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② NATIONAL EVALUATION PROGRAM - PHASE I

① POLICE JUVENILE UNITS STUDY

③ Final Report

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Final Report

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NATIONAL EVALUATION PROGRAM - PHASE I

National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
United States Department of Justice

POLICE JUVENILE UNITS STUDY

Final Report

by

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Preface

The National Evaluation Program (NEP) was initiated by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) in an effort to provide decision-makers at several levels of government with accurate information about specific topics so that they can make informed policy and program decisions. The NEP is divided into two phases. Phase I requires an assessment of what is known about the topic under study: the major issues; a framework for conceptualizing and analyzing the topic; a description of methods, outcomes, and effectiveness of projects and programs; a general assessment of existing information; and strategies for a local and national evaluation. Should further evaluation appear useful and feasible, the local and national evaluation strategies are intended to assist policy makers in planning and funding decisions. The Phase I study also provides the basis for the LEAA decision about the appropriateness of conducting an in-depth, national evaluation of the topic as part of NEP-Phase II.

This Phase I study focuses on the operations of the police juvenile unit. Previous NEP-Phase I's, in their exploration of juvenile diversion, youth service bureaus, and delinquency prevention, reviewed some aspects of police work with juveniles. None, however, focused on the juvenile unit or considered the full range of juvenile officer responsibilities.

This study was fortunate to have received direction and critical comments from an Advisory Board of individuals with varying backgrounds and skills:

Sylvia Bacon, Judge of the Superior Court of the
District of Columbia

Jameson Doig, Professor, Woodrow Wilson School,
Princeton University

Eddie Harrison, Director, Pretrial Intervention Project,
Baltimore, Maryland

Malcolm Klein, Professor, Department of Sociology,
University of Southern California

Tom Sardino, Chief, Syracuse Police Department

Lieutenant R.D. Wilson, Director, Youth Services Program,
Dallas Police Department

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Chapter I

Introduction

The role of the police in handling juvenile offenders is in a state of transition. Organizational changes in policing, which include the movement towards team policing and decentralization are minimizing the use of the specialist officer. Statutory changes are narrowing both the scope of police jurisdiction over classes of juveniles and the discretion available to police in reaching a disposition. Increasing juvenile crime and the perceived failure of the juvenile justice system has reopened a dormant philosophical debate which questions the need for a separate system of justice for juveniles.

The specialized police juvenile unit is particularly vulnerable to the changes taking place. Most juvenile units were established prior to 1960, in response to theories which are now in question, and circumstances which may no longer exist. Further, intradepartmental support for these units has traditionally been weak; these units have always suffered the derision of non-juvenile officers. Since police departments are beginning to question whether their specialized juvenile units should exist, it is important to review and evaluate the available knowledge of these units.

Objectives of the Study

This document on police juvenile units is the result of a one-year Police Foundation study supported by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice and jointly monitored with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Law Enforcement Assistance Adminis-

tration, United States Department of Justice. The study has several objectives:

1. To summarize the current state of knowledge on police juvenile units;
2. To construct a framework for understanding police juvenile units which is useful for evaluation purposes;
3. To conduct preliminary research in significant policy-relevant questions related to police juvenile units;
4. To indicate which questions and issues merit further study at both the local and national levels; and,
5. To provide designs, where appropriate, for the evaluation of these questions.

In order to achieve these objectives, several data collection activities were undertaken: (1) a review of the literature on police juvenile units; (2) a mail survey of middle and large-size police departments; (3) a telephone survey of a sample of mail survey respondents; (4) field visits to departments with and without juvenile units; and (5) preliminary research on a select number of questions in several police departments.

This document is intended to aid potential evaluators of police operations. The data gathered and analyzed are not, however, intended to resolve the question of whether a specialized juvenile unit should exist in every police department.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study, a police juvenile unit is defined as any organizationally definable unit within a police department with primary responsibility for handling juveniles or juvenile cases.

According to this definition, a department may have more than one juvenile unit. The unit which has traditionally been viewed as the juvenile unit is referred to by most departments as the Youth Aid Bureau, Juvenile Division, Youth Section or Juvenile Bureau. This is the unit which, at a minimum, will be disposing of juvenile cases. In reality, however, many departments delegate authority over juveniles to units with differing functions. The Lincoln, Nebraska, Police Department, for example, has two juvenile units according to this study's definition: the Youth Aid Bureau, which investigates and screens alleged juvenile offenders, and the School Resource Program, which operates delinquency prevention programs in the elementary and junior high schools.

By distinguishing the term "juveniles" from "juvenile cases" in the definition above, we are highlighting the fact that not all juvenile units deal solely or primarily with the juvenile offender. On the contrary, a large percentage of juvenile units sponsor community programs for the youth who is not, and may never be, an alleged offender, while other units deal with the juvenile who is the victim of an offense perpetrated by either a juvenile or adult.

The juvenile offender may be judged delinquent by committing either a criminal or status offense. The age of majority, below which this document defines the juvenile population, is relative to the police department discussed and the age standard under which the department operates.

Scope of the Study

Prior attempts by researchers to identify the universe of police departments with juvenile units were reviewed. According to responses to a

1970 Police-Juvenile Operations Survey undertaken by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), all cities and counties with a police department of 300 or more sworn officers were likely to have a unit.¹ The data indicated that most, if not all, jurisdictions of more than 100,000 inhabitants would have a police department with more than 75 sworn officers, and have either a juvenile unit or juvenile officers attached to a non-juvenile unit. The 1977 General Administrative Survey of Municipal Police Departments, mailed to all departments serving a population of 250,000 or more, identified 41 departments (out of 47 respondents) as having units.²

Using these surveys as background information, a national mail survey was undertaken to identify the universe of departments with a juvenile unit. A questionnaire was mailed to all city and county police departments serving a population of 100,000 or more which provided data to the 1975 Uniform Crime Report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation or were listed in the 1976 Municipal Yearbook. Following the survey, twelve visits were made to departments which differed in the size of populations they served, the specialized juvenile unit activities they performed and the jurisdiction over juveniles they had. For example, the smallest department visited policed a population of 100,000 with 125 sworn officers; the largest served a population in excess of 800,000 with a force of 3410. One juvenile unit investigated only offenses of juveniles against juveniles; another, all alleged juvenile offenders or victims. The in-depth research in three departments which followed these visits focused on those which served jurisdictions of approximately 150,000. Two of the departments had units which both investigated cases involving alleged juvenile perpetrators and screened cases for police disposition. The third department did not have a specialized unit for handling juveniles.

Given the above attempt to gather data on quite different entities, each called a juvenile unit, it is difficult to pinpoint the universe of police departments or juvenile units which the information in this document represents. A realistic estimate is that the data on which most of this report is based (excepting the findings of the national survey presented in Chapter II), represents the juvenile unit in a police department with approximately 150 to 600 full-time sworn officers, serving cities and counties with a population of from 100,000 to 500,000, which investigates and screens the alleged juvenile delinquent.

Method of Data Gathering

The methodology for gathering information on police juvenile units was designed so that the study would begin from a wide-based theoretical perspective and move steadily toward a more specific, concrete understanding of unit operations. This was accomplished by employing a series of research techniques in a particular chronology:

- Literature review of police-juvenile operations
- Mail survey of police departments
- Telephone survey of police departments with and without a juvenile unit
- Field visits to police departments with and without a juvenile unit
- Case studies of police departments with and without a juvenile unit

Each research stage generated information on police departments without a juvenile unit, in addition to those with a unit, in order to highlight questions and issues about operating a unit which may have otherwise gone

unrecognized. The dearth of existing data on juvenile units precipitated an extensive data collection endeavor at each research stage.

Literature Review

Two decades of literature were reviewed to provide a background for this study. The review focused on six issues which emerged as critical from a telephone survey of national authorities in the area of police-juvenile relations (Appendix A):*

- (1) Should juveniles be handled by generalist or specialist officers?
- (2) What should be the role of the police juvenile unit?
- (3) Should the police follow a legalistic or paternalistic model in their handling of juveniles?
- (4) What role should the exercise of discretion play in handling juveniles?
- (5) What should be the relationship between the police and the other juvenile justice system components?
- (6) What should be the relationship between the police and the community?

Most of the literature reviewed, with the exception of studies of discretion, was subjective, without a base of empirical research.

Mail Questionnaire

A national mail survey was designed to begin to fill the information gaps on police juvenile units (Appendix B). A questionnaire was mailed to each of the 165 city and county police departments serving a population of 100,000 or

*The individuals telephoned were culled by staff from lists of teachers, researchers and program operators who have a national reputation in the police-juvenile area for holding a particular point of view, conducting an important study, or operating an interesting program. The resulting list of telephonees attempted to represent a wide spectrum of disciplines and opinions.

more which were listed in the 1976 Municipal Yearbook or the 1975 Uniform Crime Report. The questionnaire attempted to pinpoint police departments having a juvenile unit, pursue issues mentioned in the literature review and gather descriptive information on unit activities. The questions covered such topics as:

- Department characteristics
- Organization of juvenile specialization
- Nature of offenses handled
- Departmental status of juvenile officers
- Training of juvenile officers
- Juvenile unit operations and activities
- Juvenile unit jurisdiction over juveniles
- Processing the alleged delinquent
- Reports and files used
- Prior evaluation of the juvenile unit

The mailing to the Chief or Sheriff of each department requested the department's participation in the research endeavor and that the survey questionnaire be turned over to the head of the unit for completion. Where no unit existed, the planning and research staff was to complete the form. The data gathered by the questionnaire are presented in Chapter II.

Of the 165 questionnaires distributed, 137 replies were received (83%): 84% of the city police departments and 73% of the county police departments returned the questionnaire.*

*The response rate for cities and counties is as follows:

<u>Population Categories</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>County</u>
1,000,000+	83%	67%
500,000-1,000,000	60%	80%
250,000-500,000	88%	79%
100,000-250,000	79%	67%

There was no observable difference in the geographic spread of respondents and non-respondents.

Telephone Survey

A telephone survey was conducted in 30 of the departments which responded to the mail questionnaire (Appendix C). Population categories originally constructed for the mail survey were sampled to insure a proportional distribution of departments of varying size. Where a juvenile unit existed, the commander of the unit was interviewed. This survey: (a) provided detailed information in some areas covered briefly in the mail questionnaire; (b) validated some questions on the mail questionnaire which appeared, on preliminary analysis, to be problematic; and (c) asked questions which were too sensitive to be asked or answered candidly in a mail survey instrument.

This step brought the staff one step closer to understanding unit operations, but, more importantly, provided the needed data upon which to select departments for field visits.

Field Visits

An assessment of responses to the mail and telephone surveys indicated that two variables were critical in understanding the operations of any PJU: the function of the unit (e.g., investigation, screening) and the scope of its jurisdiction over juveniles (i.e., all or some juveniles). These became the primary criteria for site selection. The 30 departments telephoned were characterized in terms of the unit's primary functions (investigation, screening, program operation) and jurisdiction (all juveniles, some juveniles). An attempt was made to select departments from within each of these categories. Secondary criteria were also considered: geographical locale, size of the population served, size of the police department.

Twelve departments were visited by two staff for a period of two days

each: Arlington County, Virginia; Baltimore, Maryland; Contra Costa County, California; Duluth, Minnesota; Greensboro, North Carolina; Lincoln, Nebraska; Multnomah County, Oregon; Onondaga County, New York; Topeka, Kansas; Torrance, California; Tucson, Arizona; and Washington, D. C.* In each department an effort was made to talk with juvenile and non-juvenile officers within the department, with juvenile justice personnel (prosecutors, probation officers, public defenders, judges) and with representatives of community-based treatment services and facilities. Descriptive data were gathered on the unit's operations, with an emphasis on its role within the dual contexts of the police department and juvenile justice system (Appendix D). Available unit statistics were gathered on reported offenses, clearances and arrests. Policy and procedural manuals were gathered, as were report forms used by the unit.

Case Studies

Although juvenile units perform a variety of activities, only the investigation and screening functions seemed suitable for intensive study. Programs operated by different departments differed enough to discourage comparisons. Departments also varied according to which division operated a particular program. Units which investigated cases in which juveniles were victims were frequently encountered, although this was generally a sub-specialty within a juvenile investigations unit, and did not involve all unit officers. Although administrative and public relations activities were also performed by juvenile officers, they were intermittent in nature and not a unit's primary function. Only the investigation and screening

*A brief description of each field visit site appears in Chapter III.

functions seemed suitable for intensive analysis. In most departments visited one or both of these functions were performed, they were the unit's primary responsibility, and were performed by all unit officers.

Three departments were selected for in-depth study from those visited. They each served populations of similar size. Two of the departments had a juvenile unit which performed both the investigation and screening functions common to juvenile unit operations, but differed enough to make potential comparisons interesting. The juvenile unit in Greensboro, North Carolina, emphasized the investigation aspect of its work, handling all alleged juvenile offenders; the unit in Torrance, California, emphasized the screening aspect of its operation, receiving cases following investigation by either or both patrol and detectives. The Multnomah County, Oregon, police department was selected for the third case study to enable a contrast to be made with a department without a unit. Although the Multnomah department performed both the investigation and screening functions it was organized according to a team policing model.

Research in the two departments with units focused on questions which staff considered critical for assessing investigation and screening operations. The investigation questions were as follows:

- (1) What kinds of information does the juvenile officer collect?
- (2) Does the information collected by juvenile officers add to that gathered by other police officers?
- (3) Is the information collected by juvenile officers essential for case prosecution?

The screening questions were:

- (1) What alternatives are used by juvenile officers?

- (2) What criteria are used by juvenile officers to dispose of a case?
- (3) Are similar cases disposed of uniformly?

In Multnomah County, these questions were asked of patrol officers and investigators who handle alleged delinquents.

The information gathered at each site focused on five typical offenses handled by these, and most, middle-sized departments: assaults, burglaries, larcenies, vandalism and runaways. Eight person weeks were spent at each site, observing juvenile unit officers during their daily activities, debriefing these officers on cases closed during the on-site period, interviewing non-juvenile officers and other officials in the juvenile justice system, and abstracting data from recently closed case files (Appendix E).

Organization of the Report

This report presents a description of the operations of police juvenile units in a framework which makes it possible to evaluate these operations on a local and national level.

Chapter II presents an abridged history of the emergence of the juvenile unit, an overview of existing literature on the unit, and the results of the national mail survey developed for this study. Chapter III presents the framework selected for understanding juvenile units (i.e., unit functions) and a discussion of goals and assumptions which are operationalized by these functions. Comparative information on the twelve departments visited by staff from which this framework was drawn, is also provided. Chapters IV, V, and VI assess, respectively, the investigation, screening and program operation functions of juvenile units. The chapters focus on what is known

about the ability of juvenile units to achieve their primary goals, and about the validity of the assumptions which underly these goals. The final chapter deals with the question of future evaluation and research needs which were uncovered during the course of the study.

Notes Chapter I

1. Richard W. Kobetz, The Police Role and Juvenile Delinquency, Gaithersburg, Maryland: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1971.
2. General Administrative Survey of Municipal Police Departments, Washington, D. C.: The Police Foundation (to be published April 1978).

Chapter II

The Juvenile Unit: The National Perspective

Historical Background

Police specialization in handling juveniles developed as part of the emergence of a separate justice system for youth. Until the close of the 19th Century, laws, courts and correctional institutions did not differentiate between the juvenile and adult offender. By the turn of the century, however, reform-minded groups were instrumental in establishing the juvenile court as a new social institution. Influenced by the concept of parens patriae, the new court was expected to take the role of parents and correct prior abuses of juveniles by: (1) separating children from the formality and harshness of adult criminal court proceedings; (2) providing expertise in the diagnosis of the problems of youth; (3) providing treatment and rehabilitation instead of punishment; and (4) helping the juvenile avoid the stigma of a criminal label. This was to be accomplished by removing juveniles from the adult court and creating special programs and trained personnel for the delinquent, dependent and neglected youth.

The first law defining juvenile delinquency was passed by the Illinois legislature in April, 1899; the juvenile court began functioning several months later. The first police juvenile officers appeared during that year in Chicago, Illinois, to service this Cook County juvenile court. Under the Illinois Juvenile Court Act of 1899, Illinois designated probation to be a preferred alternative to juvenile incarceration. Funds, however, were never allocated for probation officers. The new juvenile justice system substituted an available commodity -- the police officer. Titled "police probation

officers," these officers served as liaison between the police and the juvenile court. They wrote delinquency petitions, set hearing dates, notified the involved parties, issued summonses, presented the case at the hearing, and offered recommendations for dispositions. They did not, however, supervise probationers. According to Sterling, in his History of The Juvenile Bureau of The Chicago Police Department, the development of the juvenile specialty may have been forced upon an unwilling police department:¹

It cannot be assumed that with the establishment of the Juvenile Court and the detailing of patrolmen to the court as probation officers that the Chicago Police Department, in toto, became interested in the juvenile problem nor did they act in accord with the spirit of the legislation.

The 20th century witnessed the rapid growth of cities and the problems of slum environments. At the start of the century, a growing factory system plus improvements in agricultural technology created "large" cities (i.e., 37 cities with a population of 100,000²). World War II prompted additional hundreds of thousands of workers to swell the populations of cities with war industry plants. An increase in juvenile delinquency accompanied these developments. Violent juvenile gangs appeared. Females were active in crime along with their male counterparts.

Using the Chicago experience as a base, other departments instituted variations which typified the police response for more than one-half of a century: establishing juvenile bureaus, assigning women as juvenile officers, and assigning juvenile investigators to specialized squads and units. Juveniles who were both perpetrators and victims of crime were the target groups for those officers. Big-city police attempted to prevent juvenile

crime in a variety of ways:³

...the New York City police assigned welfare officers to residential precincts; the Chicago police created an employment bureau for young men; and the Los Angeles police department detached officers to the juvenile courts... (St. Louis police) decorated the station houses with trees at Christmas, invited the neighborhood children to stop by, and loaded them down with modest gifts on the assumption that by winning their affection the department was deterring juvenile delinquency.

By 1950, juvenile units or juvenile officers were institutionalized in many police departments across the nation.

During the 1950's police departments with juvenile officers began to consolidate their juvenile specialists and services under one division and command. Police juvenile sub-specialties developed (e.g., gang control) to meet department-specific needs. According to responses to the national mail survey undertaken for this study, 67% of the 98 reporting departments formed their juvenile unit after 1950.

The police department (and juvenile unit) of the 1960's launched delinquency prevention programs (e.g., Police Athletic League, Officer Friendly Program), to combat the continually increasing number of delinquents. Positive police-community relations were stressed as a means of preventing delinquency.

The irony of the 75 year development of a separate juvenile justice system has been the growing indictment of the assumptions, operations and consequences of this system as abusive to the individuals it was trying to protect. Paul Lerman, in Delinquency and Social Policy, has succinctly summarized the litaney of unfulfilled promises:⁴

Major critics of the Court assert that the juvenile-court reformers promised a great deal more than they could possible accomplish. They promised that the court would provide treatment and rehabilitation instead of punishment,

but they were never able to offer the variety of services that these intentions required. The court was supposed to deal with children parens patriae (in the role of parents), but it offered inferior substitutes: an untrained judiciary, uneven and inadequate probationary supervision, and congregate institutions. The court promised to take children away from the harshness and formality of adult criminal-court procedures, but it supplied arbitrary decision-making unconstrained by the traditional and constitutional guarantees of due process. The court promised expertise in the diagnosis and treatment of problem children, but it was unable to provide the necessary knowledge; in fact, that knowledge does not yet exist. The court promised to do away with the old stigma of youthful criminality, but it could not offset the new stigma of youth delinquency. The court promised to keep pursuing its laudable goals, but critics kept setting them aside and insisted on examining the functioning and outcomes of the court's actual operations.

The juvenile unit of the 1950's has had to respond: (1) to judicial rulings which have extended to juveniles' due process rights previously accorded only to adults;⁵ (2) to a growth in juvenile crime which has been described as "a crisis of staggering dimensions;"⁶ (3) to competing suggestions and sets of standards developed by commissions and task forces to examine the problem of police-juvenile relations;⁷ (4) to state legislatures which want to handle the violent juvenile offender as an adult⁸ and decriminalize status offenses (e.g., runaways)⁹; and, (5) to fundamental changes in police organization and strategy which are questioning the need for specialized juvenile officers and units.¹⁰

Literature Overview

The literature reviewed for this study covered police-juvenile operations, in general, and police juvenile units, in particular. The substantive findings and implications of the empirical research reviewed are discussed throughout this document. At this point, an overview of the nature and methodological strengths and weaknesses of this literature is appropriate.

Police Juvenile Operations

One body of literature on police juvenile operations is highly polemical. The literature which argues for officer specialization in juvenile matters, for example, highlights the organizational efficiencies to be gained from specialized procedures, officer training, and routinization of operations.¹¹ In contrast, the literature which argues against specialization stresses organizational dysfunctions associated with the existence of a juvenile unit: unnecessary bureaucratization, distinct and inflexible jurisdictional boundaries, unwarranted unit autonomy, and a breakdown of the command structure.¹² Empirically based data with which to test the merit of these arguments is absent, as it is for many other topics in this area.

The empirically-based literature on police juvenile operations covers several topics: (a) the use of discretion in the arrest decision; (b) the operation of diversion programs; (c) the operation of prevention programs; (d) legal rights accorded juveniles; and (e) relations with the community. Although a methodological review of all of this literature was not feasible, reviews done by others were read. The results were always the same: indictments of previous researchers on ambiguous definitions, unsound monitoring for base-line data, inadequate follow-up procedures and periods, lack of control or comparison group comparability, and inappropriate generalization of findings.¹³ Given reliability and validity questions raised by these studies, staff focused on identifying patterns or trends in the findings themselves. The chapters which follow attempt to weave the substance of this research into the discussion of this study's findings.

The Police Juvenile Unit

A 1968 review of the literature on police juvenile units produced remarks which are equally valid today:¹⁴

Although the literature presents a wide assortment of articles, pamphlets, and books that describe the organization and administration of a juvenile unit and the definition of its role, there is a great deal of duplication and repetition. It seems there are several outstanding sources that represent a main reservoir of ideas and these ideas appear throughout the writings of others with little modification or change.

The "outstanding sources" that produced the "reservoir of ideas" in 1968¹⁵ have been replaced by other individuals whose ideas are summarized in two recently promulgated sets of standards: one by the National Task Force to Develop Standards and Goals for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (Task Force)¹⁶; the other by a Joint Commission of the Institute for Judicial Administration and the American Bar Association (IJA/ABA).¹⁷ The Task Force standards cover many aspects of police work with juveniles: referrals of juveniles to court; the use of alternative dispositions; the specificity of codes and policy guidelines; the selection, training and promotion of juvenile officers; coordination with public and private agencies; investigative practices; establishing the unit; and officer accountability. The IJA/ABA standards deal with many of these areas, with additions on the police role in delinquency prevention, authority to arrest, and legal and procedural guidelines for police operations.

Both the Task Force and IJA/ABA standards, however, have similar drawbacks: they rely heavily on value judgments which are presented in the absence of data to support the underlying assumptions. For example, Task Force Standard 7-1, on the organization of police-juvenile operations, suggests that: "Every

police agency having more than 75 sworn officers should establish a juvenile investigations unit if community conditions warrant." ¹⁸ The standard continues to specify unit responsibilities, such as juvenile investigations, assistance to field officers, and liaison with other agencies interested in juvenile matters. However, without data to assess the general effectiveness of such an organizational arrangement, it is difficult to assess the merits of competing arguments made by the departments which favor team policing or the generalist officer model.

The most comprehensive data on police juvenile unit operations come, primarily, from a national survey of police practices involving juveniles undertaken by Richard Kobetz for the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) in 1970.¹⁹ Kobetz mailed a questionnaire to approximately 2,000 law enforcement administrators, including state, county, city, and municipal personnel. The survey attempted to gather data on variations in police juvenile unit organization and practice. The general areas reviewed were: initial police contact with juveniles; formal and informal dispositional alternatives for dealing with delinquents; selection, qualifications and training of police juvenile officers; organizational policies and staffing of police programs for handling juveniles. Although the study provides considerable information on the practices of departments in 1970, it is not comparable to the data gathered during the present study; 13% of the respondents and the IACP survey came from departments serving jurisdictions of over 100,000, while all of the departments surveyed and visited during this study served jurisdictions of that size.

The National Survey

The absence of recent, comprehensive information on police juvenile units prompted the design and distribution of a national mail survey. As stated in Chapter I, the survey was conducted primarily to identify the universe of police juvenile units. To take advantage of this national mailing, an attempt was made to ask questions which would also place each unit within its larger organizational setting, and gather information on unit activities. The picture of police juvenile unit operations which emerged from the survey is presented below. Since the survey was designed prior to field visits, as a way of gathering a wide range of information quickly and economically, the data presented in this chapter should be considered preliminary to the insights and conclusions which appear in later chapters.*

Departmental Specialization**

The survey attempted, first of all, to identify all departments with a specialized capability for handling juveniles. Responses (N=124) indicated that:

- 89% of the departments had an organizational entity known as the juvenile unit
- 6% of the departments had juvenile officers, but no juvenile unit
- 5% of the departments had neither a juvenile unit nor juvenile officers

*Many questions were asked which were not answered by sufficient numbers of respondents to be included in this chapter.

**The absolute number of responses to each question on the survey varied. Some of the variation was due to questions which were not applicable to all departments. Some of the variation came from departments which did not respond to all applicable questions. The differing N's used throughout this section represent the total number of respondents to the particular question discussed.

According to these statistics, the large proportion of departments had some form of specialized juvenile capability.

The departments which had a juvenile unit were more likely to be serving cities than counties (93% vs. 73%, respectively):

Table 1 summarizes information on the number of juvenile unit officers found in police departments of varying size.

