained in secure detention. There may even be positive gains, and the resultant avoidance of future costs, as a result of positive learning about how to maintain oneself trouble-free in the community.

Despite the fact that it is impossible to calculate any exact dollar amounts with regard to these costs, we are reasonably certain that some substantial future costs are being avoided by the working of the Outreach Detention program.

In summary, every indicator points to maximum use of the Outreach Detention program as the least costly form of detention services. It has proven to be functionally effective, and the direct, indirect, present and future costs are clearly lower than those of other forms of detention. Even if housing payments are provided, as is planned for future operations, the costs will be significantly lower than those of secure or less secure detention, even without allowing for capital costs.

A final observation is that program administrators are to be congratulated for utilizing the resources of the program

wisely. There has been, in our considered judgement, neither over-spending nor the converse. Usually, of course, given "outside" money, there is a strong temptation to wasteful over expenditures. Program management is to be complimented for their avoidance of this common pitfall.