TABLE 1. Number of Juvenile Unit Officers by Number of Sworn Officers in a Department

<u>Full-Time Sworn Officers in Department</u>	<u>Full-Time Sworn Officers in Unit</u>				
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21+
Under 200 (N=13)	39%	54%	8%	0	0
200-399 (N=41)	24%	39%	20%	10%	7%
400-599 (N=14)	7%	21%	29%	29%	14%
600-799 (N=10)	30%	10%	20%	10%	30%
800 + (N=17)	0	2%	12%	6	76%
<u>Total = 95</u>					

As shown on Table 1, a general trend emerges: as the size of the department increases, the number of juvenile officers in the unit increases. In general, departments of less than 400 officers are likely to have less than 10 juvenile officers in a unit, while departments of 400 or more officers are likely to have 11 or more juvenile officers.

Juvenile units reported having received less of an increase in their budgets, relative to the rest of the department. Eighty-seven percent of the 112 responding departments noted an increase in the department's budget over the previous year, while only 70% of the respondents indicated an increase in the juvenile unit's budget. No information was gathered on the specific dollar amount of increases.

The decades during which a juvenile unit was established in departments are presented below:

1970-77	21%
1960-69	13%
1950-59	33%
1940-49	18%
1930-39	13%
Before 1930	2%
	(N=98)

These figures indicate a surge in the establishment of juvenile units in the 1930's which reached a peak in the 1950's. The emergence of new units tapered off in the 1960's, but picked up again during the 1970's. The units established during the 1970's noted the following reasons for their creation: (1) an increase in crimes committed by and against juveniles; (2) a perceived need for organizational efficiency through specialization; and (3) a desire for an emphasis on prevention.

Nineteen percent (19%) of the 92 departments responding to the question currently receive some LEAA funds for their juvenile unit; 37% indicated that their units had previously received funds (N=64). According to respondents, funds were received for either the creation of a juvenile unit (e.g., personnel, equipment); the expansion of a unit, or the development of special unit programs (e.g., pre-trial diversion).

In departments responding to the question (N=99), most juvenile units are organizationally placed within the Criminal Investigation Division (78%). The remaining units are placed with Patrol (11%); Community Relations (7%); Administration (4%), and other Divisions (3%).

Characteristics of Juvenile Units

Personnel. Responses to question on the Survey asking for the rank of the commanding officer of the juvenile unit produced the following statistics:

Inspector	1.9%
Major	3.7%
Captain	24.3%
Lieutenant	46.7%
Sergeant	16.8%
Other	6.5%
	(N=107)

According to these statistics, almost half of unit commanders hold the rank of Lieutenant while 77% hold this rank or above.*

A separate question revealed that almost half of unit commanders report to an officer who holds the rank of Captain; an additional 27% report to a Deputy Chief.*

Slightly more than half of the respondents indicated that an educational requirement was established for eligibility as a juvenile officer (N=105);- 75% of 103 responding departments indicated that a fixed number of years experience in the department also existed as an eligibility criterion. Eighty percent of the responding departments (N=105) said they offer specialized training to juvenile officers; more than half indicated that this training is required. Responses to a question on location of training indicated that

*It should be noted that not all departments have the same rank structure. (1) the same ranks may not exist in each department; and (2) the same rank can mean different things in different departments.

the department provides most of the training, with colleges and universities providing a relatively large share as well.* Two-thirds of the respondents also indicated that juvenile unit officers participated in training non-juvenile officers.

Most juvenile officers work out of uniform: 79% reported working in plainclothes, while an additional 19% of the units reported having a mix of uniformed and plainclothes officers (N=108). Juvenile officers are not the exception to the standard rule that police carry guns; officers in all units are armed while on duty (N=108).

Duty shifts covered by juvenile officers vary considerably across units. According to Table 2, 35% of the responding units work all shifts; in direct contrast, 21% work only one weekday shift.

TABLE 2: Distribution of Police Departments
with Juvenile Units

Duty Shifts*	Percentage of Respondents
All Shifts	35%
Weekends and Weekday-Two Shifts	21%
Weekends and Weekday-One Shift	5%
Weekdays-Two Shifts	12%
Weekdays-One Shift	21%
Other Combinations	6%

*Excludes times listed as "on call" (N=107)

The survey data on selection and training should be reviewed along with the information that field visits provided (pp. 20). The field visit data lead us to question the validity of survey responses.

Juvenile Offenses Handled. Each state legislature defines the age of majority. Responses to a question asking for the age below which an individual was considered a juvenile under law indicate that most states use 18 years of age. Responses were as follows: 18 years of age, 66.7%; 17 years of age, 23.6% and 16 years of age, 9.8%.

Departments were queried about the most frequent juvenile offenses handled by the unit. The responses are presented below:

Larceny	29%
Status Offenses	24%
Burglary	18%
Vandalism	7%
Assault	6%
Sexual Assault/ Robbery/Murder	3%
Drug Violations	3%
Other Offenses	10%

(N=307)*

According to these figures, larcenies, status offenses and burglaries most frequently handled by juvenile units. It is significant to note that only 9% of the responding departments reported that the units frequently handled assaultive crimes.

Since the status offense label covers a variety of behaviors, a separate analysis of frequently handled status offenses was undertaken. As shown by the figures presented below, "runaway" and "incorrigible" are the most frequently handled status offenses:

Runaway	34%
Incorrigible	26%
Truant	16%

*The survey requested the three most frequent juvenile offenses handled by the unit. The number 307 represents the tabulation of all first, second, and third most frequently handled offenses of the 105 departments responding to this question. The rank ordering of offenses is based on the frequency with which an offense was mentioned.

Curfew Violation	11%
Use of Alcohol	6%
Other	7%
	(N=329)*

Two-thirds of the 117 responding departments indicated that status offenders were handled differently than criminal offenders. Ten percent of the responding departments reported having to deal with gang problems (N=121); 53% reported having a school crime problem (N=117). Eighty-six percent of 89 responding departments handled cases involving adult offenders in which a juvenile was a victim (e.g., abuse and neglect).

Juvenile Unit Operations. Responding to four separate questions on activities performed, 94% of the respondents stated that the unit investigated cases frequently (N=105), 46% counseled frequently (N=101), 32% conducted programs frequently (N=91), and 27% stated they patrolled frequently (N=98).

Another series of questions asked whether a unit sponsored or participated in programs of a specific nature. Responses appear in Table 3.

TABLE 3: Programs Sponsored or Participated In
By Juvenile Units

<u>Unit Involvement</u>	Safety Program	Police Probation	School Program	Recreation Program	Diversion Program**
Sponsor	31.1%	30.4%	33.3%	22.7%	40.0%
Participate	68.9%	69.6%	66.7%	77.3%	60.0%
	(N=61)	(N=23)	(N=91)	(N=44)	(N=90)

*The survey requested the three most frequent status offenses handled by the unit. The number 329 represents the tabulation of all first, second and third most frequently handled status offenses by the 115 departments responding to the question. The rank order is based on the frequency with which a status offense was mentioned.

**Telephone interviews indicated that departments confused the operation of a diversion program with using diversion as a process of screening juveniles out of the system. The survey data may be inflated.

Data on Table 3 suggest that most of the responding departments participate in a variety of programs, but fewer sponsor these programs.

Questions about the handling of juveniles by non-juvenile unit officers indicated that non-juvenile officers perform a variety of tasks in juvenile cases (Table 4).

TABLE 4: Tasks Performed by Non-Juvenile Officers in Juvenile Cases*

<u>Non-Juvenile Officer Tasks</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Contacts Parents (N=97)	81.4%	18.6%
Investigates (N=96)	80.2%	19.8%
Interrogates (N=97)	68.0%	32.0%
Charges (N=79)	51.9%	48.1%
Fingerprints (N=81)	45.7%	54.3%
Photographs (N=79)	43.0%	57.0%

The data suggest that non-juvenile officers are involved in a number of tasks involving juvenile cases, especially the contacting of parents (81.4% of respondents) and the investigation of offenses (80.2% of respondents).

On another question asked, 94% of the 133 responding departments stated that the juvenile unit frequently received referrals from other police units.

When respondents were asked to name the types of community organizations to which they frequently referred cases, the following statistics emerged:

Community Service Organizations	38.1%
Welfare Agencies	25.0%
Youth Service Bureaus	15.0%
Mental Health Clinics	13.1%
Neighborhood Groups	5.6%
Narcotics Treatment Centers	2.5%
	(N=160)**

*Responses to this question do not preclude the performance of these tasks by juvenile officers also.

**The survey requested the three community agencies to which police referred juveniles most frequently. The number 160 represents the tabulation of all first, second and third most frequently used referral agencies of the 87 departments responding to the question. The rank order is based on the frequency with which a type of agency was mentioned.

According to these figures, community service organizations frequently received unit referrals from the greater percentage of respondents (38.1%), seconded by welfare agencies (25%).

Maintaining Records. According to survey respondents, both the unit and central records were equally likely to provide storage for juvenile arrest records. Ninety-one percent of the respondents (N=115) stated that only juvenile justice system personnel had access to those records.

When questioned about how long case records were kept by both the department and the unit, the following responses were given: (Table 5):

TABLE 5: Length of Time Records are Maintained by Unit and Central Records

<u>Records Maintained</u>	<u>Juvenile Unit</u>	<u>Central Records</u>
Indefinitely	33.6%	53.6%
Until Age of Majority	50.0%	24.4%
5 Years +, But Not Indefinitely	13.5%	21.9%
Under 5 Years	3.7%	=
	(N=52)	(N=41)

According to data on Table 5, juvenile records are maintained for a longer period of time by central records than by the unit. Slightly more than half of the reporting departments (53.6%) stated that the central record offices maintain juvenile records indefinitely; in contrast, half of the units (50.0%) maintain records only until age of majority.

More than half of the responding departments reported that arrest records were not automated (58.5%, N=106).

Survey Data Highlights

Responses to the survey indicate that the juvenile unit is likely to be

found in most police departments serving jurisdictions of over 100,000. This data satisfied the original purpose of the survey, which was to identify the universe of juvenile units in medium and large-size police departments.

Several survey findings were looked into more closely during subsequent field visits and should be placed in a broader perspective which anticipates data presented in the remaining chapters. First, the fact that most juvenile units are organizationally situated in the Criminal Investigations Division (CID) is contrary to the recommendations of a working paper on police, made by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The paper suggests an autonomous operational division on a line level with such divisions as Patrol, Traffic, Detectives and Vice.²⁰ The placement of most units under CID suggests that departments accord units a lower level of status than recommended by the President's Commission. This organizational placement also maximizes the possibilities of intra-department tensions between juvenile and non-juvenile officers by subsuming a unit within a division which field visits indicated has incompatible goals and different operational procedures. This problem is returned to in several following chapters.

Second, the juvenile offender handled by most units is not the violent, hardened criminal the mass media has given its attention. Although each city and county has a problem of varying degree with the assaultive juvenile, the juvenile offender handled by the unit is the larcenist, burglar, and runaway. In some departments this is true because most juveniles commit acts of minimal severity. In other departments it is true because the CID handles

the more serious juvenile offenders. The nature of the offense and the characteristics of the juvenile offender are explored as part of the discussion of officer dispositional behavior (Chapter V).

Third, although responses to the survey give the impression that juvenile officers receive a great deal of specialized training, field visits uncovered greater variation in the nature and extent of training than the survey data indicate. This discrepancy may have resulted from the lack of a standard definition of "training" and the real organizational incentives within the police world to broadly interpret the term. The need for, and occurrence of, training influence both the investigation and screening (disposition) activities of officers, discussed in later chapters.

Fourth, and last, survey data which indicate that non-juvenile officers perform a variety of tasks in juvenile cases (e.g. investigation, contacting of parents, interrogation) led to field questions about lines of authority and the division of labor within a department. Coupled with the survey finding that the largest proportion of respondents state that units investigate cases frequently, the possibility of overlap of officer functions in the investigation of a case is looked into closely in Chapter IV.

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Chapter III

A Functional Framework

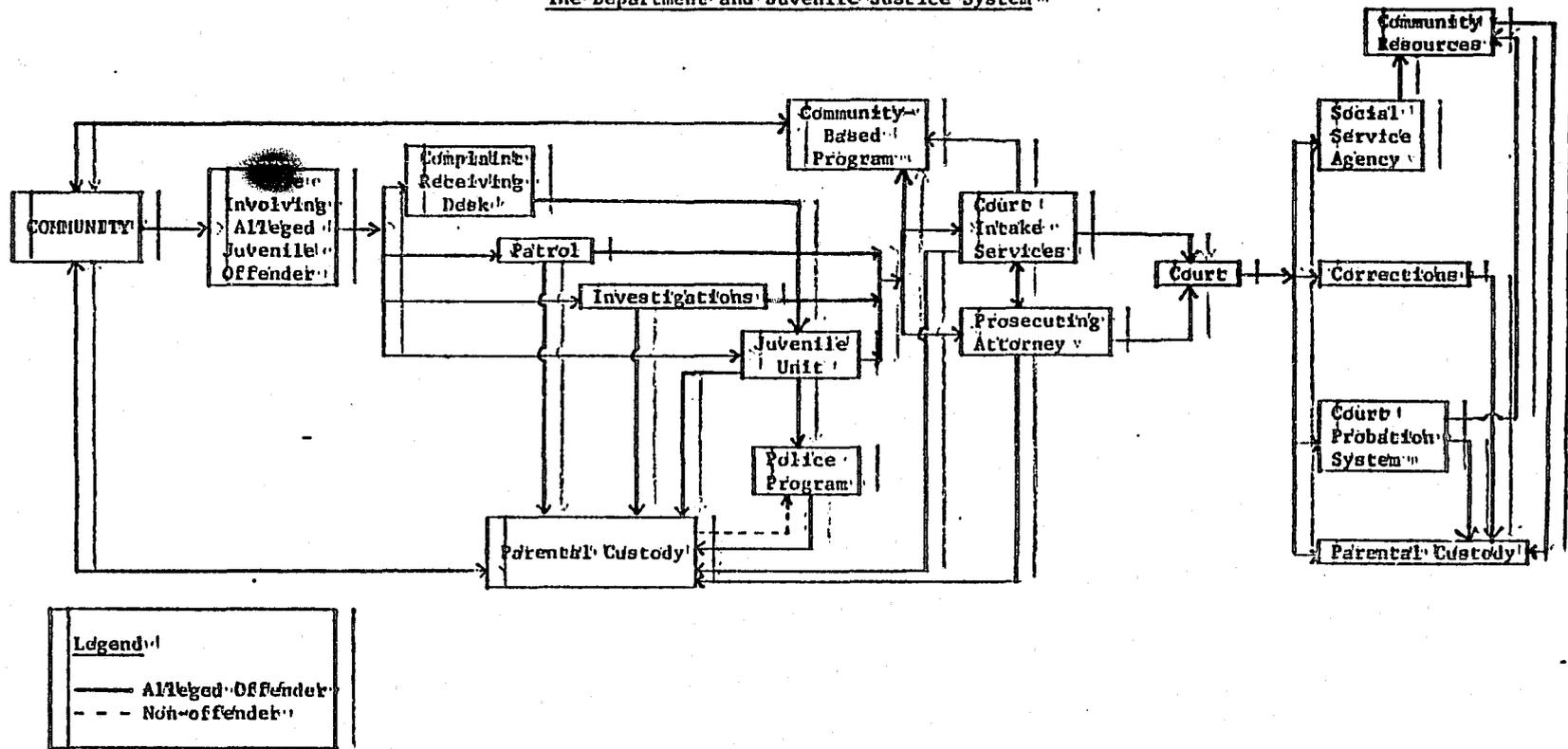
The data gathered through field visits to twelve departments led to the conclusion that the most useful analytic framework within which to understand the operations of police juvenile units, from the policy and evaluation perspectives, is based on the functions which juvenile units perform. Police officers tend to think in terms of police functions. A question put to officers about goals and objectives receives an answer about functions. Also, there is considerably more agreement among units on what functions they perform than on why they perform them. Finally, a functional framework opens the way for a clear identification of the significant aspects of a unit's operations, which is conducive to evaluation and measurement.

The first section of this chapter places unit operations in the context of the larger departmental and juvenile justice system networks. Given this background, the second section identifies what appears to be the primary functions performed by juvenile units across the country. The third section pinpoints those goals and underlying operational assumptions which presumably are achieved through unit functions. The data upon which this chapter is based were synthesized from that gathered during field visits and the telephone survey. A brief discussion of the sites visited concludes the chapter.

The Unit Within the Juvenile Justice System

Figure 1 places a mythical juvenile unit within the case flow structure

FIGURE 11: The Juvenile Unit Within The Department and Juvenile Justice System



of a typical juvenile justice system. The figure presents the unit which deals with both the alleged offender and potential offender. According to this figure, an incident with a juvenile suspect comes to the attention of the unit in a variety of ways: through the complaint receiving desk, a patrol officer; or the investigative division. The figure also portrays the fact that a juvenile case may bypass the unit altogether, with a complaint against an alleged offender filed in court by an officer from another division. When this occurs the juvenile unit may not learn that a juvenile has been petitioned to court by a non-juvenile officer.

A dotted line connects the non-offender with the juvenile unit. This represents the juvenile who is involved with the unit through delinquency prevention programs in the school and community. This non-offender group may include known, prior offenders and those whom the police feel may be potential offenders. They are included in the non-offender category, however, because an alleged offense was not the reason for their participation in the program.

A case involving an alleged offender may be referred by the police to juvenile court; although data generated by this study and presented in Chapter V indicate that many alleged offenders are released by the police to a parent, with a recommendation that a community agency be contacted. In many instances, the juvenile agrees to participate in a police-sponsored or community-based program.

A case which is referred to court by patrol, investigations, or the juvenile unit is often reviewed first by an intake unit of the court and, second, by the prosecuting attorney. Cases which are brought to the attention of the court (judge) are likely to have been screened by police, intake, and

prosecution. In juvenile court, the case is formally presented before a judge or referee. The juvenile has most likely admitted to the offense prior to court appearance, so that the sole question before the court is that of disposition. The court has a variety of dispositional options from which to select: parental custody, placement in a correctional institution, probation, or direct referral to a city, county or state social service agency. Placement in a correctional facility is usually reserved for the repeat and serious offender.

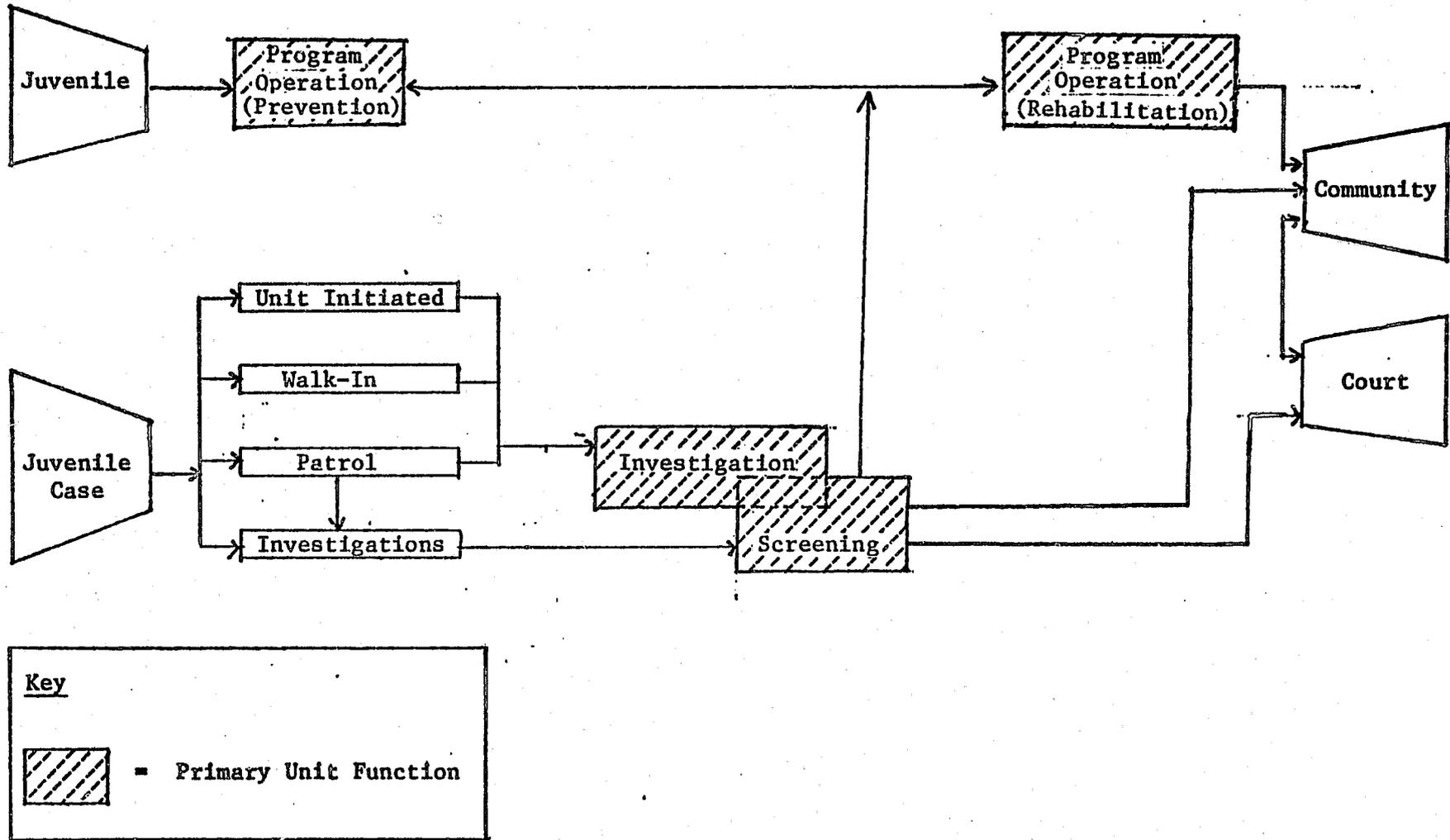
Unit Functions

Telephone interviews and field visits led to the conclusion that most, if not all, juvenile units perform one or more of three functions:

- Investigation -- gathering and acting on information relating to the commission of an alleged criminal incident
- Screening -- gathering and acting on information for the purpose of reaching a case disposition
- Program Operation -- implementing an activity within the community designed to prevent delinquency or rehabilitate the delinquent

Figure 2 diagrams the operational interaction of these functions. According to this figure, the juvenile case which enters the unit can come from the patrol or investigative divisions, be a "walk-in", or be unit initiated. When a case comes from the investigative division, the unit may omit further investigative tasks. If the investigative work is judged complete, the juvenile officers will only perform screening activities. When the case is unit-initiated, reported by patrol, or through a walk-in, the unit will most likely perform both investigative and screening functions, from which release to the community, referral to a police-operated program, or petition to court may result.

FIGURE 2: Primary Unit Functions



The dotted line overlapping the investigation and screening functions indicates that these functions are not entirely distinct. Although each function has different goals and objectives, these functions share some of the same activities, and use some of the same information. This is more fully elaborated upon in Chapters VI and V.

Juveniles may participate in a unit-sponsored prevention program as a result of the juvenile's initiative, or by referral following contact with the police. Many prevention programs, such as athletic leagues, summer camps, explorer groups and big brother programs, are operated primarily for the potential offender. Police-sponsored rehabilitation programs vary from a highly structured employment-oriented program to informal police probation. Juveniles are referred to these programs as an alternative to a petition to court.

Unit Goals

The primary goals of police juvenile units are presented below, based on the telephone interviews and department visits. The order of presentation does not indicate priority; neither do all departments ascribe to each goal. The list does, however, cover the range of operational goals found across departments nationwide, from the perspective of the officers.

- To rehabilitate the delinquent
- To enforce laws violated by juveniles
- To prevent juvenile delinquency
- To help the juvenile avoid the delinquent label
- To coordinate police work with that of other juvenile justice system agencies

These goals are more likely to be informally understood by unit officers than they are to be found written in departmental handbooks or unit manuals.

While officers within a given unit can agree on unit goals, the conceptual distinction between goals, objectives, procedures and functions -- important for evaluation purposes -- is not made.

Several observations about the difficulty in establishing what are a unit's goals should be made. First, there are as many versions of what unit goals are as there are sources to review. Five distinct goal statements existed in the Washington, D.C., district office visited, depending upon whether handbooks were reviewed, juvenile officers interviewed, juvenile officer handbooks were reviewed, activities and decisions observed, unit data-gathering forms analyzed, or non-juvenile officers interviewed.* Second, many departments operationalize the same goal differently. Delinquency prevention, for example, can be a summer camp experience for a pre-delinquent in Lincoln or the return of a truant to school (to prevent burglaries) in Washington, D.C.. Third, unit goals change over time but officer activities do not necessarily reflect these changes. For example, a reorganization of the juvenile court in Topeka several years ago established an intake division, and changed the police juvenile unit's role from screening to investigation. Unit officers who were with the unit prior to the reorganization, however, continue to spend their time counseling juveniles; the newer officers investigate and take more of a "law enforcement" approach. Fourth, conflicting goals co-exist within the same unit. The goal of rehabilitation, the special province of the juvenile

*In the site in question unit goals did not appear in the department manual; unit officers stated they were investigators and processors; activities revealed that unit officers screened and processed cases; unit reports indicated that 90% of the unit's activities were patrol-related; non-juvenile officers felt that the unit provided a holding facility and paper processing service.

Processing
ed cases
Patrol-related
facility and

justice system, conflicts with the law enforcement orientation of the department in which juvenile officers were trained as recruits.

It is not clear whether the goals listed above, with the exception of law enforcement, are shared by the majority of non-juvenile officers. The goals of rehabilitation of the offender and minimal case penetration into the juvenile justice system, for example, do not exist for the adult system. Non-juvenile officers work in a system where an alleged perpetrator proceeds directly to court, bail is set, and the case is prepared for prosecution. A system which values diversion from court, avoidance of detention, and a disposition which may be unrelated to the facts of a case is decried by many non-juvenile officers.* Daily juvenile officer activities, such as case conferences with the juvenile and the juvenile's family, and discussions with social work agents are negatively evaluated as not being "real" police work. The "kiddie court" image of the juvenile justice system leads to the perception of the juvenile officer as working with less rigor and lower standards. The operation of school, athletic or recreation programs by the unit, even when staffed part-time by non-juvenile officers, is considered less than police work.

The juvenile unit is frequently viewed by non-juvenile officers as separate from other divisions. This separation stems from: (1) goals of the unit which are not shared by non-juvenile officers; (2) case decisions made by unit officers which are resented by non-juvenile officers; (3) activities which comprise the unit functions which are demeaned by non-juvenile officers; and, (4) actions and decisions of the juvenile court which are mistakenly attributed to juvenile officers.

*Egon Bittner has pointed out that non-juvenile officers may give special treatment to classes of offenders in addition to juveniles: the mentally ill, residents of ethnic ghettos, certain types of bohemians and vagabonds. See "The Police on Skid-Row: A Study of Peace-Keeping" American Sociological Review, Vol. 32, October 1967.

If such undesirable activities as handling minor offenders (who could be as young as seven years of age), investigating minor offenses (e.g. a bicycle theft), counseling families, and dealing with local work agencies could be restricted to a special group of juvenile officers, the thinking goes, the remainder of the officers can spend more of their time building cases for prosecution against alleged offenders. Although, in fact, the non-juvenile officer may be spending most time responding to citizen requests for information, giving directions, and providing medical assistance, the department views the officer as more available for "law enforcement" work if the burden of handling juvenile cases is removed.

In addition to the primary goals listed above, there remain several secondary goals of a department whose attainment is dependent upon the existence of a juvenile unit:

- to enable non-juvenile officers to devote their time to law enforcement duties
- to develop a positive view of law enforcement among juveniles
- to appear socially conscious and responsive to the community-at-large
- to reduce the workload of the juvenile court
- to be efficient in the processing of juvenile cases

The goal of helping non-juvenile officers maintain their law enforcement duties emphasizes the philosophical rift which still exists in many departments over what constitutes the primary function of police officers.

The goals of developing positive attitudes toward the police among juveniles and appearing socially conscious and responsive to the community

are closely related. By word and deed the juvenile officer attempts to convince these groups that police are human; they are defending the social order that the community desires; they are particularly concerned with the future of the problem juvenile; and they want to work out a solution to the problem which is fair to both the juvenile and the community. It is assumed that the non-uniformed officers who "specialize" in juveniles and their families; and attempt to educate and treat as much as they enforce the law; go a long way toward making these goals a reality.

The largest impact that the unit has on the juvenile justice system is through the cases it screens into and out of that system. Both the volume and nature of cases handled by court intake (in particular), prosecutors and judges are related to decisions made in the unit.

Specialization, however, is a double-edged sword; while it generates divisiveness within a department; it does enable non-juvenile officers to perform their duties without the burden of handling the juvenile offender. The juvenile unit; then; is assumed to be an operational convenience, if not an efficient processor; for the department. First, the unit relieves the non-juvenile officer from the unwanted task of dealing with juveniles and their families: The juvenile is considered unpredictable and potentially abusive by the non-juvenile officers, and becoming involved in family problems is seen as unrewarding and aggravating. Working closely with juveniles and their families is seen as "time-consuming," and "taking an officer away from real police work." Such involvement is likely to increase the non-juvenile officer's frustration with the system and desire for punishment of the juvenile.

Second, the unit takes responsibility for tasks for which the disadvantages outweigh the incentives for most non-juvenile officers. Holding a juvenile in the unit until custody of the juvenile can be transferred to a parent is given by such officers as an example of an unrewarding activity. Commendations for a felony arrest are not expected when the perpetrator turns out to be a juvenile. Overtime pay is not anticipated from a court system which rarely requests testimony from an arresting or investigating officer. Arrest satisfaction is minimal when the "bad guy" turns out to be a juvenile who the law assumes to be less responsible for an act than is an adult.

A third "convenience" stems from the assumed administrative efficiencies of having a focal point for juvenile matters. Records may be maintained and stored in a central location. Special, additional paperwork needed for the juvenile court is completed with uniformity, and not by the non-juvenile officer. Time and, ultimately, manpower, the thinking goes, is saved by standardizing operating procedures and creating a place and group of officers who become responsible for holding juveniles until parents can be notified.*

Goals, Functions, Assumptions

The remainder of this document is concerned with primary unit goals listed previously (p. 40) and the three major juvenile unit functions through which goal achievement is attempted. The juxtaposition of goals and functions is presented in Table 6.

*The data from Multnomah County, described in Chapters IV and V, imply that the administrative efficiencies may be greater where no special juvenile officers or unit exists, contrary to popular belief.

TABLE 6: Unit Functions Intended
To Achieve Unit Goals

<u>Unit Goals</u>	<u>Unit Functions to Achieve Goals</u>		
	Investigation	Screening	Program Operation
Rehabilitation of the Delinquent		X	X
Law Enforcement	X		
Delinquency Prevention			X
Label Avoidance		X	
System Coordination		X	

According to the Table, the investigative function attempts to implement the law enforcement goal, the screening function, the goals of rehabilitation, label avoidance and system coordination, and the program operation function, the goals of rehabilitation and prevention.

Underlying each goal is a series of operational assumptions about police, juveniles, and the juvenile justice system. The assumptions discussed below are linked in chronological order, and were considered the most important ones dealing with police capability and performance. Since a department's ability to work towards and reach a goal is dependent upon the validity of these assumptions, it is important to make these assumptions visible.

Rehabilitate the Delinquent. The assumptions which underly any attempt to rehabilitate the juvenile are strongly linked to the philosophy which resulted in the creation of the juvenile court. According to this philosophy, the immaturity and inexperience of children render them not responsible for

their actions. Treatment and rehabilitation, then, are more appropriate goals than is punishment. The focus of the court's concern, the thinking continues, should be on the needs of the child, rather than on the child's deviant behavior.

This philosophy, when translated into the activities and decisions of police juvenile officers, assumes that these officers can: (1) identify juveniles in need of treatment; (2) diagnose their specific treatment problems; (3) know which treatment alternatives are available; (4) select the treatment alternative which is best suited to the needs of a given juvenile; and (5) provide direct service to those juveniles for whom such service is the most appropriate alternative. In addition to these police-specific operational assumptions, the concept of rehabilitation also depends on assumptions about the nature of behavioral change, the ability of juveniles to change, and the capability of a justice system to produce change.

Enforce Laws Violated by Juveniles. The basic responsibility of law enforcement is the protection of society. With the increase in serious juvenile crime it is becoming increasingly difficult to balance the juvenile's need for treatment against society's need for safety. The goals of law enforcement, and those of rehabilitation and deviant label avoidance are incompatible. The law enforcement goal is based on a model of crime control which stresses identification, apprehension, and prosecution of perpetrators of illegal acts. Rehabilitation, and label avoidance, in contrast, turn the attention of the police away from the particular case and towards the needs of the individual perpetrator, suggesting early diversion and as little contact with the system as possible.*

*Although the movement back towards judging the offense, rather than the offender is currently underway in academic writings and state legislation, juvenile officers, in large part, still emphasize rehabilitation and label avoidance.

The assumptions which underly the law enforcement goal are tailored to the fact that juvenile officers play an investigative role in law enforcement. Patrol activities play a small role in their work. Given the investigative role, however, the assumptions are similar for both juvenile and adult investigators: (1) cases received by the unit for investigation are incomplete; (2) the information gathered by juvenile officers is additional to that gathered by non-juvenile officers; (3) the information gathered by juvenile officers is needed to complete cases; and (4) the information gathered by juvenile officers is needed to prosecute cases.

Prevent Juvenile Delinquency. Prevention is broadly defined by most juvenile officers as any activity which keeps unlawful behavior from occurring. Using this definition, the concepts of prevention and rehabilitation frequently overlap: the enforcement of truancy violations becomes burglary-prevention; the referral of a confessed delinquent to a community-based treatment program prevents the next delinquent act or status offense; police work with local gang members limits (prevents) the magnitude of destructive activities. Some juvenile officers state that the enforcement of the law, itself, is a prevention activity. The major thrust of prevention activities undertaken by juvenile units, however, is in the area of neighborhood and school programs.

The assumptions which underly the prevention attempts of juvenile units are similar to those of the rehabilitation goal: (1) the police are able to identify the juvenile who is likely to commit delinquent acts or status offenses; (2) they know which prevention strategies exist; (3) they are able to direct pre-delinquents toward a preventive strategy; and (4) they are able to implement needed strategies. The skills of diagnosis, appropriate referral,

and service provision, which are assumed for the goal of rehabilitation, appear again in the prevention assumptions.

Avoid the Delinquent Label. Two decades ago "labeling theory" emerged

as an academic perspective which shifted the focus of concern from the classification and analysis of deviant forms of behavior to the processes by which individuals are defined by others as deviant. Over the years, practitioners in both the criminal and juvenile justice systems concluded that contact with those systems create deviance and other harmful consequence.

The labeling perspective is the subject of increasing question as social concerns move back to the concept of individual responsibility, and evaluations of community-based treatment highlight program failures. Police juvenile officers, though, still hold the view that referral of a juvenile to court is an action to be avoided whenever possible.

This goal assumes that juvenile officers; (1) are concerned about the negative consequences of sending a juvenile to court; (2) are able to identify those delinquents or status offenders for whom court will be a negative experience; and (3) can minimize the penetration of these juveniles into the justice system. These assumptions are epitomized in the frequently heard statement made by juvenile officers: "we try not to give the kid a record."

Coordinate with the Juvenile Justice System.

By agreeing with the need to coordinate police work with the juvenile justice system, the juvenile officer implicitly accepts as important the system's desire to deal with the juvenile as a whole person. The juvenile officer also accepts the reverse assumptions that non-coordination leads to system and service fragmentation, which ultimately leads to failure in working

with youth. Those who do not view coordination as an important goal stress the separate purposes of police, court, and corrections, and the importance of the sequential order in which these agencies deal with the juvenile.

In order for a juvenile unit to pursue coordination as a goal, it must be assumed that: (1) juvenile officers are in contact with other juvenile justice system agencies; (2) the officers are aware of the goals and operations of these agencies, and (3) are able to work cooperatively with other system components. Underlying these assumptions which directly affect police activities and decisions, is the untested general assumption that the system's ability to function in a coordinated manner will be more efficient in handling cases and will lead to positive change among juveniles.

Juvenile Units Visited

The analysis of any survey disguises jurisdictional variation by aggregating statistics to reveal national patterns. Real differences which exist in the field, however, must be recognized in order to make assessment attempts meaningful. Some of these differences are displayed on Tables 7 and 8, for the twelve departments visited during the course of this study. Table 7 presents primarily organizational and jurisdictional information for the department within which the unit exists; Table 8 presents unit characteristics and functions. The twelve departments visited indicate only some of the differences on any given variable which exists in the field. As stated in Chapter I, these sites represent the range of variation on the function and jurisdiction criteria established on the basis of mail survey and telephone responses. Each of these sites was a respondent to the mail survey.

TABLE 7: Department Characteristics
of Sites Visited

<u>Sites Visited</u>	<u>City/County</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Area (sq. mi.)</u>	<u>Departmental Budget (in thousands)</u>	<u>Sworn Personnel</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>No. of Juvenile Arrests (prior year)</u>
Arlington, VA	County	175,000	25.	8,656	278	Central.	886
Baltimore, MD	City	861,000	78.3	93,317	3410	Decen- tralized	21,522
Contra Costa County, CA	County	600,000	73.5	12,000	330	Central.	1,469
Duluth, MN	City	100,000	67.3	3,200	125	Central.	1,913
Greensboro, NC	City	154,000	54.4	7,437	418	Central.	1,272
Lincoln, NB	City	150,000	49.3	4,909	223	Team	2,455
Multnomah * County, OR	County	168,000	423.0	7,144	223	Team	2,200
Seneca County, NY	County	425,000	794.0	4,300	347	Central.	496
Topeka, KS	City	140,000	47.5	4,117	215	Central.	2,151
Torrance, CA	City	140,000	23.3	8,600	206	Central.	2,363
Tucson, AZ	City	282,933	80.0	15,200	554	Central.	8,055
Washington, DC	City	711,000	68.2	132,257	4390	Decen- tralized	9,711

*The Multnomah County Sheriff's Department does not have a juvenile unit.

TABLE 8. Juvenile Unit Characteristics of Sites Visited

City/State	Year Unit Established	Unit Budget (In thousands)	Division to which Unit is Responsible	Rank of C.O.	Rank of Juvenile Officer	Number of Juvenile Officers	Age of Majority	Most Frequent Juvenile Offenses	FUNCTIONS OF UNIT					Hours on Duty	Clothing	
									Investigations	Screening	Program** Operation					
											Cases Handled	Cases Handled	Cases Handled			Cases Handled
Arlington, VA	1950	488	CID	Lt.	Officer	19	Under 18	Larceny Runaway Vandal.	Yes	Misdemeanors Less Serious Felonies	Yes	All Juvenile Cases	Yes	School Programs, Crime Prevention	Days Eves. Wknds.	Uniform Plain.
Baltimore, MD	1944	1,377	Oper.	Col.	Officer	60	Under 18	Larceny Burglary Robbery	Yes	Misdemeanors Assaults and Robberies Between Juvs.	Yes	Only Those Investigated by the Unit	Yes	Diversion, Limited Ad- justment Program	Days	Uniform Plain.
Contra Costa County, CA	1959	175	CID	Lt.	Sgt.	6	Under 18	Runaway Ml. Mis. Vandal.	Yes	Serious Mis- demeanors, Felonies, All Crimes Against Juviles	Yes	"Citation" Cases, Those Coming Into Unit	No		Days	Plain.
Duluth, MN	1941	146	CID	Lt.	Officer	10	Under 18	Runaway Larceny Liquor	Yes	All Cases Involving Juviles	Yes	All Cases Involving Juviles	Yes	School Disson Program, Im- mediate Inter- vention	Days Eves. Wknds.	Plain.
Greensboro, NC	1951	249	CID	Capt.	Officer	14	Under 18	Larceny Burglary Vandal.	Yes	All Cases Involving Juviles	Yes	All Cases Involving Juviles	Yes	School Safety Explorers Post Little League Youth & Low	Days	Plain.
Madison, WI	1956	130	Team	Sgt.	Officer	22	Under 18	Runaway Larceny Vandal.	No		Yes	All Cases Involving Juviles	Yes	School Re- source Program Summer Camp, Football	Days Wknds.	Uniform Plain.
Multnomah County, OR	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Under 18	Burglary Larceny Runaway	N/A		N/A				N/A	N/A
Montaga County, NY	1954	120	CID	Lt.	Invest.	7	Under 18	Larceny Ml. Mis. Burglary	Yes	Misdemeanors	Yes	All Cases Involving Juviles	Yes	Police Pro- bation, School Program, Ex- plorers Club	Days Eves. Wknds.	Plain.
Topeka, KS	1951	153	CID	Lt.	Invest.	7	Under 18	Burglary Larceny Runaway	Yes	Misdemeanors Serious Of- fenses	Yes	Only Those Investigated by the Unit	Yes	Police Athle- tic League, School Dis- son Program	Days Eves. Wknds.	Plain.
Torrance, CA	1976	183	CID	Sgt.	Invest.	6	Under 18	Larceny Burglary Drugs	Yes	Misdemeanors Crimes Against Juviles	Yes	All Juvenile Cases	Yes	Explorers Club School Program	Days Wknds.	Plain.
Tucson, AZ	1963	300	CID	Sgt.	Officer	13	Under 18	Burglary Larceny Auto th.	No		No		Yes	School Resource Officers	Days	Plain.
Washington, DC	1955	1,241	Oper.	Deputy Chief	Officer	71	Under 18	Burglary Larceny Robbery	No		Yes	All Juvenile Cases	Yes	Police Athle- tic League, Police Youth Clubs	Days Eves. Wknds.	Uniform Plain.

* The Multnomah County Sheriff's Department does not have a juvenile unit.

** Includes all juvenile programs operated by the department.

Department Characteristics

Table 7 indicates the mix of city and county departments visited and the range of populations they serve (from Duluth's low of 100,000 to Baltimore's high of 861,000). Eight of the twelve qualify as middle-range cities/counties, with populations of between 100,000 and 250,000. The ratio of sworn officers per population varies from a .55 officers per 1000 in Contra Costa County to 6.17 officers per 1000 in Washington, D.C.

Departmental organizational styles encountered include both centralized and decentralized arrangements, as well as several forms of team policing. Duluth, Minnesota, for example, is a traditionally organized, centralized department. The entire department is divided into three divisions: patrol, criminal investigations (CID) and administration. The Juvenile Aid Bureau is located in the CID. Washington, D. C., is one example of a decentralized department which contains a Juvenile Division on the headquarters level and Youth Service Officers in each of seven district stations. Functions are specialized: the Juvenile Division operates prevention programs and special investigations such as child abuse; Youth Service Officers primarily screen and process cases handled by non-juvenile officers. Team policing in Lincoln is characterized by four teams permanently assigned to a particular shift -- with the exception of the Youth Aid Bureau which is responsible to the day team.

The departments varied considerably on the number of juvenile arrests in the prior year. Baltimore and Washington, D. C., cities of relatively comparable size, had highly dissimilar arrest rates. This holds true for Greensboro and Lincoln as well.

Unit Characteristics

Table 8 indicates that all of the departments visited established their unit since 1940. When a unit's budget is compared with that of its department (Table 7), the resulting ratio ranges from a high of 5.6% of the department's budget in Arlington County to a low of 0.6% in Lincoln (which is understandable, considering that Arlington has 19 juvenile officers in its unit while Lincoln has 2 officers). Most of the units are organizationally housed in the criminal investigations division, a finding which parallels the mail survey responses. Rank of commanding officer of the unit also parallels survey findings; the majority of unit commanders hold the rank of Lieutenant or above.

Rank held by juvenile officers reveal differences across sites. In most jurisdictions, including Baltimore, Duluth, and Greensboro, the juvenile officer holds the officer rank. Only in Topeka and Onondaga County do juvenile officers hold the rank of investigator. A unit's existence in criminal investigations division does not ensure the rank of investigator for its officers, as can be seen by comparing officer rank with the division to which the unit responds.

The number of juvenile officers in a unit varies across departments from two (2) in Lincoln to 71 in Washington, D. C.. The ratio of unit officers (Table 8) to department officers (Table 7), ranges from a low of .9 per hundred officers in Lincoln to 8 per hundred officers in Duluth. Size of population served, size of department and unit functions are some of the variables which affect personnel deployment policies. For example, a comparison between Greensboro and Lincoln, on the basis of population similarities alone (Table 7) would be misleading because the Greensboro

and Lincoln units differ in terms of functions they perform. While a Greensboro-Topeka comparison, on the basis of population and functional similarities seems more appropriate, Greensboro has a department with twice the number of sworn officers as does Topeka (Table 7). The fact that Greensboro's Youth Division also has twice the number of sworn officers as does the Topeka unit, then, is not as significant as it originally appears.

Most units visited have jurisdiction over anyone under 18, following survey findings. Greensboro, Lincoln and Onondaga County are the only units visited in states which have established 16 years as the age of majority.

A review of the most frequent juvenile offenses handled by the units reveals similarities with national statistics: larcenies, burglaries, status offenses, and vandalism account for most of the units' "business." The crime of robbery is in the category of most frequent offenses only in the two large cities visited, Baltimore and Washington, D. C.

Information on unit functions reveals wide differences in the number and nature of functions performed by different units. For example, the Arlington Juvenile Offenses Unit investigates and screens misdemeanors and less serious felonies. While Onondaga County investigates misdemeanors, it is responsible for screening all juvenile cases (after an investigation of felonies is conducted by the criminal investigations division). Duluth both investigates and screens all juvenile offenders.

While the majority of sites visited operate police programs, the natures of these programs vary considerably. Arlington County offers several prevention approaches within their junior and senior high school program (e.g., student counseling, information programs, safety patrol). Baltimore, in contrast, operates a Limited Adjustment Program for juveniles taken into custody which

may involve counseling or diversion to a community service work program.

Duty hours vary considerably among units, from a weekday-only shift in Baltimore, Contra Costa County, Greensboro and Tucson, to a weekday/evening/weekend shift in Arlington County, Duluth, Onondaga County, Topeka and Washington.

Each unit has some of its officers in plainclothes, although Arlington County, Baltimore, Lincoln and Washington also use uniform officers.

Although summary tables are helpful for comparisons across sites, they fragment our understanding of any given site. A short description of each of the twelve sites visited is presented in this section in an effort to reunify the parts.

Arlington County Police Department
Arlington, Virginia

Arlington County, Virginia, with a population of 175,000 and an area of 25 square miles, has three police departments within the same jurisdiction: the Arlington County Police Department, the Sheriff's Department and the Virginia State Police. The Sheriff's Department administers the County Jail, handles evictions and transports convicted defendants to prison. The State Police agency is responsible for traffic patrol and maintaining laws and statutes on public thoroughfares.

The Arlington County Police Department, with 287 sworn officers, is responsible for the remainder of law enforcement functions in the county. The department has three divisions: Communication Services, Investigations and Operations. The juvenile unit is located in the Criminal Investigations Division. The unit is subdivided into two groups: (1) the Juvenile Offenses Unit (JOU), which is responsible for the investigation of incidents involving

an alleged juvenile offender; and (2) the Juvenile Resource Unit (JRU), containing personnel who deal primarily in non-law enforcement related activities.

JOU officers are assigned throughout the county by junior high school district. The JOU officer typically investigates all misdemeanor cases and less serious felony offenses committed by a juvenile. On occasion, the JOU officer will also be assigned more serious felony cases, depending on the caseload of the specialized detective units. Child abuse cases are referred directly to the Department of Human Resources.

JRU personnel are assigned to specific elementary and junior high schools, and are primarily responsible for preventing and handling potential delinquent activities within a particular school. In addition, JRU officers counsel students who are involved in school-related incidents that do not warrant formal police action, and present structured information programs within the school on topics such as drug use, shoplifting and driver safety. These officers are also frequently involved in athletic programs for students after school hours and attend a unit-sponsored summer camp for juveniles.

Personnel in both the JOU and JRU units work very closely, sharing information on juveniles, families and community problems. Since both units assign their officers on the basis of junior high school districts, each district has a complement of both officers. Typically, the JOU officer is given responsibility for the surrounding community while the JRU officers work within the schools.

Baltimore Police Department
Baltimore, Maryland

Baltimore, Maryland, with an area of 78.3 square miles, is an industrial/commercial center and major seaport. The Baltimore Police Department is composed of 3,410 sworn personnel, providing a ratio to the population of 4.0 per 1,000 people. The department is divided into three major bureaus: Administration, Operations and Services. The patrol division within the Operations Bureau is geographically divided into three patrol areas, each consisting of three districts.

The juvenile unit exists both at the headquarters and district levels. Located at police headquarters, the Youth Section, under the Community Services Division, is responsible for developing and conducting juvenile programs and summer camps, operating Police Boys Clubs, monitoring the District Youth Service Officers in matters relating to the Pre-Intake Adjustment Program, handling juvenile arrest warrants, conducting follow-up investigations of assault and robbery cases of crimes perpetrated by juveniles on juveniles, and investigating both juvenile and adult missing persons.

Within each police district, a Youth Services Unit exists under the Operations Division, composed of juvenile officers who review all juvenile reports completed by other officers, interview all juveniles that are recommended to the police-operated Limited Adjustment Program, and provide limited counseling to juveniles involved in this program. This program attempts to make an impact upon a juvenile's behavior prior to the commission of future criminal acts. The program's objective is to produce "socially acceptable behavior" and avoid the labeling process resulting from full entry into the juvenile justice system. The Youth Services Officer is authorized to decide

which discretionary alternative is appropriate in each case: warn and release, limited counseling, diversion to approved community services or diversion to approved community service work programs. The Youth Services Officer also has the alternative of referring the juvenile to the Department of Juvenile Services Intake Office upon determining that program enrollment is not in the best interest of the child or the community. Youth Services Officers, then, do not investigate juvenile offenses but are limited to counseling and dispositional functions.

In addition to Youth Service Officers, each District Commander has discretion to assign a designated number of officers to the investigation of juvenile cases.

Contra Costa County Sheriff-Coroner's Department
Contra Costa County, California

The Contra Costa County Sheriff-Coroner's Department is located about 40 miles east of San Francisco. The department serves all unincorporated areas of the 73.5 square mile county area and provides contract police services to three incorporated townships. The police department is centralized in its operations, with a sworn force of 330.

The juvenile unit contains six sworn officers and is located within the Criminal Investigations Division. The unit shares an office with the crimes against persons (assault team) investigators who are responsible for all incidents involving physical violence. The two female officers in the unit are also utilized by the adult investigators in rape or sex cases involving either adults or juveniles. Of the six positions in the unit, two positions are filled by trainees for a period of one year. Since all juvenile officers receive the rank of sergeant, appointment to the unit may carry an automatic

promotion. Both juvenile officers and supervisory personnel are rotated in and out of the unit every two years. This is based on department philosophy that all officers should gain equal knowledge and expertise in all facets of police work.

Patrol officers are encouraged to handle nonserious charges to completion. They have the option of sending these cases to the juvenile unit for disposition or directly to the probation department. When a case is sent to the juvenile unit, the patrol officer will issue a citation to the juvenile to report to the unit on a specified day.

The Juvenile Bureau is basically a screening and counseling unit, with follow-up investigative responsibility only for particular crime categories that are not handled by patrol or other specialized units. Such investigations are usually limited to misdemeanors, such as larcenies, reported child abuse and status offenses. Status offenders in the state of California cannot be forcibly detained by police but must be dealt with on a voluntary basis. This limits the juvenile officer's ability to question the juvenile at length, or have time to contact parents.

First offenders are handled as informally as possible by the unit through counseling sessions with the parent and child. During these sessions the juvenile officer attempts to bring the family together to figure out how to alleviate the current problem. The officer is given wide latitude in the handling of a case, as long as the approach does not violate department rules. This includes the imposition of police sanctions, such as requesting that the juvenile write a composition on a particular subject in lieu of more formalized action.

The unit neither sponsors nor participates in prevention programs.

Duluth Police Department
Duluth, Minnesota

Duluth, Minnesota is a small shipping port located on Lake Superior with a population of 100,000. Both Duluth and the surrounding St. Louis County have low unemployment rates and Duluth experiences primarily non-violent crime.

The police department is traditionally divided into three divisions: Operations, Administration and Investigation. A ten officer Juvenile Aid Bureau (JAB), established in 1941, is located within the Investigations division. The JAB contains two policewomen, who deal primarily with juvenile sexual and assault cases as well as the transportation of all female prisoners. Two school liaison officers are responsible for maintaining a working relationship with student and faculty in two public high schools. The juvenile unit's primary function, and that of the remaining officers, is to investigate all juvenile cases originating from patrol or from citizen phone calls. When the case involves a juvenile and an adult, the case will be jointly handled by the JAB and detectives. The head of the JAB, however, retains final authority over all case dispositions by signing all petitions to court.

Although the unit's secondary function is the disposition of a juvenile case, virtually all cases are petitioned to juvenile court. This is directly related to the manner in which the juvenile justice system operates. The court consists of two divisions: the delinquency division, in which all criminal cases are heard by a juvenile judge; and a dependency division, where all neglect and dependency cases are heard by a referee. Few services are available to a juvenile unless he or she is referred by the court; the court has an orientation toward community services and placements.

Juvenile officers are not required to send a case to court if the victim or complainant agrees on an acceptable alternative. Status offenses, particularly runaways, are referred to specialized centers such as the Immediate Intervention Program that utilizes crisis intervention techniques for juveniles and their families. Counseling by the JAB is usually limited to an admonishment to the juvenile and a recommendation to a parent for agency assistance.

Greensboro Police Department
Greensboro, North Carolina

The Greensboro, North Carolina, Police Department, within Guilford County, serves a population of approximately 154,000 in a 54.4 square mile area. The downtown area of the city is virtually unpopulated, containing mainly commercial buildings and professional offices.

The police department is organized under a modified district system which consists of four divisions: Administration, Community Services, Field Operations, and Investigations. The Youth Division is located within the Investigations Division. The juvenile unit was originally established in 1954 as a means for improving the police department's handling of juvenile offenders. Since a juvenile in North Carolina is classified as a person under 16 years of age, the unit does not handle the most serious crimes which are committed by offenders 17-18 years of age.

The Youth Division has jurisdiction over all cases involving juveniles who are either suspects or victims, and receive cases primarily from the Patrol Division. When a case involves both a juvenile and an adult, adult investigations will usually handle it and send only a report to the Youth Division. The unit conducts all follow-up investigations, counseling and

referrals. Counseling is usually limited to crisis resolution since other community agencies are available to give more extended services. Juvenile officers frequently refer juveniles and their families to individual and family counseling services, but use of these services is on a voluntary basis. The head of the unit is responsible for all juvenile detention and can be contacted on a 24-hour basis, if needed. Unit officers work one weekday shift.

A less visible function of the unit is to assist the Juvenile Court by screening out all but the recidivists and serious felony cases.

The Community Services Division actively conducts a wide range of programs for juveniles: a summer program, little league, a school safety program, and an explorer program. Although these programs are not sponsored by the unit, the Community Services Division maintains a close relationship with the Youth Division. The unit will refer cases to this Division when a minor incident is brought to an officer's attention that indicates a potential for future criminal offenses, e.g., a bad home life.

Lincoln Police Department
Lincoln, Nebraska

Lincoln, Nebraska has a population of 150,000 people. According to the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, Lincoln ranks 80th out of 84 cities in terms of serious crime, making it a relatively low crime city. Unemployment rates are also low with an estimated 2.9% of the population unemployed.

The police department underwent a major reorganization two years ago, implementing a management by objectives approach and participatory decision-

making throughout the lower ranks. This reorganization eliminated practically all specialized units, with the exception of the Youth Aid Bureau. The department currently functions under a modified team policing concept; the department is divided into four teams permanently assigned to a particular shift. The two officers in the Youth Aid Bureau are responsible to the day team.

In reality, two juvenile units exist in the department, the Youth Aid Bureau (YAB) and the School Resource Officer Program (SRO). The latter program has nine officers assigned throughout the city's schools and is organizationally placed in the Administrative Section of the department. The SROs serve as counselors and sports coaches and frequently participate in after school youth programs. The Youth Aid Bureau, with two full-time juvenile officers, is basically a dispositional unit. The police department command personnel feel that juvenile investigations can be handled totally by a generalist officer and that specialization in juvenile matters should be limited to making case dispositions. To accomplish this, the juvenile officer spends most of each shift interviewing and interrogating juveniles and their parents, and providing limited counseling when necessary. The unit sponsors some programs for juveniles such as a summer camp and an explorers program. These programs count on the participation of non-juvenile officers, and are based on the philosophy that the programs enable the department to project a positive image to a juvenile.

According to department policy, all juveniles over 16 years of age are brought directly to court, when deemed appropriate, by the officer in charge of the case. The YAB handles juveniles under 16 years of age, and tends to get those cases of a less serious nature. Of the cases received, about 50% are handled totally within the unit, giving the officer the discretion to handle the case informally. Informal dispositions may include restitution, community service, the writing of an essay, or a release to a parent with a warning. Approximately

16% of the remaining cases are referred to existing community agencies and 16% of the remaining programs via the Youth Service System, which functions primarily as a referral mechanism and as a liason between police and all community agencies. The remaining 33% of the cases are petitioned to court intake with whom the YAB officers have a close relationship.

Multnomah County Sheriff's Office
Multnomah County, Oregon

Multnomah County, Oregon, covering 423 square miles, surrounds the city of Portland. The Multnomah County Sheriff's Office, with 223 sworn personnel, is under the auspices of the Multnomah County Division of Public Safety. The city of Portland has its own police department.

The Division of Public Safety reorganized the department over two years ago, initiating team policing. All specialized units, including the juvenile unit, were abolished and police responsibilities delegated to teams. Under the current system, the Sheriff's Office consists of six teams: one generalist team for each of the five geographical zones into which the county is divided, and a sixth team which is responsible for conducting investigations in serious crimes such as homicides and other major felonies throughout the county. In addition, this team also handles cases of child abuse.

The primary responsibility of the five generalist teams is for patrol activities. In most juvenile cases, the first officer involved in the case is required to handle the case to completion, including any needed follow-up investigation. All police calls in Multnomah are prioritized, so that calls which are not considered to require immediate police response, such as petty larcenies, are handled completely over the telephone or by an appointment made to take the report at a later date. Although juveniles account for a

large portion of crime in Multnomah County, offenses committed by juveniles are given a relatively low priority for investigations by the teams.

The juvenile who is taken into custody will usually be referred to court. Pending court action the juvenile is either released by the officer to a parent, or sent to the juvenile detention home (JDH). Referral to the JDH is the only referral an officer can make, since the Sheriff's Office does not maintain any direct association with community agencies. Most of the officers in the five teams attempt to give "storefront services" to juveniles within their designated patrol area.

The juvenile court has four juvenile judges and one court referee who function on a rotating basis. The Sheriff's Office stations one court liaison officer at the court. This officer reviews all incoming juvenile reports for completeness and, if necessary, conducts further inquiries to obtain needed information. The officer responsible for the arrest is usually not required to give testimony in court.

Onondaga County Sheriff's Department
Onondaga County, New York

Onondaga County, New York, with a population of 425,000 and an area of 794 square miles, is composed of 19 townships and one city (Syracuse). The Onondaga County Sheriff's Department, with a total strength of 374 officers, is physically located in the same building as the Syracuse Police Department, although both departments function independently. The 19 townships fall under the County's jurisdiction. Although many of these townships maintain their own police departments, these departments do not have specialized juvenile officers. The Onondaga County Sheriff's Department encourages all of these townships to use the County's services and resources, attempting to coordinate all police-juvenile services in the county.

The Youth Aid Section consists of seven juvenile investigators, and is commanded by a Lieutenant who is directly responsible to the head of the Criminal Investigations Division. The youth section functions primarily as a screening and dispositional agent, with investigative efforts limited to some misdemeanors, status offenses, and missing persons (both adult and juvenile).

The authority of the unit was diminished following a recent unit reorganization. Several command level personnel outside the unit felt that there was a great deal of duplication of effort in investigating juvenile cases. Currently, patrol officers conduct preliminary investigations and detectives perform all follow-up activities. On occasion, detectives will ask juvenile officers to aid in an investigation.

Certain cases are statutorily mandated to be sent to the juvenile court, e.g., designated felony cases involving juveniles 14 years or older. In cases which call for the exercise of discretion, the Youth Aid Section relies heavily upon the case conference to help determine the appropriate case disposition. The juvenile officer can consider a wide range of alternatives. The officers are encouraged to deal with cases informally, counseling juveniles and their parents and involving a juvenile in the unit's probation program. Police probation is typically implemented for a six-week period, after which the juvenile officer evaluates the juvenile's progress and terminates or extends the program. One juvenile officer is designated as the court liaison officer, serving as a spokesman for the unit and testifying on all cases whenever necessary. Testimony is rarely needed, however, since most cases reaching a judge are disposed of through a guilty plea.

Topeka Police Department
Topeka, Kansas

Topeka, Kansas, a city serving a population of 140,000, retains a police force of 215 sworn personnel.

The Juvenile Bureau was organized in 1951 as a public relations effort. Today the Bureau is primarily an investigative unit handling certain juvenile offenses. Patrol officers are responsible for juvenile cases which they feel do not require further investigative effort; with increasing frequency patrol officers bypass the Bureau and send cases directly to juvenile court intake. Specialized detective units, such as burglary and robbery, investigate the most serious juvenile cases, leaving the Juvenile Bureau misdemeanors, status offenses, and missing persons. The Bureau always receives a copy of the report completed on any juvenile case sent directly to court intake which the Bureau does not handle.

Most of the Bureau's former counseling and screening functions are now performed by juvenile court intake: approximately 85% of all juvenile cases are sent on to court intake by the Juvenile Bureau. This is a direct result of the policies of one juvenile court judge who has requested that the Bureau send to intake copies of all reports on juveniles who were not sent to intake, but who were screened out by the unit. Most juveniles who are not sent to intake receive brief lectures by the juvenile officers.

The Juvenile Bureau interacts frequently with the Menninger Clinic. Psychologists from this clinic routinely give advice and direction to juvenile officers on their handling of problem children. Court intake serves as the intermediary for juvenile placements and referrals.

The Public Relations Division has responsibility for handling police programs, such as the Police Athletic League and a School Liaison Program.

Torrance Police Department
Torrance, California

Torrance, California, a small industrial city south of Los Angeles, is one of 46 cities located within Los Angeles County. The Torrance Police Department, with an authorized strength of 206 sworn officers, is divided into five divisions: Administrative, Operations Patrol, Traffic and Emergency Services, Investigation, and Community Services. The investigative division is further divided into the crimes against persons section, the crimes against property section, and the juvenile section. All juvenile felony cases and more serious misdemeanors, however, are investigated by the persons and property investigators.

The Juvenile Section is primarily a dispositional unit, as a result of a department-wide reorganization that occurred in 1976. Although juvenile officers do not investigate all offenses involving an alleged juvenile offender, the officers do screen all juvenile cases to determine whether they will be returned home, petitioned to court, or referred to a community agency. To make this decision, the officers rely heavily upon the case conference as a means of gaining insight into the juvenile, the juvenile's family, and the particular problem behind the offense committed. The unit's investigative authority is limited to lesser misdemeanors and child abuse cases, but it retains authority to conduct further investigations on any cases where it is needed.

Four juvenile officers are each assigned to a geographic area which surrounds a school district. In addition to responsibility for an area, each officer has a case specialty, such as child abuse, narcotics or gang problems. A fifth officer coordinates the Explorer Program, the Teenage Ride-along Program and develops intelligence on gang activities. Another officer has the special role of counseling first offenders and making community placements when necessary.

The Juvenile Section maintains a close link with court intake via the Intercept Program. Every case a juvenile officer feels has the potential for court referral is given to the Intercept Officer, i.e., juvenile probation officer, for review and approval. This individual is physically stationed in the unit. The Intercept Officer will either send the case to juvenile court or will reject it and return it to the juvenile officer. The juvenile unit also maintains a close relationship with the South Bay Diversion Project. This project is designed to facilitate the placement of juveniles in need of counseling or other services in the appropriate agency. A representative of this project is also stationed in the unit. Juvenile officers refer cases to the S. Bay Diversion Project, which has handled all direct referrals to community programs.

Tucson Police Department
Tucson, Arizona

Tucson, Arizona has a population of 262,933, and a police force of 554 sworn officers. The city's geographic location makes Tucson susceptible to the drug traffic coming from Mexico.

The department's juvenile unit, designated the School Resource Officer program (SRO), was established in 1963. With a strength of eighteen SROs, this unit functions primarily within the school setting. The stated duties of SROs are to patrol the school and surrounding area, to investigate incidents originating within the school, to attend school functions, and to act as liaison between the police and school administrators.

In their liaison role, SROs facilitate the investigative activities of patrol and investigation by arranging interviews with juveniles and by

gathering data within the school. On occasion, SROs will conduct interviews with juveniles during school hours at the request of other officers. Since the unit's function is not primarily investigative, a juvenile who is taken into custody by patrol or detectives will typically be referred directly to court intake, without any notification to the SRO. In most cases, the juvenile unit receives copies of the reports on a juvenile, completed by others.

Juvenile court intake is primarily responsible for case screening decisions. Status offenders are usually dealt with by a Special Mobile Diversion Unit of intake. This unit responds to requests from the Police Department to take responsibility for the juveniles. In criminal offenses the juvenile is brought to court intake as soon as the paperwork is completed by the arresting police officer.

The department does not conduct any programs, other than the school programs, in which SROs are involved. Recently, the role of the SRO in the school has taken on the appearance of disciplinarian since many school administrators have been utilizing the police presence to deal with problem students. During the summer months, when schools are not in session, SROs are either assigned vandalism cases or are temporarily reassigned to detective units to replace vacationers.

Metropolitan Police Department
Washington, D. C.

The Metropolitan Police Department serving a population of 711,000 people is currently composed of 4390 sworn officers. The department has decreased in size over the last few years from a total strength of 25200, but still maintains a high police to population ratio of 6.2 officers per 1000 citizens. The department is decentralized into seven police districts and a headquarters division.

The Juvenile Division is located at headquarters and

This division is subdivided into Operations, Administration, and Delinquency Prevention branches. The Operations Branch is responsible for patrol, field services, the investigation of child abuse and neglect cases, juvenile group activities, missing persons, absconders and bicycle thefts. The Delinquency Prevention Branch is largely responsible for operating boy's clubs throughout the city. Recreation programs are viewed as a major effort by the juvenile police to prevent crime and delinquency. Twenty-seven officers work in recreation and prevention programs through the Police Youth Clubs. Patrol officers are frequently used to augment this manpower, and may be detailed to the Youth Division for specified periods.

Each of the seven districts has its own Youth Service Bureau comprised of eight to ten officers who, depending upon the district, are responsible to either the Detective Division or to the Community Relations Division. The primary function of the district units is to screen and process cases investigated by patrol and detectives. Youth Service officers handle all juvenile arrests made between 8:00 a.m. and midnight. Arrests between midnight and 8:00 a.m. are handled by the centralized Juvenile Division. After the apprehension of a juvenile by a non-juvenile officer, the juvenile officer is responsible for completing the appropriate juvenile report forms and deciding the disposition of the case. Only two alternatives are available to the juvenile officer. The juvenile is either warned and released to a parent, or petitioned to the juvenile court. The disposition is usually reached after a case conference with the arresting officer, juvenile, and the juvenile's parents. Under the existing D. C. code, juvenile officers do not have the authority to make direct referrals to community agencies (with the exception of incorrigibles, who are sent to a Social Rehabilitation Center).

Notes Chapter III

1. Task Force to Develop Standards and Goals for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Standards on Police, Washington, D. C.: National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, LEAA, March 1976.

2. Charles A. Murray, Executive Summary, UDIS: Deinstitutionalizing the Chronic Juvenile Offender, Washington, D. C.: American Institutes for Research, January 1978; Robert Martinson, Douglas Lipton, and Judith Wilks, The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment, New York, New York: Praeger Publishing, 1975; Edwin M. Schur, Radical Non-Intervention, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1973; A. R. Mahoney, "Effect of Labeling Upon Youths in the Juvenile Justice System: A Review of the Evidence," Law and Society, Vol. 8, 1974.

Chapter IV

The Investigative Function

Investigative Function

This chapter presents the information gathered on the investigation function performed by juvenile units during the twelve field visits. The chapter:

- reviews the literature on investigations
- presents a flow model of the investigative process
- synthesizes quantitative and qualitative data on investigations gathered from departments visited

The question of whether the investigative goal is being achieved is approached through an assessment of the validity of the assumptions which underly the goal.

Literature Review

The work of the 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice began a decade of research on the investigative process.¹ Objective data, needed to dispel the mystique which surrounds the investigator, now exists on a variety of questions asked of police departments across the country. Although none of the research focuses on the juvenile investigator, several of the findings receive support from data presented in this chapter. These will be returned to in the concluding section.

Who Solves Cases?

Perhaps the most potentially significant conclusions about investigations reached, from the point of view of the police administrator, have come from a study by Greenwood on the criminal investigation process.² Based on data

from a two-year national study of police investigative practices, Greenwood found that whether a case is solved is largely determined by information the victim or witnesses supply to the immediately responding patrol officer. This finding led him to make several recommendations to limit the jurisdiction and discretion of investigators.

Several earlier studies provide supporting data for this finding. Isaacs, reviewing a sample of cases from the Los Angeles Police Department, found that most case clearances involved a named suspect or an on-the-scene arrest.³ Feeney, et al., studying robbery cases in Oakland, California, concluded that citizen involvement played the most significant role in criminal apprehension.⁴ Conklin, in two separate studies, examined robbery and burglary cases in order to discover which police investigations resulted in case clearances.⁵ The data demonstrated that when a case was solved, it was either at the time the offense took place or shortly afterwards. Greenberg, in a study of robbery cases, found that patrol was responsible for a much larger percentage of case clearances than was criminal investigations.⁶

The collective findings of these studies raise serious questions about the value of the traditional patrol-investigator organizational arrangement and the preliminary-follow-up investigative division of labor among these officers which is taken for granted by most departments. Studies which have specifically questioned these matters are iconoclastic in terms of the organizational changes they propose or imply need to be made. Bloch, in two studies of policing in Rochester, New York, concluded that neighborhood team policing improved clearance rates for the offenses of burglary and robbery.⁷ Teams were comprised of detectives assigned to work with uniformed

officers in a one to five ratio, respectively. Ward, studying investigative practices in San Francisco, California, and New York City, New York, concluded that there was no significant difference in effectiveness between police departments using a generalist approach and those using a specialist approach to criminal investigations.⁸ Greenberg et al., in the robbery study previously mentioned, concluded that the roles of patrol and detectives should not be distinct and separate.⁹ Tien et al., evaluating an experiment which split the call-for-service response and crime prevention functions of patrol into two separately organized groups within the police force found an increase in call-for-service response productivity and an increase in the patrol division's arrest-related productivity.¹⁰

The attempt to discover which officer provides the information that clears cases, then, has led to findings which are uncomfortable to traditionally-minded departments. A critique of the initial Greenwood finding (i.e., victim supplies information to patrol) by Gates and Knowles questions the validity and reliability of the study's methodology.¹¹ Questions were raised about the sufficiency of the data bases, errors in drawing conclusions, the use of inadequate measures of effectiveness, arbitrary classifications, and unavailable data sources. Greenwood's response focused more on possible language excesses in the final report's conclusions, and unwarranted generalizations from limited data to departments not studied than on acknowledging or contesting claims of methodological flaws.¹² Several additional problems limit the degree of confidence which can be placed in the findings of these studies: the number of research studies on investigative practices is small, there has not been a replication of studies, differences

exist among the cities and offenses studied, the validity and reliability of the research to date is untested. The fact that the findings are similar in the direction in which they point may show them to be fore-runners of future research questions and organizational structures.

Despite these methodological limitations, it is significant to underline the existence of a small but growing body of literature which raises new questions about the role of the investigator.

How Are Cases Solved?

Greenwood's study of the criminal investigation process also found that: (1) investigative time is largely consumed reviewing reports, documenting files, and attempting to locate and interview victims on cases that will not be solved; (2) more than one-half of all serious reported crimes receive superficial attention from investigators; and (3) routine police procedures clear most cases not immediately cleared by patrol.¹³ This same author, in one of the first studies of investigative practices, found that arrests for property crimes by the New York City Police Department were made either at the scene of the crime or as a result of evidence that was present when the crime was reported.¹⁴ Conklin reported that criminal investigations of robberies produced clearances in only one of fifty cases.¹⁵ Conclusions such as these lead to questions about the special skills departments have traditionally attributed to investigators.

Juvenile Unit Investigators

Where does the role of the juvenile investigator fit into the picture prior research presents? According to field observations,* most juvenile

*It is difficult to rectify the mail survey finding that 20% of the responding departments never patrolled and the fact that none of the juvenile officers in the sites visited ever patrolled. The problem may have been caused by a

officers do not spend time on patrol; many rarely spend time on-the-street for any reason other than following a lead in a case. The juvenile officer, then, is as dependent upon the work of patrol as is the adult criminal investigator. The data presented later in the chapter also reveals that the juvenile officer in some departments is also dependent upon the adult criminal investigator.

Several differences between the adult and juvenile investigator exist, which must be kept in mind when making direct comparisons between these groups. First, the purposes of investigation for the criminal and juvenile investigators differ in emphasis. Although both groups attempt to identify, apprehend and gather enough evidence to prosecute suspects, the juvenile officer is frequently requested to dispose of less serious cases other than by court referral. This objective places a burden on the juvenile officer to gather motivational and background data on the suspect in addition to legal evidence that the suspect is linked to the offense, in order to make an appropriate disposition. It is difficult then, to totally isolate the investigative and screening activities performed by an officer. Second, the juvenile justice system with which juvenile investigators work differs from the criminal justice system in philosophy and legal requirements. The philosophy of most juvenile systems is the traditional one: "in the best interests" of the child (although currently there is concern about focusing on the case and not the juvenile). The legal differences lie in the areas of bail and trial jury, both of which are denied juveniles. These differences in philosophy and legal requirements are likely to have implications for the nature, type and amount of information gathered by juvenile officers. Third, and last, the juvenile investigator is interviewing and interrogating individuals who are

under the age of 18 years, and are under 16 years of age in many instances. By defining their potential suspects (and frequently victims and witnesses) by age, the juvenile officer is expected to adjust investigative procedure accordingly. Some constraints are placed upon this investigator by the local juvenile court, such as the need for a parent present during an interrogation. Suggestions for the use of techniques for juvenile interrogation which distinguish the juvenile investigator from the adult counterpart, are described in a training key disseminated by the International Association of Chiefs of Police.¹⁶ To conclude, differences between the work of both investigator groups must be considered before conclusions reached about the criminal investigator by other researchers can be generalized to the juvenile specialist, or vice versa. Given this caveat, the work of the investigator in the juvenile unit is discussed below.

A Model of the Investigative Process

Investigations are performed in every police department. Although nearly all officers are, to some degree, involved in investigation, it is the investigators a department considers its specialists. For purposes of uniformity of understanding, and because no universally accepted definition exists, investigations will be defined as the effort to gather facts that establish that a crime has been committed, lead to the identification and apprehension of an offender, and provide evidence of guilt for purposes of prosecution.*

*This definition is based upon that found in Peter W. Greenwood et al., The Criminal Investigation Process, Vol. III: Observations and Analysis, Santa Monica, CA: The Rand Corporation, 1975.

Figure 3 presents one way of capturing the components of investigation. Differing models can be constructed for any given function, depending upon the type of statements one wants to be able to make once information is collected and analyzed. This case flow model focuses the prospective evaluator on the investigation activities themselves (process), the cases which will be affected by the investigation (input), the expected case resolution (outcome), the long-range effects of the investigation (impact), the departmental variables which directly affect the investigation (inputs to the process), and those variables in the larger justice system and community environment (environment). The figure also achieves the following: (1) it identifies investigative activities which are performed by many juvenile units; and, (2) it presents these activities in the order most frequently observed.

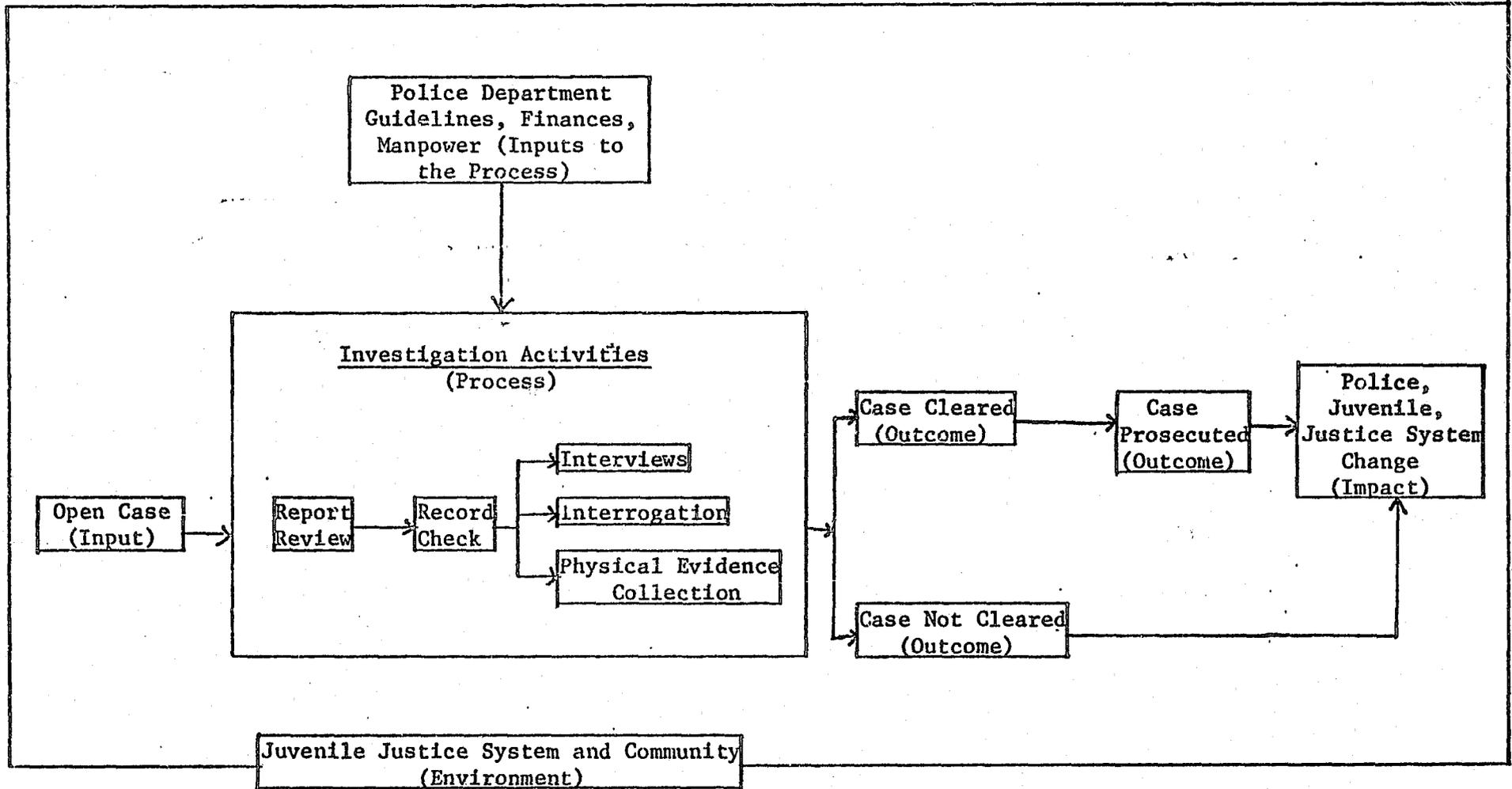
As shown on Figure 3, the input into the investigative process is the juvenile case. A case is defined as any law violation allegedly committed by a juvenile. Although there are various methods by which a case arrives at the juvenile unit, it is most likely to have been sent by patrol or by the criminal investigators. A preliminary, and possibly a follow-up, investigation have already been completed. A juvenile suspect may be in police custody. The offense in the middle-sized city, according to the sites visited is likely to be a misdemeanor property offense, such as larceny or burglary. Nevertheless, differences in the size and composition of the jurisdiction served, and department task allocations, will vary the nature of the offenses brought to the unit.

The investigative process begins upon receiving notification of a criminal incident with a juvenile suspect. The unit supervisor assigns the case to a juvenile investigator (although screening at the supervisory level may exist). Following this investigator's review of previous reports,

CONTINUED

1 OF 4

FIGURE 3: Flow Model for the Investigative Function



one or more of a number of discrete tasks are performed: a records check, interviews, interrogation, and the collection of physical evidence. The reports reviewed by the juvenile officer, typically an incident report (containing the statement of the complaint or describing elements of the offense), custody report (providing information about a suspect), and supplementary report (detailing all information gathered), enable the officer: (1) to reconstruct the sequence of events, and (2) to determine whether the existing information provides sufficient data to close the case.

Where a suspect has been identified, records maintained by the unit and the department are checked to determine the suspect's past history of arrests and police contacts. The most frequently used juvenile records are: (1) the contact file -- a file on juveniles who have been stopped and questioned, but not arrested, and (2) the suspect file -- a file on juveniles who have previously been taken into custody. Physical evidence may be collected by the juvenile officer.

Whether or not a suspect has been identified, interviews are undertaken by the juvenile officer to close information gaps, gather new information, or verify information gathered by patrol and criminal investigators. Interrogation* of the juvenile suspect is likely to require, by local court order, the presence of a parent or guardian and, if undertaken in the police department, a separate facility than that provided for the interrogation of an adult. As in the case of the alleged adult offender, Miranda Rights are accorded the juvenile prior to any interrogation.

*A definite line exists between interviewing a juvenile who may have information about the commission of a crime, and interrogating a juvenile suspected of a crime. The distinction is an important one because when an officer feels that there is probable cause to link the juvenile to the commission of a crime, the officer is obliged to give the juvenile the constitutional Miranda rights warning. In some jurisdictions this necessitates contacting a parent or guardian if an interrogation is to take place. During the interrogation, an effort is made to establish whether the juvenile: (1) did commit the alleged offense; (2) can provide additional information about the circumstances of the offense; (3) is responsible for or has knowledge of other related offenses; and (4) can identify an accomplice or other possible suspects.

The immediate, sought outcome of investigative activity is the completed case. If the case is cleared upon receipt, further investigation may be performed to strengthen the case. An investigative phase is completed when sufficient information has been gathered to identify, apprehend, or prosecute a suspected juvenile offender, or to indicate that the case is unfounded as a crime. A case is incomplete when the information gathered does not lead to a suspect or is insufficient to sustain a charge against a suspected juvenile.

Goals and Assumptions of Investigation

The discussion of goals in the preceding chapter pointed out that the goal of law enforcement is accomplished in the juvenile unit through the investigative function. The assumptions which were posited as underlying unit operations are listed below:

1. Cases received by the unit for investigation are incomplete;
2. The information gathered by juvenile officers is additional to that gathered by non-juvenile officers;
3. The information gathered by juvenile officers is needed to clear cases; and,
4. The information gathered by juvenile officers is needed to prosecute cases.

The approach taken in the following discussion assesses goal achievement through an exploration of underlying operational assumptions. The data for this chapter were gathered primarily during the field visits and case studies.

1. Incomplete Cases Received

The investigation goal of the juvenile unit assumes that cases received by a unit are incomplete. Two department variables appear to affect whether this is true: (a) the stage of investigation at which a case is referred to

a unit; and, (b) the extent and nature of the work performed by non-unit officers before a case is referred. This study's focus on the juvenile unit allows us to say something about the stage of investigation at which a case is received, and the type of information gathered by juvenile officers. The quality of work of non-juvenile officers can only be deduced from juvenile officer behavior.

A. Stage Case Received. Contrary to expectation, the stage at which a case is received by a juvenile unit for investigation is not necessarily related to whether additional case work is needed. It was initially assumed that cases referred to a unit by patrol, with a preliminary investigation, would be more incomplete than would cases referred by the criminal investigators, with all or some of the follow-up investigation done. It is not clear that this is the case. When given a chance to investigate, juvenile officers investigate. This phenomenon appears to be largely explained by the fact that juvenile investigators, regardless of prior work done on a case, choose to reinvestigate (1) to feel comfortable in understanding all of the aspects of a case, and (2) to ultimately reach a case disposition (screening). Several unit operations are described below in order to give the sense of the variation which exists in the stage at which a case is received by a juvenile unit, and some of the reality of intra-departmental relations.

In Lincoln, Nebraska, the Youth Aid Bureau investigates all cases involving juveniles under 16 years of age who receive a citation from patrol. The citation requests that the juvenile telephone the Youth Aid Bureau. Copies of the citation and offense reports are sent to the Bureau and the juvenile officer awaits the juvenile's telephone call in order to arrange a

case conference with the juvenile and parent. The preliminary investigation by patrol is expected to supply the bulk of the investigative information needed, except for information the juvenile officer gathers during the course of case conferences with juveniles and through telephone calls. Sixteen and seventeen year olds who are taken into custody by patrol are sent directly to the court.

The Juvenile Aid Bureau in Duluth, Minnesota, has jurisdiction over most cases involving a juvenile victim or perpetrator, unless criminal investigation, vice or narcotics detectives begin an investigation and later determine juvenile involvement. According to several sources, however, competition exists among these divisions for "serious" cases.

Under a reorganization of the juvenile unit in 1976, the Torrance, California, juvenile unit became solely responsible for investigating cases of child abuse, unfit homes, and missing juveniles. All investigative activity relating to felonies and misdemeanors was assigned to the Investigative Division. Following case investigation, this division turns all paperwork over to the juvenile unit for case disposition. Although the departmental mandate is otherwise, these officers complete whatever investigation they deem is needed to complete a case received from either patrol or adult investigations. Data gathered at the site revealed that juvenile officers conducted an investigation on 80% of the 25 cases (primarily misdemeanors) on which juvenile officers were debriefed.

In Topeka, Kansas, the Juvenile Bureau receives mainly misdemeanor burglaries and larcenies from patrol to investigate. Although the department manual states that uniformed officers should take all cases, except for minor offenses, to the Juvenile Bureau, in reality patrol routes these cases which they determine do not need further investigation to the court;

investigators "keep" cases they want to investigate; the auto theft division handles all such thefts, regardless of age of the suspected offender. According to a professor from a local university who has been doing research in the unit,* in 1975 approximately 20% of all juvenile cases did not come through the unit; this statistic increases each year.

B. Quality of Prior Investigations. Assessing the quality of prior investigative activity on a case has both an objective and subjective component. The objective aspect can be partially inferred from the kind of information juvenile officers actually add to a case (which is discussed in the next section). The subjective component is discussed below, with the conclusion reached in the two sites studied in depth that juvenile officers did not feel that they received a case with sufficient information to send it to court. When a case is received by most juvenile units, it is assigned to a juvenile officer by a supervisor in the unit. In the exceptional case, the supervisor thoroughly reviews the case and decides what is needed to close the case. More typically, similar to adult investigations, the case is cursorily reviewed by the supervisor for assignment purposes.

Juvenile officers in charge of the 25 cases debriefed in each site were asked whether they thought the information they received on the cases gathered by non-juvenile officers contained sufficient information to send the case to juvenile court. Table 9 presents the responses of these officers.

TABLE 9: Cases Received by Juvenile Unit with Sufficient Information to Refer to Court, Juvenile Officer Beliefs, Greensboro and Torrance

<u>Sufficient Information</u>	<u>Site</u>	
	<u>Greensboro</u>	<u>Torrance</u>
Yes	40%	44%
No	60% (N=25)	56% (N=25)

* This information was imparted by Professor David Aday, of the Sociology Department of Washburn University.

In both sites, according to Table 9, juvenile officers believed that the majority of cases they received from non-juvenile officers did not contain enough information to send to court. In Greensboro, juvenile officers found 60% of the cases lacking sufficient information; in Torrance, 56% of the cases.

Staff experience in Torrance illustrated that juvenile officer beliefs ultimately determine investigative decisions. In Torrance, each juvenile officer decides individually whether the reports received from patrol and investigations are missing information and require further investigative work. An officer's work on a case is reviewed only after a disposition is reached and the case is turned over to the supervisor for a signature. Neither patrol nor criminal investigations evidenced concern about having the juvenile officer make the final case determination. A juvenile officer's activities and case closing rates were neither questioned nor reviewed by the supervisor.

2. Additional Information Gathered

A. New Information

Data on "new" information was gathered during the case studies in Greensboro and Torrance. The information focuses on the offenses of larceny, burglary, vandalism and assault. These offenses were frequently handled in the units studied and, according to the mail survey data, are handled frequently by most units (except for assault). Conclusions are drawn following the data presentation.

Do juvenile officers, in the course of their investigations, add new information to that already gathered? Juvenile officers believe they do, according to Table 10.

TABLE 10: Information Believed Gathered in Cases, Juvenile Officers, Greensboro and Torrance*

<u>Officer Beliefs</u>	<u>Greensboro</u>	<u>Site</u>	<u>Torrance</u>
Provided Additional Information			
Yes	88%		76%
No	12%		24%
	(N=25)		(N=25)
Verified Existing Information			
Yes	92%		76%
No	8%		24%
	(N=25)		(N=25)

As shown on Table 10, juvenile officers in Torrance felt that they added new information to 76% of the 25 cases debriefed during the four week period that staff were on-site and verified existing information in a similar percentage of cases; the juvenile officers in Greensboro claimed to have added additional information in 88% of the cases and verified existing information in 92% of the cases. Although percentages are high for both units, the Greensboro data may be explained by the fact that the unit's incoming case reports come directly from patrol (vs. patrol and investigations in Torrance).

In order to gather more objective information on the nature of information added to a case by juvenile officers, a random sample of the files of cases closed in 1976 in Torrance and in Greensboro was selected; a review of 201 cases in Torrance and 197 in Greensboro focused on five areas of information:

- information describing a suspect;
- information describing the scene;
- information describing persons' actions at the scene;

*Answers given may have included social information needed for case deposition.

- laboratory tests performed; and,
- physical evidence gathered.

After all reports contained in each case file were arranged in chronological order, every item of information in each of these five areas was coded as either:

1. New, information which has not previously appeared in any report;
2. Repeat, information which has previously appeared in a report, which is gathered from the same source; or
3. Verified, information which has previously appeared in a report, which is gathered from a different source.

The results of the tabulation of information items appear in Table 11.

TABLE 11: Nature of Items of Information Gathered by Juvenile and Non-Juvenile Officers, Greensboro and Torrance, 1976-77

Nature of Information	<u>Site and Officer Type</u>		Nature of Information	<u>Site and Officer Type</u>	
	<u>Greensboro</u>			<u>Torrance</u>	
	<u>Non-Juvenile</u>	<u>Juvenile</u>		<u>Non-Juvenile</u>	<u>Juvenile</u>
New (N=2575)*	78.8%	21.1%	New (N=1985)*	95.3%	4.7%
Repeat (N=1432)*	32.9%	67.1%	Repeat (N=783)*	87.7%	12.3%
Verified (N=98)*	15.3%	84.7%	Verified (N=992)*	87.1%	12.9%

*N= number of items of information in the 197 case files of Greensboro and the 201 case files of Torrance which were reviewed.

According to Table 11, the Greensboro juvenile officers contributed 21.1% of all information categorized as new (N=2575). The larger percentages of

repeated information (67.1%) and verifying information (84.7%) suggest that much of the same "ground" covered by patrol and detectives in the preliminary investigation is covered a second time by juvenile officers. Juvenile officers in Torrance contributed only 4.5% of the information classified as "new", and approximately 12% of both the repeat and verifying information. The small percentages in each of these three categories suggest a much more limited investigative effort than that undertaken by officers in Greensboro. This agrees with the Torrance unit's more primary concern with screening. The extremely small amount of new information gathered (4.5%) probably reflects the fact that many of the unit's cases come from criminal investigators.

It is difficult to compare the information on officer beliefs (Table 10), based on a small number of cases recently closed by juvenile officers, to the objective data gathered on a large number of randomly selected cases (Table 11). However, the offense categories are comparably represented in the two groups of cases (i.e., case debriefed and cases reviewed from the files). If the cases are comparable, then juvenile officers in both units appear to overestimate the amount of new information they gather in the course of an investigation. The case file data from both sites point to the limited amount of new information actually gathered by juvenile officers in both sites.

When the "non-juvenile officer" category is subdivided into patrol and criminal investigators, statistics indicate that almost all of the new information is gathered by patrol in both Torrance and Greensboro (Table 12).

TABLE 12: Source of New Information Items,
Greensboro and Torrance, 1976

<u>Officer Type</u>	<u>Greensboro</u>	<u>Site</u> <u>Torrance</u>
Patrol	78.4%	81.7%
Investigations	.5%	13.6%
Juvenile	21.1% (N=2575)*	4.7% (N=1985)*

*N= number of items of new information appearing in the 197 case files of Greensboro and the 201 case files of Torrance which were reviewed.

As indicated on Table 12, investigators in Torrance provide 13.6% of the total items of new information gathered, with juvenile officers providing an additional 4.7%. In Greensboro, where adult investigators do not handle juvenile cases, the juvenile officers play this role, adding 21.1% of the new information. In both sites, patrol provides approximately 80% of the new information.

To conclude, the data presented in Tables 11 and 12, for the juvenile units in Greensboro and Torrance, indicate that: (1) a small amount of new information is gathered by juvenile officers, and (2) regardless of the investigative stage at which a case is received by the unit, patrol has gathered four-fifths of the new information. This is a direct contrast to the beliefs of juvenile officers that they add information in most cases investigated.

B. Investigative Process. Standard procedures for undertaking a follow-up investigation are known to criminal and juvenile investigators throughout the country. The decision to apply those procedures to a particular case, however, may vary as much among officers within a unit as it does across units. Observations and interviews undertaken at the ten sites visited which conduct

investigations uncovered many variables which are responsible for starting and stopping an investigation. The following list is not complete, but is intended to highlight what appear to be the major factors, as well as the diverse nature of those factors which influence juvenile investigations:

- supervisor assignment and review
- individual officer interest in a particular juvenile or case
- individual officer assessment of the difficulties entailed in gathering needed information
- size of an officer's pending caseload
- investigative resources available to the unit
- informal policies of unit
- anticipated juvenile court actions on a case
- statutes and case law

The information presented below summarizes the data on investigative activities of juvenile officers in the units visited. Most of the information is impressionistic, with objective data taken from the case studies.

An investigation of a case by a juvenile officer usually begins with the assignment of a case by the supervisor. The assignment process varies across units. In several units visited -- Arlington, Torrance and Tucson -- assignments were made according to school districts. These districts may or may not parallel patrol assignments. Greensboro organizes its juvenile officers according to field operation assignments, so that cases originating in a specific patrol district are automatically assigned to the juvenile officer who works that district. In Torrance, a juvenile officer has a geographic territory, in addition to a case specialty. The north district officer is also responsible for investigating all child abuse cases; the central district officer handles narcotics cases; the south district officer handles all problems with gangs.

These assignment systems, however, do not necessarily replace the ability of the unit commander to assign a serious case to an officer he feels to be most capable, or to use the assignment process to equalize caseloads among officers.

The juvenile officers in Torrance received 61% of their larceny cases (N=66) and 53% of their burglary cases (N=60) on the same day the incident was reported to patrol. The corresponding figures for Greensboro are 59% (N=39) and 36% (N=7). These figures indicate that neither patrol in Greensboro, nor patrol/investigators in Torrance spend much time on these two offense categories before sending them to their respective juvenile units. At the end of four days, approximately 80% of the larcenies have been passed to both juvenile units; the corresponding figure for burglaries is 60% in Greensboro, and 70% in Torrance. The figures indicate that burglary cases take longer than larcenies to reach the juvenile unit in both sites. The similarity in the above trends is particularly interesting in that cases investigated in Torrance may be handled by both patrol and investigations before arriving at the juvenile unit, while in Greensboro they are sent to the unit directly by patrol. One possible explanation for this came from site observations. Detectives would approach juvenile officers in Torrance and ask them to conduct an investigation for them on a juvenile case. This occurred whenever the detectives' caseload became unmanageable, when a detective felt that the juvenile officer was sufficiently familiar with a particular juvenile or case, or when a detective felt that the juvenile officer would be more productive during an interrogation. Juvenile officers were frequently requested to sit in on an interrogation being conducted by a criminal investigator or to accompany the investigator into the field to help conduct

interviews with juveniles. It seems that the Torrance juvenile unit, although supposedly a screening unit, is doing more investigative work than formally structured for it by the department.

The stage at which a unit receives a case was related to the number of reports completed in the case study sites: the later the stage, the more the reports. In Greensboro, where a case goes directly from patrol to the unit, only one report was received for 65% of the cases (N=128). In Torrance, where the unit receives a case following possible investigation by criminal investigators, 86% of the cases received came with three or more reports (N=197).

Juvenile officers use their own skills in deciding what additional information is needed to complete a case. Formal unit guidelines and supervision does not appear to play any significant role in this decision in most units visited. The most frequent investigative objectives, stated by juvenile officers in Greensboro and Torrance, were:

- o attempting to obtain a confession by the juvenile suspect through interrogation;
- o attempting to determine the intent of the suspect;
- o verifying facts or statements already made; and,
- o uncovering additional crimes or suspects.

Informal communication occurs among the patrol, investigator and juvenile officer beyond what is formally placed in a report, although it was not possible to discern the frequency or nature of such interaction.

Caseload information which was staff generated in two sites indicates variation among juvenile officers. Questions about their current pending caseload asked of juvenile officers in Torrance, revealed an average of five cases, with a range of zero to twelve. Juvenile officers in Greensboro averaged

six cases per officer, with a range of two to twenty. The lack of comparable information for other units, or information on assignment turnover time, however, does not enable us to give general meaning to these figures.

Police records are always reviewed for information on a juvenile's prior contact with the department. Most police departments visited had centralized their juvenile records so that a complete chronology of information on a particular juvenile was accessible from one location. These records are usually separated from adult records, due to either departmental, judicial or legislative policy. The record keeping system is as likely to be manual, consisting of case folders and index files, as it is to be computerized, in which records are accessible through recall from a computer terminal.

Each juvenile unit visited maintained its own record keeping system. The degree of sophistication of this system varied by department, from a simple contact file to cross reference files of offense, location and nickname. In one unit, juveniles who have reached the age of majority had their records placed in separate cabinets within the unit; in another unit the files were sent to the department's centralized records division. In a third, the files were destroyed on age of majority. In few cases, however, were juvenile records destroyed. Information kept in unit files included more informal data than was found in the centralized files, collected through sources such as informants, or gathered during incidents which do not directly involve the juvenile.

Although the juvenile officer is usually aware of the existence of a file in a non-juvenile unit and the kinds of information it offers, the file's availability is a function of the working relationship between the juvenile

unit and the other unit or between individual officers. For example, a juvenile officer in one unit spent days searching department log books and files for similar crimes to the series of house burglaries he was trying to solve. The burglary investigative unit within the department had previously requested a master list of all burglaries from central records according to location of occurrence. The juvenile officer, lacking a good working relationship with burglary detectives, spent days duplicating an effort that had already been made.

The juvenile officer uses all of the above mentioned information to link a juvenile to unsolved cases. When reviewing information on the juvenile's method of operation, individual characteristics, friends or accomplices, and hangouts, the officer will differentially weigh certain items of information. For example, if a juvenile with an extensive arrest record for burglaries is arrested for a burglary, the juvenile officer may look closely at active burglary cases for a fixed period of weeks to possibly link the suspect to these unsolved cases. Very often, the mere fact that a juvenile has any prior record for the same offense will alert the juvenile officer to be meticulous in the case workup. As a result, the officer may spend more time interrogating the suspect, investigating all leads, and talking with other police officers. The more serious the record, the greater the concern and effort on the part of the juvenile officer.

The interview is considered by juvenile officers to be the most effective method of obtaining information. It is frequently the most time-consuming aspect of the investigation, requiring substantial effort to locate interviewees and to set up convenient appointments. Most potential interviewees are identified by the juvenile officer from reports completed by patrol or

a criminal investigation. Interviews with juvenile suspects and parents were conducted with more frequency in both sites than were interviews with victims, witnesses, or other police officers. This may be partly due to the fact that some of the information gathered is for screening purposes. In Torrance, juvenile officers interviewed or interrogated juveniles in 84% of the 25 cases closed during staff time on site, and parents, in 72% of the cases. The corresponding figures for Greensboro were 80%, with juveniles and 40%, with parents.

Legislative, judicial and departmental rulings in the sites visited limit juvenile interrogations in a variety of ways. These limits included: (1) providing separate facilities for the juvenile interrogation than those provided for the adult; (2) requiring that a parent or guardian be present during the interrogation; and (3) requiring that a juvenile officer be present during an interrogation conducted by a non-juvenile officer.

3. Information Gathered for Closing Cases

The question remains whether the small amount of new information gathered by juvenile officers during the investigations process is essential to closing a case by arrest. Unfortunately, data are not available for this assessment. Impressions tell us that many incident reports received by the juvenile unit (especially when coming from investigations) come with a juvenile already taken into custody, or have a juvenile suspect listed.

The only objective information gathered on-site which contributes to our understanding of the case closing process is on the nature of the information gathered (Table 13).

TABLE 13: Nature of Information Gathered by Juvenile Officers,
Greensboro and Torrance, 1976-77

<u>Nature of Information</u>	<u>Unit</u>	
	<u>Greensboro</u>	<u>Torrance</u>
Suspect	33.6%	39.7%
Scene	33.9%	28.8%
Persons at Scene	21.8%	11.0%
Physical Evidence	.2%	20.5%
Laboratory Tests**	10.4%	---
	(N=586)*	(N=46)*

*N= Number of items of information appearing in the 197 case files of Greensboro and the 201 case files of Torrance.

**Refers to the utilization of information derived from laboratory tests.

As shown on Table 13, both Greensboro and Torrance juvenile officers gather primarily suspect information (33.6% and 39.7%, respectively). Physical evidence is rarely collected in Greensboro, but comprises approximately 20% of the evidence gathered by the Torrance unit. Laboratory tests comprise a small proportion of the Greensboro evidence (10.4%) and none of the Torrance evidence.

Although the nature of the "suspect" information is not available from the file review, when juvenile officers in Greensboro and Torrance were asked what was missing from the 25 debriefed cases when they received them, the most frequent item listed was confessions. According to these officers, they subsequently obtained confessions in 44% of the cases in Torrance, and 40% of the cases in Greensboro.

4. Information Gathered for Prosecuting Cases

Information on case prosecution, and its relation to investigative work performed by juvenile officers, is sparse and difficult to interpret. Several reasons account for this. First, while the major objective of the criminal

investigation is to gather evidence to prosecute an identified offender, the juvenile officer is requested by his superior or the court to dispose of less serious offenses and offenders other than by sending them to court (i.e., case screening). Greensboro petitioned only 40% (N=197) of its cases to court; Torrance petitioned 30% (N=201). Those cases which are sent to court are less readily explained by the existence of legal evidence than by (1) court orders which affect officer behavior, (2) officer anticipation of court actions, and (3) officer appraisal of the character of the juvenile and intra-familial relationships. Topeka, for example, sent 85% of its previous year's caseload to court. This latter unit is discouraged from screening more heavily by a juvenile court judge who let it be known that he expects court intake to serve the screening function. Notice of any juveniles released by the juvenile officers must be sent to intake for review.

Second, a confession of guilt is needed in order to make a non-court disposition. In other words, (1) an incentive exists for a juvenile to admit violations of criminal or status laws, and (2) other than for the confession, there is no extra-departmental assessment of the "prosecutability" of the existing evidence.

Third, investigation and screening concerns overlap. What an officer feels is "in the best interest of the juvenile" may determine decisions about whether or not to continue an investigation, or continue it in a certain manner.

Fourth, and last, intake, prosecution, and judicial decisions are not necessarily based on factors related to the legal sufficiency of a case. In Washington, D. C., for example, case dismissal statistics reflect personnel

shortages in the prosecutor's office rather than investigative faults of the police. In several other sites these decisions reflect the intake officers' social and philosophical concerns about minimizing system penetration for the juvenile. Evidence gathered which links a suspect to a crime is not one of those concerns.

In short, the juvenile justice system does not offer many legal checks to measure the quality of evidence gathered by juvenile officers. In addition, statistics on court dispositions are infrequently known in the juvenile unit. Either a formal mechanism does not exist which provides the unit with case dispositions, or a disposition is sent to a central records division which only stores the information.

A Department Without A Unit

This section outlines the juvenile investigative function as it is performed in Multnomah County, Oregon, by the Multnomah County Sheriff's Department. The data gathered during both the initial field visit and case study periods is meant to provide an impressionistic contrast to Greensboro and Torrance, where established units exist.

The Multnomah County Division of Public Safety reorganized two years ago and initiated team policing to replace a more traditional organizational structure. The enforcement branch of the department now consists of six teams -- a team for each of the five zones into which the county is divided and a sixth team known as the "detective team." Except for the detective team, which handles only the most serious offenses, the officers on the other teams are considered generalists. In theory, each team has one or two officers who work largely as investigators. In reality, this position has come to be treated as a reserve position, to be filled only when there

is not a manpower shortage elsewhere on the team or in the department. During staff time on-site, the team observed never had its two investigator positions filled.

There are no juvenile officers or juvenile investigators. For a period of time after the department had reorganized, there was a tendency, according to officers, to ask ex-youth officers to handle juvenile cases. This practice has all but disappeared.

Team officers estimated that 20% to 30% of their caseload consisted of juvenile-perpetrated offenses. Observations made on-site suggest that this is a reasonable, if not an underestimate. There are no Multnomah figures available on juvenile arrests; all cases, whether adult or juvenile, are numbered in sequence and stored according to numerical order.

A typical juvenile case is a shoplifting case (petty larceny). Several of the affected stores in the area employ security systems, and this results in a large number of arrests for this crime. The Multnomah officer frequently responds to a call from the store security officer. The entire investigation involves administering the Miranda Rights warning and questioning the suspect and the security officer. The Multnomah officer is usually able to obtain an admission to the act and enough background information to determine the advisability of releasing the juvenile to parents pending a juvenile interview with the court intake. Little other investigative activity is performed. The Multnomah officer will call into the department to request a record check on the suspect, and then immediately notify the juvenile's parents. Due to the strength of the case, these cases are likely to be received and cleared on the same day. Most cases of this nature are sent to court.

Other larcenies and burglaries are likely to receive the type of preliminary investigation usually associated with the patrol function.

Officers have to request to be taken off calls so that they can pursue investigations. While this request of the team leader is possible, it is discouraged. There seems to be an unspoken understanding that such a request should be made only in unusual circumstances.

None of the 25 cases debriefed took longer than 1 week to complete; 80% were completed in one day. Officers responding to calls had little or no case backlog. Most non-serious cases that cannot be solved in a relatively short period of time by patrol are not pursued further. Serious cases may be sent to the detective team.

In only seven of the 25 cases debriefed on site did the officers feel that the case was strong enough to send to court on the basis of the information they had. Reasons given for needed additional information being unsure about the circumstances surrounding the incident and needing physical evidence to support the case.

The Multnomah officers completed approximately two reports per case, and five interviews per case. The majority of the interviews were in the field with suspects. The officers seemed to expect an admission of guilt as the norm, and perceived a case to be problematic when an admission was not forthcoming.

To conclude, there seems to be very little in-depth investigation of juvenile offenses; nine out of every ten juvenile cases were opened and closed within one day by the reporting officer.

Conclusion

The growing body of literature on investigations has dealt primarily with the adult investigator. Although the number of empirically-based studies is small, data from these studies appear to support the same theses: (a) that a case is solved largely by information supplied to the responding patrol officer; and (2) that most cases are cleared by very routine investigative procedures. Such studies ultimately raise questions about the effectiveness and efficiency of the traditional patrol-investigation organizational arrangements, in the former case, and the need for specially skilled officers to investigate cases, in the latter.

Although the data presented in this chapter consists largely of the impressions gained by staff during twelve site visits, with the addition of empirically based data gathered at two sites, it supports the pattern of findings which appears in the literature. While no statements can be made on the basis of our data which claim representativeness to the universe of police juvenile units, the overall impressions remain as follows:

- The investigative work done by juvenile investigators is independent of the amount and nature of investigative work done prior to receiving a case.
- Juvenile officers believe that important information is missing from a large percentage of cases they receive (case studies).
- The work a juvenile officer does on a case is not closely supervised; the case is reviewed by a supervisor after it is closed.
- Juvenile officers believe that their investigations add new information and verify information already received (case studies).
- Juvenile officers gather relatively few items of new information during their case investigations; patrol is responsible for most of the new information gathered (case studies).

- The investigative process of juvenile officers in different departments is shaped by different operational constraints.
- The juvenile officer's contribution to most cases lies in gathering suspect information (case studies).
- Legal evidence plays a minor role in the decision of the juvenile officer to send a case to court.

Is the goal of investigations being achieved? That is, in terms of the assumptions initially posed, are incomplete cases being received, are juvenile officers adding new information to cases, is the information added by juvenile officers needed to clear cases, is the information gathered needed to prosecute cases? The evidence which exists is persuasive of a response of "unclear" to the first two questions and "no" to the latter two questions. No empirical data exist on the nature of the evidence in a case prior to its assignment to a juvenile officer. Although juvenile officers do add a small amount of new information to a case, it is unclear whether it is needed to either clear or prosecute a case.

A more thorough look into the investigative process would have to include the role played by the other components of the juvenile justice system, especially that of the court. In many jurisdictions the philosophy of parens patriae has filtered down to the police; investigative and screening concerns and decisions cannot always be differentiated. The juvenile court expects different things from the police handling the juvenile case, than does the criminal court in the adult case. These differing expectations influence the entire investigative process. It is particularly interesting to note that in one site visited which did not have a unit, little investigative activity beyond the preliminary work is done, and most juveniles taken into custody are referred to court. Although this is not necessarily the result of the absence

of a unit, the data do raise questions about the extent of the influence of the court where there is not a special police unit established to handle juveniles.

Notes Chapter IV

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Chapter V

The Screening Function

This chapter presents information gathered on the screening function performed by juvenile officers. The chapter:

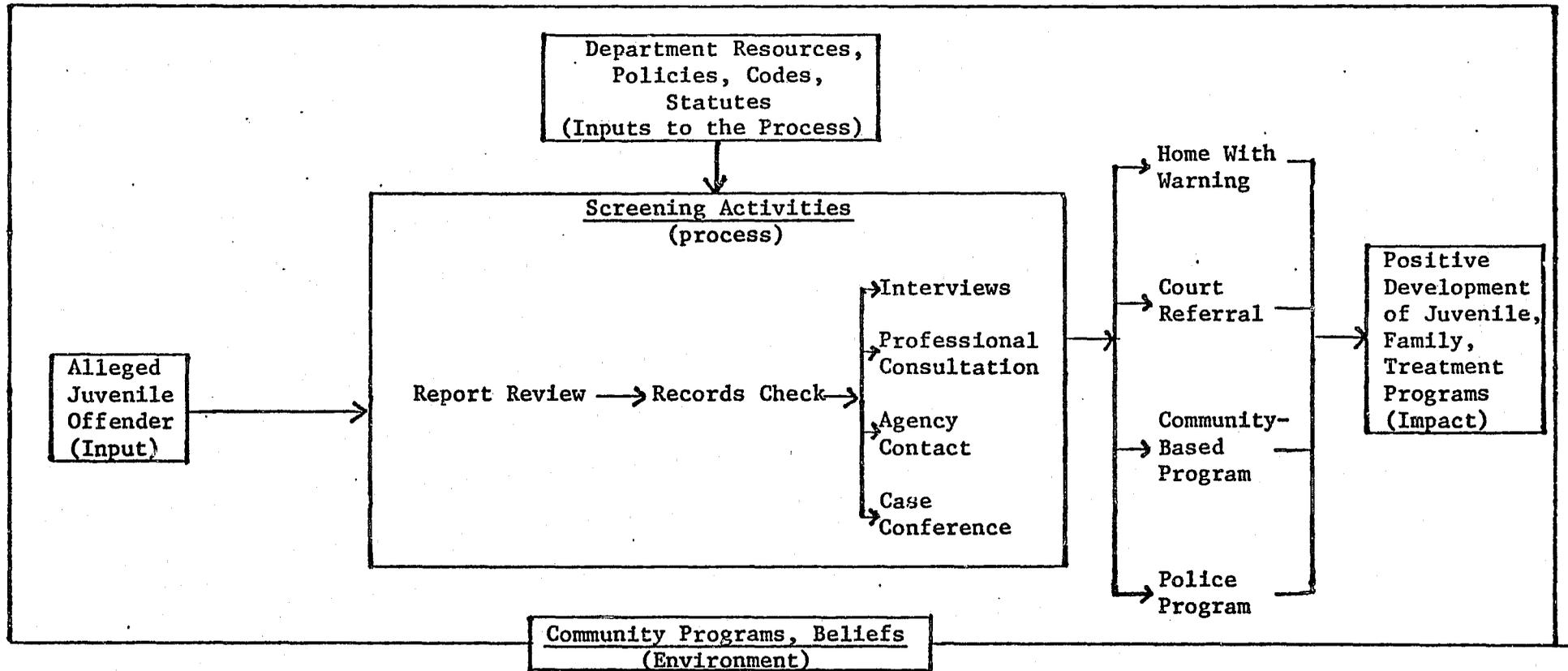
- presents a flow model of the screening process
- synthesizes quantitative and qualitative data gathered from departments visited
- incorporates the literature on screening in the analyses of data

Flow Model of the Screening Process

The screening function was previously defined as the juvenile officer's gathering of information for the purpose of reaching a case disposition. A hidden "given" in this definition is that the juvenile officer has sufficient evidence to link a specific juvenile to a specific crime.

The components of the screening process are presented in Figure 4 in the form of a case flow model. The model focuses the prospective evaluator on the screening activities of officers (process), the juveniles who will be affected by the screening activities (input), the immediate case disposition (outcome), other long-range effects of screening (impact), and the variables which directly affect screening (inputs to the process) and those in the larger environment (environment). The figure also achieves the following: (1) it identifies screening activities which are performed routinely by most juvenile units; and (2) it presents these activities in their most frequently observed order.

FIGURE 4: Flow Model of the Screening Function



According to Figure 4, the input into the screening process is the alleged juvenile offender. Unlike the case concern of the investigation process -- the facts of the case, the amount of information already gathered -- screening focuses on the individual juvenile. How old is the juvenile? Is the juvenile disrespectful to the officers? Has the juvenile appeared in the juvenile unit on a previous complaint?

Some of the discrete screening activities are identical to those of investigation. The first three steps are essentially the same for both processes: report review, records check, and interviews. The difference lies, however, in the type of information being gathered and the purpose towards which all information is being gathered. Screening activities focus on information about the background and character of the accused in order to reach an appropriate disposition; investigative activities focus on information about the incident in order to solve the case through an identification, apprehension and possible prosecution of a juvenile.

Professional consultation can be sought in order to gain more in-depth knowledge about the social behavior and personal attributes of the youth in question. This includes consultation with probation officers, mental health professionals, teachers, welfare workers, and program administrators. Contact is made with agencies offering a potential referral and placement to ascertain their availability and willingness to receive the juvenile in question.

The case conference plays a particularly important role in reaching a case disposition. The conference is typically an interview conducted with the juvenile and the juvenile's parents in either the juvenile's home or the police station. It may take place at the same time that the officer

is conducting the interrogation phase of the investigation function. It exists: (1) to make parents aware of their child's behavior problem; (2) to gain insight into the juvenile/family relationship; (3) to assess the nature and degree of supervision and control the parent exercises over the juvenile; and (4) to discuss disposition alternatives. Considerable emphasis is placed upon learning whether the parents are aware of their child's delinquent or status offender activities, what the parents think about those activities, and what the parents can and are willing to do to insure that the situation does not repeat itself. The conference is also used by juvenile officers as an educational tool; the officer advises the parents about child-management techniques and recommends agencies and programs which can assist the parents in improving the home situation.

The immediate outcome of screening is one of four types of case dispositions: (1) return of the juvenile to his/her home with a warning; (2) referral of the juvenile's case to court; (3) diversion of the juvenile into a community-based program; and (4) provision of services to the juvenile by the police. The choice of one of these four involves two separate, but related decisions:

- The penetration decision, whether or not to send the juvenile to court
- The diversion decision, which alternative to select for the juvenile who is not sent to court

These decisions are as much the product of the juvenile officer's assessment of the juvenile's needs, as they are related to department-approved options, pressures and influence from the court, or available community resources which the police think are effective for juveniles.

The long-range impact of the screening function sought by juvenile officers is a general decrease in delinquent and status offense behavior

in a given community, the personal growth and development of a juvenile, and the betterment of family relationships.

Constraints within the department and larger environment affect the decisions of juvenile officers. For example, department policy may limit the disposition options available to a juvenile officer. In Washington, D.C., the juvenile officers have only two alternatives: release to home or court referral. In Onondaga County, N.Y., the juvenile officers can use any of the alternatives depicted on Figure 4. The degree of availability of community programs which accept direct referrals from the police is a major constraint which a community places on the police department.

Goals and Assumptions of Screening

An overall assessment of whether the screening process helps the juvenile unit achieve its goals is facilitated by discussing the extent to which the operational assumptions which this study suggests underly each goal are supported by the reality of unit operations.

Table 14 presents the three goals mentioned in Chapter III, one or more of which a juvenile unit may depend upon the screening function to achieve. The major assumptions underlying each goal which pertain directly to police activities are also found on this Table.

An important distinction exists between the goals of labeling avoidance and rehabilitation which are embodied in the difference between the terms diversion and referral. The term diversion is defined as the process of turning suspects or offenders away from the formal system. This term is conceptually linked to the labeling avoidance goals, and focuses attention on the operations of the traditional justice system (i.e., police, court, corrections). The term referral is defined as a process by which police initiate the connection of the juvenile to a non-justice system agency,

TABLE 14: Goals and Assumptions of Screening

<p>GOAL: <u>Rehabilitation:</u> to rehabilitate the delinquent. Officers are able to:</p> <p>ASSUMPTIONS:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. identify juveniles in need of treatment2. diagnose the specific needs of juveniles3. know which treatment alternatives are available4. select the treatment alternative best suited to the needs of a juvenile5. provide direct services, when appropriate.	<p>GOAL: <u>Label Avoidance:</u> to help the juvenile avoid the delinquency label. Officers:</p> <p>ASSUMPTIONS:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. are concerned about the negative consequences of court-applied labels2. can identify the juveniles for whom court labeling will be a negative consequence3. attempt to minimize the penetration of those juveniles further into the juvenile justice system.	<p>GOAL: <u>System Coordination:</u> to coordinate the work of police with other juvenile justice system agencies. Officers:</p> <p>ASSUMPTIONS:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. are in contact with other juvenile justice agencies2. are aware of the manner in which these agencies work together3. are able to work cooperatively with other system components.
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private or public.* This term is theoretically bound to the rehabilitation goal, and focuses attention on the juvenile's needs. This distinction also corresponds to our view that the juvenile officer makes two separate, but related, screening decisions:

- (1) the diversion (or penetration) decision, whether or not the juvenile will be sent to court
- (2) the referral (treatment) decision (for those juveniles not sent to court), which alternative treatment should be selected

This distinction is helpful analytically, as well as appearing to correspond to the mental processes of the juvenile officer.

Rehabilitation

An assessment of police juvenile units adhere to a rehabilitation goal must consider what is known about rehabilitation, in general. Recent research has cast serious doubts on the relative effectiveness of certain treatments. Both Robert Martinson and Edwin M. Schur have presented arguments for the abandonment of the individualized treatment philosophy which is inherent in the rehabilitation goal used by the juvenile justice system. Martinson reviewed adult and juvenile intervention program evaluations done between 1945 and 1967¹, and is currently undertaking a similar effort covering findings since 1967². He concludes that evaluations of such programs show little impact on recidivism. Schur reviewed intervention programs directed solely at youth.³ His findings are consistent with those of Martinson. Although different policy implications are drawn by Martinson and Schur from these same conclusions

* These definitions were used by Malcolm W. Klein in "Issues in Police Diversion of Juvenile Offenders: A Guide for Discussion", in Gary Adams, et al (eds), Juvenile Justice Management, Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1973.

(Martinson emphasized punishment as a deterrent to crime, Schur emphasized juvenile court referral for serious violations), both argue for abandoning the individualized treatment approach. In contrast, Murray, in a recent study comparing a traditional institutional approach to corrections (residential treatment) with a referral service designed to handle juveniles by non-institutionalized means, concluded that both alternatives were equal in reducing officially recorded criminal acts.⁴

These findings are significant when viewed in relation to the recommendations of the IJA/ABA standards project that the least restrictive alternative be selected for juvenile matters involving minor criminal conduct, and that formal processing be avoided wherever alternatives exist.⁵ In light of Murray's findings, either ideological position (i.e., individualized treatment or institutionalization) can be taken.

The discussion which follows explores the data available on the assumptions which underly the goal of rehabilitation.

1. Identify Juveniles in Need*
2. Diagnose Problem

At every stage in the screening process -- report review, records check, interview, professional and agency consultation, and case conference -- juvenile officers sift and screen an ever increasing amount of information upon which the case disposition will be made. It is difficult to pinpoint which activity or which piece of information crystallizes the officer's ideas about the juvenile. The activities and information are part of a cumulative process whose end product -- a correct identification and diagnosis of need -- is only as good as the officer's ability, the nature of the information

*Assumptions (1) and (2) are discussed together.

gathered by an officer and the manner in which it is used.

A. Information Gathered and Manner Used. Both the gathering and the use of information is a dynamic process which pales when viewed as discrete activities. The following discussion attempts to present this reality.

The report review is the first screening activity performed by a juvenile officer, after being assigned a case by a supervisor. When a unit, like that in Greensboro, is responsible for both case investigation and screening, the incident report completed by patrol will probably be the only report available for review. In a unit which is primarily responsible for case screening, such as Torrance's unit, the juvenile officer will receive several reports for review. In the first instance, the incident report is likely to contain no more information on the suspected juvenile, if known, than his/her physical characteristics and demeanor at the time of contact by patrol. In the latter instance, investigations already completed by non-juvenile officers will provide most of the information used by the juvenile officer.

Information gathered during the records check includes data on the juvenile's previous handling by police: number of prior contact(s)/arrest(s), prior police disposition(s), and prior court disposition(s).

The information gathered thus far -- from the report of the offense (and possibly its investigation) and the juvenile's prior record -- enables the officer to make an initial, gross determination of whether the juvenile is "good" or "bad." The "bad" label, applied on the basis of

information on these documents, means one of two things: (1) the offense is too serious not to send to court; or (2) the offender is a repeater who deserves to be sanctioned severely. This label paves the way for a court referral, eliminating the officer's responsibility to further diagnose a juvenile's "needs."

A substantial amount of potentially diagnostic information is gathered through interviews with complainants, victims, witnesses and the police officer who responded to the scene of the crime. This information focuses on the precipitating circumstances of the incident, the juvenile's motive, the juvenile's attitude at time of arrest, the parents' attitudes at time of notification of arrest, and any obvious juvenile or family problems. If court referral is not almost automatically indicated on the basis of offense or prior record, an assessment of the juvenile's potential to avoid future deviant behavior is made by looking at the juveniles' and parents' attitudes and relationship. The case conference is a particularly valuable tool for this. The juvenile officer attempts to learn whether the parents are aware of their child's activities, what the parents think about those activities, and what the parents can and are willing to do to correct the situation. This conference is also used by the officer as an educational tool, as mentioned previously: to give advice about child-management techniques, and recommend agencies and programs which can help the home situation. By the end of the conference -- whether it occurs at the middle or end of the process of accumulating information for a screening decision -- the officer will have reached an opinion about the likelihood of future deviance. Since many officers feel that an admission

of wrong-doing is the first step in rehabilitation, they frequently use the case conference to elicit a statement of remorse or contrition about the unlawful act committed.

The extent to which an officer goes beyond individuals related to the incident to consult professionals, and the nature of the professional consultation solicited are more related to officer inclination and unit policy than to a search for an individual diagnosis. The Topeka unit routinely involves a psychiatrist from the Menninger Clinic in evaluating the needs of a juvenile. In Torrance, juvenile officers regularly visit local schools to discuss particular juveniles with teachers. In Greensboro, a psychologist from a family counseling agency meets weekly with the officers to discuss current cases.

For the most part, the information gathered by juvenile officers is not used to assess needs. It is used primarily to determine: (1) whether the authority and coerciveness of the justice system should bear down upon the juvenile to indicate society's displeasure with the juvenile's past or present behavior; (2) whether the appropriate level of remorse and contrition exists on the part of the juvenile and the juvenile's family; and (3) whether the juvenile's family is able to take the steps appropriate to control their child's future behavior.

B. Officer Ability. The ability of juvenile officers to both identify juveniles in need of treatment and diagnose the specific needs can be gotten through a variety of mechanisms which are in the control of the department: (1) selection criteria and procedures for juvenile officer candidates which screen for officers who already possess needed abilities; (2) specialized

training which is given to officers before or after they are selected to be a juvenile officer; (3) experience in working with juveniles over a period of time; and, (4) supervision of officers concerning cases handled. The question becomes, then, what is known about each of these mechanisms.

Selection. There is no indication that eligibility criteria or selection procedures can identify officers with diagnostic abilities. The most typical criteria used to select a juvenile officer are: (1) the officer's expressed desire to work with juveniles; (2) a good work record within the department; (3) after-work activities which might indicate a special interest in youth (e.g., baseball coach); and (4) a department-established number of years of required service. In most units visited there could also be found some officer(s) whose selection was mandated by: (1) pressure placed by a high-ranking department official, or (2) performance on a test which qualified an officer for assignment to any departmental opening in a given rank.

The selection process typically involves the review of an officer's application by the commander of the juvenile unit, a review of the officer's documented work history, and consultation with several of the applicant's prior supervisors. Minor variations exist: in Tucson, a three-person panel of supervisory officers reviews the application and interviews the candidate. In Topeka, the applicant undergoes an assessment by a psychiatrist. In Arlington, the aspiring juvenile officer is interviewed and evaluated by existing juvenile officers; the apparent ability of the individual to work with the other officers is particularly important. The members of this unit are equally likely to look into a candidate's reputation among juveniles who live in the officer's assigned work area.

According to a working paper on Delinquency Prevention, "criminal justice personnel who have respect for the juveniles that come into contact with them will have a greater chance of being respected."⁶ Interviews on-site lead staff to believe that such individuals are sought by unit heads. Whether they are being selected, or whether respect towards juveniles bears any relation to rehabilitation, remain unknown.

Training. Most juvenile officers learn on-the-job. Specialized training occurs when there is a fortuitous combination of support from a chief or juvenile unit head, available departmental resources or outside funding, and a desire for training in a specific area among unit officers. The nature and extent of formalized training given officers varies greatly from department to department, and within any unit. A review of the personnel records in Greensboro indicated that its unit officers had not received any structured juvenile-related training within the department. Training outside the department included university-sponsored crime-specific seminars, general courses in delinquency, and attendance at national conferences or conventions. No two officers in the unit had a similar training background, and there seemed to be no systematic approach to offering training to officers. In contrast, juvenile officers in Washington receive a five-day course at the police academy which focuses on regulations, special orders and paperwork. Unfortunately, a new officer did not always receive this course until months after placement in the unit.

Although some juvenile officers in some departments receive an eight week course from the Delinquency Control Institute of the University of Southern California or the University of Minnesota, such extensive training is atypical. Informal, on-the-job training is the principal training a juvenile officer receives. This generally consists of being introduced to

unit procedures by an experienced juvenile officer or supervisor in the unit, and being observed and monitored by the unit's commander until the commander gains confidence in the new juvenile officer's performance. Once confidence exists, degree of supervision and officer accountability depends upon the commander's style.

The information gained through site visits led to the conclusion that the survey response to the training question may have exaggerated the amount of training given juvenile officers (Chapter III).

Experience. There is no typical experiential profile of the juvenile officer. Officers in Greensboro, for example, are between 40 and 60 years of age (88% of the 14 juvenile officers), members of the department for longer than 15 years (80%), and in the unit for more than 6 years (60%). In contrast, most juvenile officers in Torrance are between 20 and 40 years of age (71% of the 7 juvenile officers), members of the department for less than 15 years (85%), and in the unit for less than 5 years (85%). In neither unit did any pattern of pre-juvenile unit police experience emerge; juvenile officers came to each unit with very different work histories.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to evaluate the role experience plays in acquiring or sharpening diagnostic skills. An individual's ability to profit from experience is particularistic, by definition. From an assessment perspective, a unit which depends upon experience as the primary method by which juvenile officers are expected to acquire these skills is leaving a great deal to chance.

According to an in-depth study of one juvenile justice system, undertaken by Cicourel, most police officers developed their own theories about the delinquency of particular individuals, groups, and communities, and made

their own decisions on the basis of how closely an individual "fitted" into the categories established.⁷ Staff visits to juvenile units confirmed the fact that officers held theories about delinquents and their needs, but that theories varied by individual, unit, and jurisdiction.

Supervision. Officer direction and supervision varies across juvenile units as it does across departments. In Greensboro, for example, the captain in charge of the juvenile unit is actively involved in every case: assigning cases, inspecting reports, and reviewing officers' decisions. Officer performance is evaluated every six months according to a highly structured evaluation format. In contrast, the sergeant in charge of the juvenile unit in Washington, D. C., routinely signs off on cases the officers present to him as "closed" on their books.

Accepting the variability of supervisory styles, the impression was left that most supervision given juvenile officers is not oriented to inculcate skills needed to either identify juveniles in need of assistance or to diagnose the nature of the juvenile's problem. In light of this observation, the ABA/IJA's recommendation for the periodic evaluation of police juvenile operations is particularly important.⁸

3. Know Available Treatment Alternatives. According to IACP, specialized police-juvenile operations should seek treatment alternatives to the referral of juvenile offenders to court.⁹ Little direct information exists, however, about whether juvenile officers have information about treatment alternatives in their city or county. Indirect information can be pieced together in a variety of ways, however, to conclude that most units consult with only a few groups on a regular basis. First, only 60% of the survey respondents answered a question which asked them to list the community agencies which receive juvenile referrals.

Second, interviews with juvenile officers indicated that most officers made almost all referrals to one or two treatment alternatives. This is appropriate for units which rely on diagnostic agencies which coordinate referrals to treatment agencies. In Lincoln, the Youth Services System (YSS) plays this role. The South Bay Diversion Programs plays the equivalent role for the Torrance unit. For most units, however, the agencies referred to were not diagnostic services. Third, units visited either did not have handbooks containing the names of potential referral agencies or had handbooks which appeared never to have been read.

4. Select the Appropriate Treatment Alternative. Data does not exist on an officer's ability to select the appropriate treatment alternative for a given juvenile. The quantitative data which this study generated from two units, however, does indicate that the major decision of the juvenile officers in these units is between whether to refer the juvenile to court or home. Case dispositions in Greensboro and Torrance are presented in Table 15.

Table 15. Case Dispositions, Greensboro and Torrance, 1976-77

Disposition	Site	
	Greensboro	Torrance
Court	39.8%	30.6%
Home	40.7%	58.9%
Community-Based Program	19.4%	10.5%
TOTALS	(N=108)	(N=201)

According to Table 15, the majority of the juveniles screened in Torrance are released to a parent or guardian and sent home (N=201), while approximately one-third are petitioned to court. Only ten percent of the cases are referred to a community-based program, primarily to a diversion program which screens each juvenile and makes an appropriate placement. In Greensboro, although an equal percentage of cases are sent home and to court by the juvenile officers, almost 20% of the cases receive an alternative disposition, the principal one being psychological counseling for the juvenile and family.

Some evidence exists that for these two units, two factors consistently influence case dispositions. According to Tables 16 and 17, seriousness of the offense* and prior arrest history of the juvenile, respectively, are related to having the case sent to court.

As shown on Table 16, larcenies in both Greensboro and Torrance are more likely to be sent home than are burglaries, although the likelihood of this occurring in Torrance is much greater than in Greensboro (71.7% vs. 47.1%, respectively). Burglaries in both cities are likely to be referred to court (64.3% and 48.7%, respectively.) Referrals to community-based programs are more frequently made in Greensboro (19.6%) than in Torrance (11.0%) for larcenies, although the percentages for burglaries are relatively similar (7.1% vs. 11.8%, respectively).

According to Table 17, prior record is also related to case disposition. In Greensboro, for example, 60.0% of the juveniles without any prior arrest record were sent home; this contrasts with 60.0% of the juveniles with one or more prior arrests which are petitioned to court. Although absolute numbers are smaller for juveniles with a prior arrest record in Torrance, the trend seems to be for the "no-priors" to be sent

*Larceny and burglary cases were selected for analysis because of their large numbers at both sites.

TABLE 16: Charge and Disposition, Greensboro and Torrance, 1976-77

<u>Disposition</u>	<u>Site and Charge</u>			
	<u>Greensboro</u>		<u>Torrance</u>	
	<u>Larceny</u>	<u>Burglary</u>	<u>Larceny</u>	<u>Burglary</u>
Court	33.3%	64.3%	17.3%	48.7%
Home	41.7%	28.3%	71.7%	39.5%
Community-Based Program	19.6% (N=51)	7.1% (N=14)	11.0% (N=76)	11.8% (N=64)

TABLE 17: Prior Record and Disposition, Greensboro and Torrance, 1976

<u>Disposition</u>	<u>Site and Prior Record</u>			
	<u>Greensboro</u>		<u>Torrance</u>	
	<u>None</u>	<u>One +</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>One +</u>
Court	20.0%	60.0%	10.8%	61.5%
Home	60.0%	20.0%	78.5%	30.8%
Community-Based Program	20.0% (N=55)	20.0% (N=40)	10.7% (N=65)	7.6% (N=13)

home (78.5%) and "priors" to be sent to court (61.5%).

Although most of the available literature on diversion and referral speculates upon police referral decisions, Klein has undertaken several empirical studies which look at officer diversion practices. In one study, department orders instructed officers to use referral agencies whenever possible with the beginning offender.¹⁰ An examination of records indicated that two-thirds of all referred cases were first offenders. Klein also found that while referrals to community agencies have increased significantly over the past five years, they remain relatively low. Without the infusion of federal and state funds, he believes, referral rates would recede to an earlier low level. Unfortunately, the data gathered in the course of this study cannot shed any light on these findings.

5. Provide Direct Services. The "direct services" which the units visited provided for juveniles were attempts by juvenile officers to take a middleground between court and home release. These programs allowed an officer to (1) retain some control over the juvenile, (2) impose a negative sanction, and (3) provide restitution to the community. Programs ranged from a one-officer probation program developed in Onondaga County without any written policies or guidelines, to a highly structured Limited Adjustment Program operated by the Baltimore juvenile unit with goals, policies, eligibility criteria, and program components written and defined. The Lincoln "program," one of the less formal ones, imposed sanctions on the juvenile of community service, restitution to the victim, and book reviews and essays.

Providing services was not necessarily related to police lack of confidence in community-based agencies. Skepticism of these agencies existed in most departments. The existence of these programs runs counter

to the recommendations of several groups which agree that police officers should not provide their own rehabilitative services to the juvenile. Olson and Shepard recommend that law enforcement officers not engage in the practice of informal probation, casework supervision, on-going counseling or recreational administration.¹¹ This sentiment is also echoed in the IJA/ABA standards project recommendations, in which the authors state that police should not attempt to initiate their own deterrence or treatment programs.¹² Kobetz excludes rehabilitation from the juvenile unit's function, but views many of the prevention programs as important police-community relations efforts.¹³

Label Avoidance

Any discussion of the assumptions which underly the goal of label avoidance must begin with an overview of labeling "theory." As previously noted, labeling theory shifts the focus of interest and research from the alleged offender to the process by which an individual is defined as deviant. This process is viewed as being harmful to both the self-concept and future behavior of the labeled individual. When viewed from the labeling perspective, the juvenile justice system, with all intentions of helping, is unintentionally harming the juvenile by: (1) convincing the juvenile of deviant status, which affects self-concept; and (2) stigmatizing the juvenile, which affects future behavior.

The diversion of delinquents is an implied policy of the labeling approach, and was advocated by the 1967 President's Commission. Much of the empirical research of the 1960's was based on labeling theory, and focused on the differential application of the delinquent label by agents of the juvenile justice system. An assumption of most of these studies was

that middle-class values were being applied by officials of the juvenile justice system to the behavior of groups with different values. Although the findings of many of these studies are woven throughout the following discussion, the following conclusion was reached by the Task Force to Develop Standards and Goals for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, in their working paper, Preventing Delinquency: "There does not exist a strong empirical literature which has tested the major assertions of labeling theory."¹⁴

1. Concern About Negative Consequences

Juvenile officers are concerned about "keeping the kid from getting a record." Since an arrest has been made by the time many juvenile officers receive a case, their concern lies with the possible application of the delinquent label the court can apply. To a large extent, their concern has little substance and may be most useful for "scare purposes." The deterrent power of the court rests largely with the threat of court action. Most juvenile officers know that a large percentage of cases they petition to the court are not heard by a judge, but are disposed of informally by intake workers. National statistics for 1974 reveal that only 53% of the delinquency cases handled by juvenile courts were handled judicially.¹⁵

The concern of the juvenile officer about helping the juvenile avoid a record is based more on ideas about the inappropriateness and inadequacy of the judicial system than about its potential negative consequences. First, officers believe that many cases they handle would never have reached even the point of an arrest when they were juveniles. They cite the

destruction of neighborhoods, the decline of the stable family, and the community's growing dependence on formal legal action as major causes for police arrests and prosecutions of juveniles who are guilty of relatively harmless "juvenile" behavior (e.g., destroying property through spray painting). Two studies of factors influencing the police disposition of juvenile offenders support this point indirectly. Hohenstein concluded on the basis of an analysis of 504 cases disposed of by police that attitude of the victim is one of the three most important factors in determining the police disposition; where victims made statements to the police that they were against prosecution, offenders were "remediated" in 96% of the cases (i.e., no arrest). The victim's attitude, in fact, was a more powerful determinant than seriousness of offense.¹⁶ Black and Reiss, exploring the situational aspects of policing juveniles in three large cities, also found that the imposition of an arrest sanction represents the preferences of complainants, among other variables.¹⁷

Second, many juvenile officers believe that there is little the court is able to do for the juvenile that can and should not be attempted at the police level. One exception to this belief concerns the "hardened" juvenile, who is a community menace and "juvenile" only through an arbitrary age definition established by the state. The 15 year old robber of "mom and pop" shops in Washington, D.C., with a long record of petty theft, is not a "juvenile" to officers. The second exception is found in jurisdictions in which municipal and state services are available to the juvenile only through court referral. This situation exists in Duluth, where the juvenile court is the only institution empowered to purchase services. Because payment

for most public services is contingent upon an order of the juvenile court, signed by the judge, eligibility criteria established by many agencies screen out the police referral. In this case, not petitioning to court, as Cicourel points out in The Social Organization of the Court, can result in a juvenile not receiving needed services.¹⁸

2. Identify Inappropriate Court Cases. There is no indication that juvenile officers can or attempt to identify those juveniles for whom petitioning to court will be a negative experience. Data from Greensboro and Torrance indicate that legal and social variables are used by juvenile officers for their decision to petition a case to court, rather than a concern for consequences for the juvenile. When juvenile officers in Greensboro and Torrance were questioned about the factors which were most important in the disposition of recently closed cases, the same factors were mentioned most frequently in both places:

- seriousness of the offense
- prior record of the juvenile
- the juvenile's attitude about the offense
- parental attitude about the offense
- ability of the parent to communicate with and control the juvenile in the future

Each of these factors was mentioned in the sites visited. Other factors mentioned with less frequency were preference of the complainant regarding case disposition and opinions about the juvenile by professionals who have dealt with him/her previously. These findings are relatively compatible with several empirical studies on the use of police discretion

(by patrol) in the arrest decision. Data to support the importance of the variables of seriousness of offense, prior record, and demeanor at time of arrest in police decisions are abundant in the empirical literature. ¹⁹

Both juvenile officers and patrol use similar variables in decision-making. The juvenile officer's additional attention to family-related variables, however, probably results from work-related differences; the case conference, with the juvenile and parents present, is an important decision-making tool for the juvenile officer. The "demeanor" variable takes on a different meaning for the juvenile and arresting officers. For the latter, an opinion of the juvenile's demeanor (respect to officer, contrition for offense) is formed at the scene of the incident; for the former, it is formed post-incident, in the presence of the juvenile's parents, after the emotions of the incident have settled.

Although the variables mentioned above are used to reach a disposition, it appears that (1) they are not applied in a particular order, and that (2) one variable is not more important than another. Rather, the entire constellation of variables is applied to each situation. Because of minimal documentation of attitudinal data, the use of easy-to-objectify data from case file statistics can give misleading results.

In order to have another indication of uniformity of dispositions among officers in a unit, each juvenile officer in Greensboro and Torrance was asked to respond to a series of questions based on two hypothetical cases. While numbers of respondents were small, the responses themselves reveal some uniformity in expected case dispositions. The hypothetical cases correspond to typical incidents uncovered in the case files reviewed in each site. The hypothetical cases were as follows:

Greensboro

Larceny. A twelve year old black male was arrested for shoplifting some articles valued at \$5.00. The juvenile had no previous arrest record and was cooperative with the patrol officer at the time of arrest. At the case conference with the juvenile officer the juvenile admitted committing the offense. His mother indicated that she has problems handling her son.

Burglary. A fourteen year old white male was arrested by patrol for breaking and entering a residence; it was his second arrest for breaking and entering. The youth has previously been referred to a counseling program. At the case conference with the juvenile officer the youth admitted committing the offense (denied to the patrol officer); his parents were concerned and indicated that they will punish their son.

Torrance

Larceny. Two white females, thirteen and fourteen years old, were apprehended in the parking lot of a department store by a security guard. The security guard had observed #1 suspect place various articles of cosmetics in her pocket, while #2 suspect had engaged the salesgirl in conversation. Both subjects exited the store without paying for said articles. Suspects were turned over to patrol with the appropriate paperwork completed by the security officer. Upon a review of both juvenile records, it was found that neither had any prior record.

Burglary. During the hours of 0800 and 1300 a residential burglary was committed. One white male, fourteen years old, was apprehended by a patrol officer two blocks from the scene. The suspect was found with various articles of jewelry in his possession valued at approximately \$100. Suspect was found to have one prior arrest for petty larceny within the last year. Juvenile was cooperative when questioned by patrol and detectives and furnished officers with all necessary information.

Although Greensboro and Torrance varied somewhat in the range of possible dispositions a juvenile officer might impose (e.g., restitution was included in Greensboro only, referral to a diversion program, in Torrance), in each site (1) juvenile officers in the unit were more likely to be in agreement on the disposition for the offense of larceny than for that of burglary, and (2) the disposition for the larceny offense was more likely to be of a less coercive nature than the disposition for the burglary offense. *

Cases considered most appropriate for court are those in which the police feel that they have "failed" on previous occasions to "turn the kid around." Since it is the informal policy of juvenile units to give the juvenile several "chances" before petitioning a case to court -- release to home with a warning, police probation, suggested participation in community-based program -- officers who petition a case to court want some negative sanctions applied to the juvenile. In short, it appears from staff experience that the decision to send a case to court, as Klein found in his study of diversion from court, is based more on police judgements and motives than on identifying juveniles who should avoid court labeling.

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3. Minimize System Penetration. Data generated by reviewing closed case records in Greensboro (N=197) and Torrance (N=201) suggest that, in these two units, an attempt is made to minimize penetration of some juveniles in the system. In Greensboro, approximately 40% of those juveniles taken into custody were petitioned to court; in Torrance, approximately 30% were petitioned to court.

* In Greensboro, eight of the ten responding juvenile officers chose release to home as the likely disposition for the larceny case; five of seven selected court referral for the burglary case. In Torrance, all five respondent juvenile officers selected "counsel and release" as the likely disposition for the larceny case - these officers were split four ways, however, on the disposition in the burglary case.

Statistics generated in Greensboro and Torrance also indicate that seriousness of crime, prior arrest record and age of offender each correlate with sending a case to court (Tables 18, 19, and 20).

The data displayed on Table 18 indicate that older juveniles are more likely to be referred to court than are younger juveniles. In Greensboro, where the unit only handles juveniles below the age of 16, approximately 50% of the 13-15 year age group is sent to court, while the respective figure for the 9-12 year old is 19%. A similar percentage of juveniles in both age groups are referred to community programs. In Torrance, where the unit handles juveniles up to the age of 18, the trend again is for cases sent to court to consist of the older juveniles: 42% of the 16-17 year olds are sent to court, while only 12.5% of the 9-12 year olds are sent there. At least half of the juveniles in each age group, however, are sent home.

Does the relationship between age, prior record and disposition explain the relationship observed for charge and disposition? Are larcenies in Torrance and Greensboro likely to be committed by the younger juveniles without a prior record? * According to Table 19, older juveniles charged with larcenies go to court with greater frequency than do younger juveniles. In Greensboro, only 21.2% of the 9-12 year olds are petitioned to court by the juvenile officers, while the corresponding figure for 13-15 year olds is 40.6%. In Torrance, 32.6% of the 16-17 year olds are petitioned to court, as compared with 7.1% of the 9-12 year olds and 8.9% of the 13-15 year olds.

* Only larceny cases existed in large enough numbers in the case file sample to explore.

Table 18. Age and Disposition, Greensboro and Torrance, 1976-77

<u>Disposition</u>	<u>Site and Age</u>				
	<u>Greensboro</u>		<u>Torrance</u>		
	9-12	13-15	9-12	13-15	16-17
Court	19.4%	49.2%	12.5%	23.7%	42.2%
Home	58.1%	30.5%	62.5%	63.3%	50.0%
Community-Based Program	22.6% (N=31)	20.3% (N=59)	25.0% (N=24)	12.8% (N=109)	7.8% (N=90)

Table 19. Age and Disposition, Larceny Offenses, Greensboro and Torrance, 1976-77

<u>Disposition</u>	<u>Site and Age</u>				
	<u>Greensboro</u>		<u>Torrance</u>		
	9-12	13-15	9-12	13-15	16-17
Court	21.2%	40.6%	7.1%	8.9%	32.6%
Home	52.6%	43.8%	85.7%	77.6%	58.7%
Community-Based Program	26.3% (N=19)	15.6% (N=32)	7.1% (N=14)	13.4% (N=67)	8.7% (N=46)

Table 20. Prior Arrest Record and Disposition, Larceny Offenses, Greensboro and Torrance, 1976-77

<u>Disposition</u>	<u>Site and Prior Record</u>			
	<u>Greensboro</u>		<u>Torrance</u>	
	None	One+	None	One+
Court	13.3%	66.7%	9.1%	60.0%
Home	66.7%	13.3%	80.0%	40.0%
Community-Based Program	20.0% (N=30)	20.0% (N=15)	10.9% (N=55)	-- (N=5)

Having a prior arrest history also appears related to going to court on a larceny complaint.* According to Table 20, 66.7% of the juveniles in Greensboro who do not have a prior record are sent home; only 13.3% with one prior arrest are sent home. The Torrance data indicate that (1) the juvenile against whom a larceny complaint has been levied is likely not to have a record (55 out of 60), and that (2) 80% of the juveniles without a record are sent home, in contrast to 40% with one or more arrests who are sent home.

By looking within the offense of larceny a more refined understanding of variables important to case disposition takes shape. Although larcenies are less likely to go to court than burglaries, the larcenest who does go to court is likely to be older and with a prior arrest record. The statistical picture for the disposition of the burglary charge reveals a similar pattern to that of larceny. Although numbers are small (N=14, Greensboro; N=14, Torrance), the juvenile sent to court for the offense of burglary in both sites is likely to be the older juvenile with a prior arrest record.

These data indicate that these two departments seem to be following the standards for diversion from court established by the Task Force. The Task Force recommends that the referral of delinquents to court by police should be limited to serious delinquent or criminal acts or repeat offenders.²¹

Although Greensboro and Torrance appear to attempt to minimize the juvenile's penetration of the system, this philosophy cannot and does not exist nationwide. Since the juvenile court in Topeka, for example, has indicated its desire to screen all cases taken into custody by the police, the unit has shifted its philosophy from rehabilitation to law enforcement; approximately 85% of all cases handled by the unit, according to one juvenile officer, are currently petitioned to court. In Duluth, as previously noted, the facts that

* Data on the variables of race, sex of offender, and value of property taken were too limited to present.

(a) most public services are available only through court referral, and that
(b) the court attempts to handle the juvenile as a dependent child, rather than a delinquent, result in almost all police cases being sent to court. Unfortunately no information exists which looks at screening patterns across one or more systems, to determine whether, despite police and state philosophy, the same percentage of juveniles reach the court hearing stage.

According to Klein, post-arrest decisions made by police vary considerably across juvenile units.²² In a study of 49 police agencies in Los Angeles County it was found that the decision to divert from court ranged from 2% in one department to 82% in another. The author was unable to explain the variation by city size, population, police department size, crime rate or arrestee characteristics. Most standard-setting bodies agree that formal policy guidelines for basing disposition decisions should exist,²³ although they presently do not. James Q. Wilson has pointed out an important advantage of the juvenile officer over patrol; if police (patrol) cannot decide whether to invoke the law, they (juvenile officers) at least can decide how to intervene.²⁴ The extent to which the juvenile officer's decision maintains police bias, however, has been questioned by Klein.²⁵

In one particularly interesting study, Klein found that cohorts of offenders referred to agencies by the police received more treatment than comparable groups for whom petitions were filed.²⁶ This latter group was typically released at intake without treatment or given informal probation. Klein concluded that treatment outside the system may be more coercive than treatment within the system (i.e., court action). He and others also found that control over juveniles is being extended to a larger and less seriously involved sector of the juvenile population.²⁷ He concluded that referred youngsters, rather

than being diverted from the justice system, are more commonly drawn from those ordinarily released without further action. Unfortunately, our study did not gather data on the "widening of the net" phenomenon.

System Coordination

1. In Contact With Other Justice Agencies.

The extent and nature of contact between police juvenile officers and other juvenile justice agencies (i.e., courts, corrections, probation, welfare) is department-specific. Only two generalizations based on site visits are appropriate:

- units are in contact with a limited number of justice agencies
- units have little or no contact with correctional agencies

Examples from units visited illustrate the extent to which the nature and degree of contact varies.

Lincoln. A close personal relationship exists between the officers of the Youth Aid Bureau in Lincoln, and the intake staff. This can be explained, in part, by the following: (1) the unit is located in the building housing the court; (2) two juvenile officers are responsible for all screening activities (e.g., intake referrals); and (3) the juvenile unit screens all juveniles who are under 16 years of age.

Torrance. A representative of both the court intake staff and a community-based diversion/referral agency are physically stationed in the juvenile unit. Every case a juvenile officer wants to petition to juvenile court is sent to the Intercept Officer for evaluation before a petition is

filed. Every case which is not petitioned to court or sent home, which meets the eligibility criteria of the South Bay Diversion Project, is referred to that staff representative for review before a final disposition is made.

Washington, D.C. The juvenile officers in the district stations are not in contact with any system agencies, since officer discretion is limited to two dispositions, home or court.

Contra Costa County. The officers in this unit, as in Washington, D.C., have no contact with other agencies. This situation, however, is a direct result of antipathy between unit officers and a lenient judge. Under a strict interpretation of a statute requiring the court intake unit to take responsibility for all juvenile detainees, the unit has totally stopped screening cases. All juvenile arrests result in an immediate call to intake, which then sends a mobile unit to pick up the juvenile.

Where formal relationships exist between the unit and other agencies, they take varied forms. Greensboro has a juvenile justice coordinating council in which the head of the juvenile unit is very active. In Lincoln, a weekly meeting is sponsored by the judge to assemble representatives from all of the local youth-serving agencies. This meeting is regularly attended by a representative of the juvenile unit. In Duluth, the prosecuting attorney talks with the head of the unit every afternoon.

None of the units visited had a close relationship with the juvenile court judge beyond an occasional meeting of a juvenile justice coordinating council. This may stem from the fact that unit officers -- and other officers -- are seldom called to testify in a case. Most juveniles enter a statement admitting delinquency, negating the need for an adversary procedure which would require the police to testify to support the state's burden of proof.

For this reason, the unit officer probably interacts less frequently with the judge than with any other actor in the justice system.

2. Awareness of How Agencies Work.

The extent to which juvenile officers are aware of the manner in which juvenile justice agencies work together depends upon: (1) the extent to which the agencies do operate as a system; and (2) the type of feedback mechanisms which exist to keep the officers aware.

A. "System" Operations.

The manner in which a judge influences system actions, and the extent to which the judge's philosophy, policies and procedures impact on the other system agencies, varies considerably across sites. Although hard data is lacking, several of the courts visited on-site functioned in a coordinated manner because of a common denominator: a powerful judge. Through the exercise of the judge's authority, intake and prosecution learned which cases the judge thought were too trivial to be heard in court, and which juveniles the judge thought should have a particular type of sanction imposed. In Tucson, for example, a new judge decided to limit the number of juveniles being sent to state facilities. Although the former judge had sent approximately 380 juveniles in a recent year to state facilities, during the first four months of the new calendar year, the new judge sent only eleven juveniles to state facilities. In Topeka, one outspoken judge minimized police screening discretion by insisting that the unit forward reports of all juvenile incidents to the intake unit of the court, including those cases not referred to court. This had the effect of curtailing the use of police discretion and, supposedly, brought uniformity of treatment to the youth of the city through his tight control over intake.

In jurisdictions where the judge, by choice or design, took a less active role in dictating policy, other factors come to the fore. In Multnomah County, for example, the assistant prosecuting attorney took an aggressive role in determining which cases should appear before the court and his advice was followed by the judge. The power of the prosecuting attorney in Washington, D.C., derived primarily from the diffusion of power among criminal court judges who rotated through both the adult and juvenile courts.

Although the intake unit of the court also plays an important role, its power is rarely distinct from that of the presiding judge.

B. Case Knowledge.

Units have varied ways of learning about which cases the court or community agencies want to see. In Torrance, as we have pointed out, a diversion program staff member maintains a desk within the unit. This diversion program worker, who is available several days a week, is used as an immediate resource when the police want to screen cases out of the system. The worker also provides feedback to the police on the success or failure of juveniles they have referred to outside agencies. Torrance also provides office space for a probation officer who gives the unit immediate feedback on the likelihood that a particular case will be accepted for prosecution. In Lincoln, the screening officer within the unit has daily contact with the director of the local youth service bureau, the community's diversion program. Through their informal communication, the police are able to refer the appropriate juvenile and monitor the juvenile's success. In another city, the prosecuting attorney assigns one of his assistants to work with the police, monitoring the course

of the investigation and advising the police on the prosecution's need for specific evidence to make the case.

An extensive feedback system exists in Duluth, where the unit is in informal but regular contact with several system components. One member of the intake unit has daily contact with the head of the unit on every case that reaches intake. The lieutenant in charge of the unit receives daily visits from the prosecuting attorney in charge of the juvenile court. Discussion centers not only on cases before the court, but also on how the unit is handling its current open cases. A third feedback component at this site involves reports emanating from a Children's Service Division's caseworker placed in the juvenile court. Copies of this caseworker's report of judicial actions are routinely sent to the unit, intake and probation. Given all of these systems, it was concluded that misunderstandings still exist between the unit and different system components about the nature of the cases each component wants to receive and the cases each component wants to send to the other.

Most units do not obtain complete or timely information on the disposition of a case which is referred to court. A review of most unit files indicates the last entry to be the police disposition. Reasons why this occurs are unit-specific. In Lincoln, the court is supposed to routinely notify the unit of each case disposition -- while this is accomplished, the notification is sent to central records. In Onondaga County, the same situation occurs although there may be a six month lapse between court case disposition and police department notification. In Washington, D.C., no formal case feedback mechanism existed until recently, when the department assigned a police officer to gather disposition statistics. The statistics are aggregate numbers for each precinct, however, so that the specific disposition of individual cases is still unknown to the unit.

It should be noted, parenthetically, that little case feedback is received from the unit by patrol or detectives. In some cases this leads arresting or investigating officers to dissociate their respective functions from that of the juvenile officers. An attitude of "I do my job, you do your job" results once the case is passed to the unit. In some cases, the lack of feedback causes confusion about which decisions are made by the juvenile officer and which are made by the court. The juvenile officer, then, is attributed with responsibility and blame for court actions which non-juvenile officers find unsatisfactory.

3. Work Cooperatively With System Components.

Multiple and overlapping screening layers exist in many jurisdictions. Although the existence of a police juvenile unit does not guarantee overlapping screening layers, the unit's existence increases the likelihood for this to occur. This layering effect can work as follows: the juvenile officer performs an initial screening of all juveniles accused of a crime. The purpose is to eliminate those cases from the system that can be handled informally, by either a parent, the police, or a community-based program. The juvenile who is taken into custody for the first time is usually released by the juvenile unit with a warning. A second or third offense may result in participation in a police program, a community referral, or a referral to the intake unit.

Intake's purpose in screening cases is also to eliminate those that should not appear before a judge. Police and intake are likely to apply some of the same criteria -- seriousness of the offense, prior juvenile arrest record, family intra-relationships, and juvenile and family attitudes towards the offense. The intake unit, however, may have no prior record of their own on the juvenile; the fact that the juvenile may have had several police contacts may have little effect on their judgment. Intake may then

react in exactly the same way that the police juvenile unit had on the first occasion. They treat the juvenile as a "first-timer," with informal probation or with outright release to parents. It is only after the juvenile fails to respond to the treatment alternative, or is referred to intake on another complaint, that intake sends the case along to the prosecutor and judge.

The prosecuting attorney also rejects cases. Although the prosecutor must be concerned with questions of legal sufficiency, interviews led to the conclusion that the more typical concerns focused on office policies on handling specific types of cases in specific ways, and personal problems which forced the prosecution to prioritize cases handled. The case folder which arrives in front of the judge may receive the judge's quick review and a last attempt to eliminate a percentage of the cases from reaching the formal court hearing stage.

The result of this layering effect is a paring process at each successive adjudicatory stage, which challenges the decision-making of all previous stages. A police juvenile unit that refers only forty percent of all its cases on to the intake unit of the court might see the intake unit eliminate sixty percent of those cases, and the prosecutor another forty percent. If the judge follows the same procedure, the final number of all juvenile cases that appear before a judge for a formal hearing is miniscule, compared to the original number of complaints.

Where the overlap occurs, juvenile officers disagree with the process. In their opinion, they have eliminated the juveniles from the system who should have been eliminated. They feel that other actors in the system needlessly redo their work, and fail to meet their obligation to deal more harshly with those juveniles the police have pinpointed as being a serious community problem.

A Department Without a Unit

Juveniles in Multnomah County are not screened in the manner described in this chapter. There are only three decisions in the case available to the arresting officer: (1) release the juvenile without any formal action; (2) release to parents, but refer to court for formal action; or (3) take into custody and transport to the detention facility, awaiting formal court action.

A decision is always made on-the-spot, at the time when the juvenile is under direct suspicion of having committed a crime. In direct contrast with the juvenile officers in departments with a unit, the arresting officers in Multnomah made the screening decision, and made it quickly. In more than 1/2 of the 25 cases debriefed on-site, the officer admitted that he knew what his disposition would be before the preliminary investigation was complete.

As far as the police officer is concerned, the information needed to screen most cases is elementary, and can be gained almost instantaneously. What this officer does is primarily a preliminary investigation; the officer discusses the case with the suspect to find out whether the suspect admits or denies the alleged deviant behavior; the officer speaks to those individuals present at the scene to see if they can make any firm determination about the seriousness of the offense and the strength of the case; the officer will inquire into the juvenile's background -- with whom are they living? How long have they been in the Portland area? In most cases the officer will ask a juvenile about a past arrest record, while a simultaneous radio check is being made; a comparison of these two sources is used by the officer as an indication of the trustworthiness of the youth. By the time the records check has been run, the officer has probably made up his mind about the disposition. The formal case conference which occurs in most juvenile units is seldom held.

A parent is never consulted with the idea of obtaining information that would affect the officer's decision; although a talk with a parent may influence the officer's decision of whether to place a youth in a detention facility pending court action. Officers seldom speak with other officers (one out of 25 cases) or other juvenile justice system personnel (one out of 25). Staff observations and case debriefings suggest that 90% of all case dispositions are arrived at in a matter of three to four minutes.

Officers were questioned on the likely disposition in two hypothetical cases, as was the case for Greensboro and Torrance. The hypotheticals were as follows:

Larceny. Two white females, thirteen and fourteen years old, were apprehended in the parking lot of a department store by a security guard. The security guard had observed #1 suspect place various articles of cosmetics in her pocket, while #2 suspect had engaged the salesgirl in conversation. Both subjects exited the store without paying for said articles. Suspects were turned over to patrol with the appropriate paperwork completed by the security officer. Upon a review of both juvenile records, it was found that neither had any prior record.

Burglary. During the hours of 0800 and 1300 a residential burglary was committed. One white male, fourteen years old, was apprehended by a patrol officer two blocks from the scene. The suspect was found with various articles of jewelry in his possession valued at approximately \$100. Suspect was found to have one prior arrest for petty larceny within the last year. Juvenile was cooperative when questioned by patrol and detectives and furnished officers with all necessary information.

Contrasting with findings in Greensboro and Torrance, officers in Multnomah were not likely to be in greater agreement on the disposition of the larceny case than they were on the burglary case, although in all three sites the

disposition for burglary was more likely to be of a coercive nature.*

There are no agencies or groups in Multnomah County that take referrals from the Sheriff's Office. The court's intake staff ultimately decide on the wisdom of detention, formal court action, referral to a social service agency or program, probation, or release to home with no further action.

The police have few options for handling a juvenile case, and little guidance on what criteria to use in reaching a disposition. In the 25 cases debriefed, the overwhelmingly important criterion was severity of offense. Other frequently considered factors were, in rank order of importance, the suspect's demeanor at time of police contact, prior arrest record, age, and strength of evidence. In short, the most important factors used in reaching a disposition were those that could be instantly gleaned at the scene of the incident.

Officers estimated that approximately 65% to 75% of the suspects were referred to court. Of the 25 debriefed cases, 16 cases, or 64% resulted in court referral. Only very minor problems -- simple assaults between young children where there was no injury, neighborhood disturbances -- warranted less serious treatment than court referral. A suspect caught taking anything of value (in several cases observed the property was worth less than \$1.00) was arrested and referred to court. Several officers stated that if there were a complainant, the officers would proceed against the suspect regardless of other considerations. According to statements made, officers do not see themselves as social agents; their job is to proceed against suspects, to act on complaints, and to protect the community. This attitude is reinforced by a formal court intake system which the team officers

* Eight of the eleven responding officers in Multnomah said they would counsel and release the juvenile in the larceny case, while three of the eleven would refer the juvenile to court without detention. In contrast, seven of the eleven officers would select detention and court as the disposition for the burglary offense while four would release to home.

feel no compulsion to support. Both police and intake feel that the juvenile is not stigmatized (i.e., labeled) unless a formal court petition is filed.

In all cases observed and debriefed, the disposition decision was made by the team officer without any supervisory review. Although a system exists whereby the duty sergeant is supposed to review each decision, in reality, an officer's decision was not questioned.

Conclusions

Although the preceding discussion reviewed the three potential goals of the screening function as mutually exclusive, in many instances some of the same data was used when discussing each goal. The conclusions listed below, for efficiency of presentation, omit the goal classifications and summarize staff impressions and the objective data gathered during the case studies:

- o The ability of juvenile officers to diagnose juvenile needs and make appropriate treatment referrals is not insured by either selection procedures, training requirements or case supervision.
- o Whether or not a coercive sanction is imposed on a juvenile is only partially based on rehabilitation or labeling concerns. The factors generally used include the perceived seriousness of the offense, the prior arrest record of the juvenile, the attitude of the juvenile and the juvenile's parents to the incident, and the ability of the parents to communicate with the juvenile and control the future behavior of the juvenile.
- o The most frequently used dispositional alternatives are "home" and "court" (case studies).
- o Juvenile officers are familiar and in contact with a small number of juvenile justice agencies.
- o The nature and extent to which juvenile officers provide direct services to juveniles varies by site.
- o The attempt to minimize system penetration for the alleged juvenile offender varies by site.

- Uniformity in case dispositions among officers in a given site may exist only for some types of offenses and offenders.
- Juvenile officers are not optimistic about the ability of the court to deal adequately with the juvenile.
- The operation of juvenile justice agencies as a "system" is site-specific. Where a system does not exist, multiple and overlapping screening layers frequently result.
- Whether or not the juvenile unit receives feedback on cases petitioned to court or referred to a community agency is site-specific. However, the arresting patrol officer in most sites is unlikely to receive either police or court disposition information.

Are the goals of screening being achieved? The answer is generally "no" to each of the goals. This response, however, may have less to do with the ability of the juvenile officer than with the nature of the juvenile justice "system." It is our impression that the "will" for goal achievement is there. In many places, however, a system does not operate, so that the "way" has not yet been found.

The three goals of rehabilitation, label avoidance and system coordination can be achieved only (1) where the goals are similarly defined by all juvenile justice agencies, and (2) where an operational system exists. In short, they are difficult goals to implement or evaluate when focusing only on the police level of operations.

Notes Chapter V

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Chapter VI

The Program Operation Function

This chapter, like the two preceding it, presents information on the program operation function performed by juvenile officers. An attempt is made to assess whether the juvenile unit is successful in accomplishing program goals by:

- identifying the goals and underlying assumptions of the programs
- displaying the components of the program operation function
- synthesizing qualitative data gathered from departments visited
- reviewing the literature which already addresses the topic

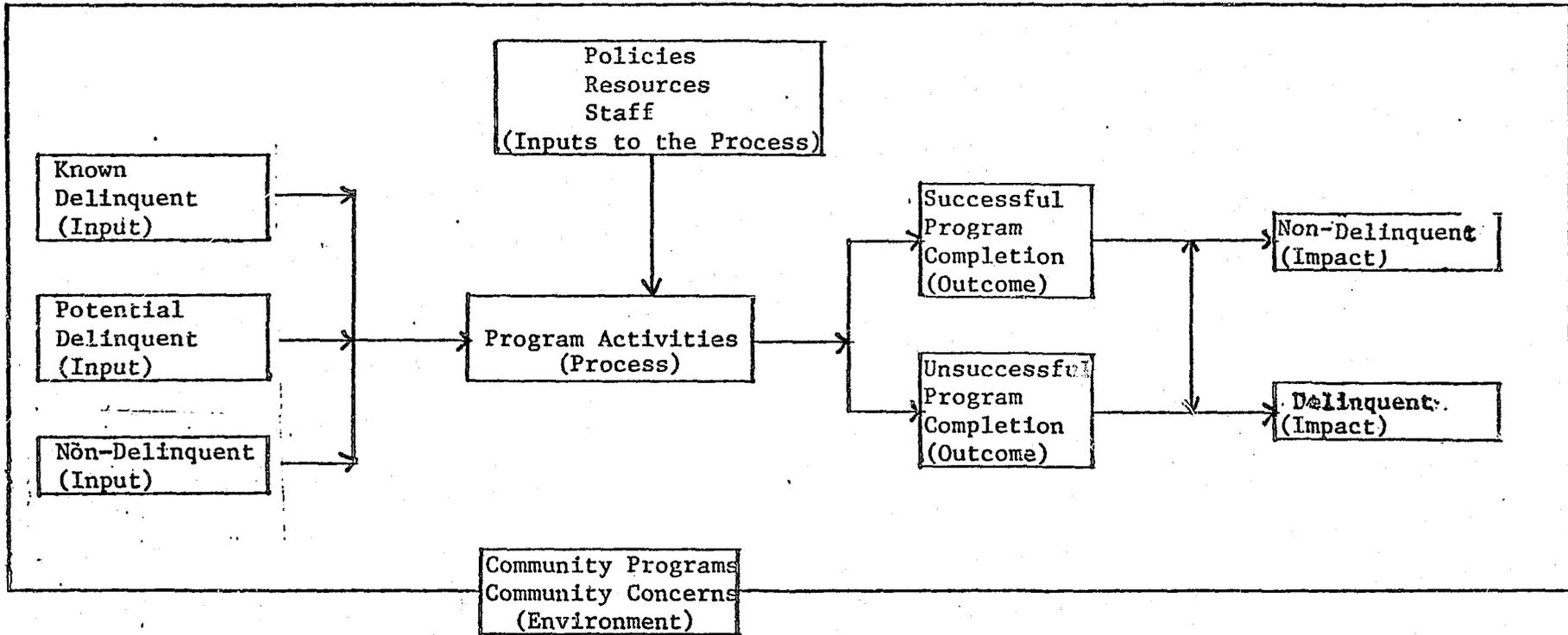
This discussion of the program operation function is considerably briefer than those of the preceding chapters because the wide range of programs made intensive study of this area unfeasible within the time frame of this study. Consequently, more staff time was devoted to understanding the screening and investigation functions.

Flow Model of the Program Operation Process

Police departments have taken the initiative to provide juveniles with programs designed (1) to prevent juvenile delinquency, and (2) to rehabilitate the suspected youthful offender. Prevention programs are usually ambitious enough to offer participation to any interested juvenile. Rehabilitation programs, in contrast, usually restrict eligibility to those juveniles who have been taken into custody.

The flow diagram in Figure 5 is general enough to be useful in delineating the major components of most prevention and rehabilitation

FIGURE 5: Flow Model for the Program Operation Function



programs. The diagram focuses on program activities (process), the juveniles who participate in the program (input), completion of the program by these juveniles (outcome), the hoped for long-range effects of the program (impact), and variables which directly affect program activities (inputs to the process) and those in the larger community (environment).

According to Figure 5, a program will be working with juveniles who are known to have committed deviant behavior, considered potential delinquents, or considered not likely to become involved in delinquent activities. Juveniles in each group can participate in a prevention program (e.g., mini-bikes in Lincoln), although police do target their resources to the potential law violators, as perceived by police officers, school officials, or social service workers. Juveniles who participate in rehabilitation programs (e.g., police probation in Onondaga) have been taken into custody by the police for a specific offense and referred to the program as the case disposition.

The immediate successful outcome of any program is its completion by the juvenile. For the police probation program in Lincoln this might mean an essay on shoplifting; for the Limited Adjustment Program in Baltimore this could mean the juvenile's performing a part-time job. For both rehabilitation programs, however, a halt to the juvenile's delinquent behavior is one of the primary, longer range objectives (impact). Inputs to the process will vary according to each program. For the athletic team, it might be community contributed resources; for the school program, it might be school policies and teacher supports. The larger environment of community programs and community concerns should be taken into account when assessing the role a particular police program plays in the community, such as its potential competition with other agencies for juvenile participants.

1. Prevention Programs

Most police prevention programs are school or community-based. The following programs are the typical ones operated by police departments.

A. School Programs

School Resource Officers. In a number of cities, officers of the juvenile unit are assigned to specific schools in a resource capacity. At the high school and junior high school levels, the officer acts as an educational aid to the teachers, conducting periodic classes on safety, law enforcement and drug education. The SRO also is available to help teachers deal with unruly or disruptive students, advising on strategies to deal with the troublesome student. This officer is in personal contact with both problem and non-problem juveniles and is able to anticipate and minimize problems that are likely to occur. At the grade school level, this officer is known as Officer Friendly, spending a great deal of time introducing the police function to youth. The officers in this program are probably spending less than full-time in any given school, but may be rotating among several schools.

School Patrol Officers. Unlike the School Resource Officer, the School Patrol Officer is directly concerned with maintaining order within the school. This program seems to have originated in schools that suffered from classroom disruption and vandalism and consequently felt the need to augment their own disciplinary staff. The unit officer monitors the halls and grounds, aids teachers directly when there are classroom problems and is available to help maintain order at school dismissal times. In this program, the officer is less directly involved in teaching or counselling activities, and more involved in enforcing laws applicable to the school setting.*

*This function is often played by school security officers who are employees of the school district, not sworn officers from the police department.

B. Community Programs

Athletic Leagues. The theory behind the police athletic program rests on the belief that vigorous activity is important for juveniles who have spare hours but insufficient interests or opportunities to expend their energies constructively. A juvenile whose spare time is constructively occupied, the thinking goes, has less to become involved in destructive activity. In addition, athletic leagues also give juveniles the opportunity to participate, to compete and to achieve. One of the most traditional and popular police programs is the Police Athletic League. Through the League, the police sponsor and organize athletic teams, provide coaching, solicit community participation by obtaining donations for uniforms and trophies, recruit participants, develop schedules and secure playing facilities allowing local juveniles to compete in numerous team and individual sports. Programs include baseball, football, basketball and soccer leagues as well as competition in swimming, wrestling, boxing and gymnastics.

In most cases the leagues are organized by officers from the juvenile unit. Many departments which cannot sustain their own PAL program become involved in local youth athletics through the unit's sponsorship of teams in the community, such as the Little League, or Pop Warner League. The funds for this endeavor are frequently raised directly from the officers within the department, on a voluntary basis, or from the community. Non-juvenile officers may volunteer to serve as team coaches.

Youth Centers. Youth Centers serve as community clubs where juveniles can congregate in the evenings. In Washington, D.C., for example, the police department has 10 police Youth Clubs which are open from three in the afternoon until nine-thirty at night. The clubs are operated by the unit but are financed through contributions from the community and a grant from a local charity. Each club is manned by two officers from the juvenile unit whose permanent assignment is to operate the club and monitor club activities. The

activities vary from basketball to movies, depending upon the adequacy of manpower, facilities, and budget. Departments which do not have the resources to develop local community centers sponsor more traditional community programs, such as boy scouts or motor bike clubs.

Summer Camp. A large number of units or departments operate summer camps for local juveniles. With the assistance of non-juvenile officers, the unit sends groups of what are considered disadvantaged juveniles to a rural camp for a short period of time (e.g., one or two weeks). This gives the youth the opportunity to experience an alternative living situation and environment, and the chance for a close, personal relationship with a police officer.

2. Rehabilitation Programs

Police rehabilitation programs typically place a juvenile on probation to the juvenile officer handling the case. The formality of these programs vary, as does the extent to which all juvenile officers participate in each program. For example, a police probation program was developed, and is predominantly used, by one juvenile officer in Onondaga County. The program consists of this officer's decision to request that any alleged juvenile offender meet with him regularly for counseling, or to perform a specified activity, such as community or victim assistance. Program policies, eligibility criteria, and program activities (i.e., conditions of probation) are left largely to the discretion of this officer. In contrast, a larger counseling/referral/employment program such as Baltimore's Limited Adjustment Program is formalized in its goals, procedures and approach, institutionalized within the unit, and known throughout the department and city.

Goals and Assumptions of Program Operation: Prevention

The remainder of this chapter deals with prevention programs operated by police juvenile units. The reader is referred to Chapter V for a discussion of

Goal: to prevent juvenile delinquency

Assumptions:

1. Identify pre-delinquents and potential status offenders
2. Know which prevention efforts exist
3. Informally direct a pre-delinquent toward a prevention program
4. Provide a prevention effort, when appropriate

An important distinction exists between the goals of prevention and rehabilitation. The term prevention indicates those program attempts by a juvenile unit to keep unlawful behavior from occurring. The term rehabilitation indicates those programs which attempt to restore a delinquent to lawful behavior. The significant difference between the two concepts is that rehabilitation pertains to the arrested juvenile against whom evidence of illegal behavior exists, while prevention pertains to the juvenile who has not yet been alleged delinquent.

Two caveats are important in attempting to apply the flow model, goals and assumptions to every prevention program. First, all programs do not operate with all assumptions. For example, a bicycle registration program cannot hope to identify pre-delinquents prior to program implementation. Second, many programs have secondary goals (e.g., community relations) which may be as important as the more typical "success" goals (e.g., lower recidivism).

A variety of approaches to delinquency prevention have been implemented by police juvenile units. The activities and programs which comprise these approaches qualify as preventive only so far as they are labelled as such by police officers. No empirical data was generated by staff on the effect-

iveness of police prevention programs. The discussion of underlying assumptions, then, should be read in relation to questions which have been asked about the effectiveness of prevention programs, in general, and the role of police in operating prevention programs, in specific.

It is questionable whether prevention programs operated by police -- or any other group -- do, in fact, prevent crimes by juveniles. A recent literature search by Lundman, McFarland and Scarpitti unearthed 6500 prevention programs operated between 1936 and 1973.¹ The researchers concluded that none of the 25 programs which provided sufficient data for an evaluation actually prevented delinquency. Another study, by Dixon and Wright, focused on prevention programs providing services to youth between 1965 and 1974.² From a listing of 6600 programs, the authors limited their concern to 95 programs with empirically-based information. Of the 95 programs, only 50 were found to have conducted a rigorous evaluation (e.g., used control groups). When the 95 programs were reevaluated by the researchers they failed to show significant results in effectiveness. It should be highlighted that not one of these 95 programs was initiated or operated by police.

It is also questionable whether delinquency prevention, through any means other than law enforcement techniques, should be part of the police role. IACP, for example, has stated that while police should provide leadership in the formation of needed youth-serving organizations they "should encourage non-police leaders to take over and carry on the activities rather than expending official department time and funds;"³ they have also stated that police officers with an interest in Boy Scouts, Little League sports, Boys' Clubs and similar recreational and athletic programs "should be encouraged to participate in these activities - but on their own off-duty time the same as other responsible citizens."⁴ One might speculate

that this line of reasoning would attach to any activities or programs which were not directly related to law enforcement although it is uncertain whether, or which, school-related programs would then be deemed inappropriate for juvenile officers.

The remainder of this chapter discusses the information gathered from field visits on prevention programs, relating it to the assumptions underlying the prevention goal.

1. Identify Pre-Delinquents and Potential Status Offenders. If police ever made mental distinctions between "the good kid" and the pre-delinquent, the line between these two groups is becoming fuzzy. Although juvenile officers can identify the characteristics of those juveniles within their district, city or county with whom they have more contact than others,⁵ officer cynicism about the nature and stability of today's family, what is and is not going on in the schools, and the general condition of society frequently makes them hesitant to second-guess the type of juvenile with whom they will come into official contact.

The target group for participation in prevention programs is usually the entire universe of juveniles within the given police district, city, or county. This is true for the police programs which are an obligation for juveniles (e.g., school seminars on crime-related topics) as well as for those programs which are more voluntary in attendance (e.g., athletic clubs). In both of these "open" types of programs, the non-delinquent, potential delinquent, and previously labeled delinquent participate with equality and anonymity. To a large extent, this minimizes the need for theories of delinquency causation which are specific to categories of offenders.

Programs which screen juveniles for eligibility seem, from observation, to be both time-limited and highly restrictive in the number of youth they can serve (e.g., summer camp program in Lincoln.) Juveniles selected for community-based programs are identified by police through previous contact, and by teachers, clergy and other professionals in contact with juveniles and their families. Eligibility criteria seem to be no more restrictive than having been referred to the program by a responsible adult.

Data are generally not gathered by juvenile officers on the prior record of program participants, making it impossible to assess the proportion of pre-delinquents among the program's participants. In some cases, the collection of such data would be unnecessarily time consuming (e.g., 20,000 participants in Washington, D.C., youth clubs). For the most part, the police are not concerned with restricting a juvenile's access to programs which they feel are in the general interest of the community.

2. Know About Existing Prevention Efforts.*

3. Direct a Youth Toward an Alternative. To a large extent, many of the conclusions reached in the discussion of the rehabilitation goals' assumptions (Chapter V) are appropriate here: many juvenile officers are neither selected nor trained nor supervised in diagnosis, and have little contact with other prevention efforts in the community. Because the pre-delinquent has not been formally charged with a delinquent act or a status offense, juvenile officers

*Assumptions (2) and (3) are discussed together.

have less authority when requesting that a juvenile participate in a prevention program than was the case for participation in a rehabilitation program; in the latter case, program participation was the equivalent of the police "sentence." There is no data on whether or not the threat of an arrest and a formal charge is used by juvenile officers to "encourage" some juveniles to participate in prevention programs, or on whether the police know about existing community prevention efforts..

4. Provide a Needed Prevention Effort. Most of the literature on prevention programs is descriptive, rather than evaluative. A program's success is typically defined by police as the number of participants in a program or the number of juveniles waiting to participate in a program. As in the case of rehabilitation programs, the literature does not focus on prevention programs operated by police.

As a concept, prevention is more easily defined than operationalized. According to the Task Force working papers Preventing Delinquency: "Work in the field of prevention has, too often, proceeded according to whim or wish rather than from information."⁵ On the basis of this position, the Task Force reviewed five major theories of delinquency from which policy -- and eventually prevention programs -- could be implied: social control theories (i.e., which link delinquency to a breakdown in adequate social controls); subcultural theories (i.e., which link delinquency to delinquent subcultures); psychological theories (i.e., which link delinquency to processes occurring within the individual); biological theories (i.e., which link delinquency to biological constitution); and labeling theory (i.e., which links delinquency with the negative effects of identifying a juvenile as delinquent). Only some of these theories (e.g., social control, labeling) had direct implications for police activities.

Police prevention programs, from staff experience, do operate on the basis of theory: school programs for the elementary level schools (e.g., Officer Friendly), attempt to develop a positive attitude in children toward the police officer as an individual and towards the need for obeying the law. The theory goes that knowledge and a positive attitude will lead to positive behavior. Programs in the junior and senior high schools attempt to do much the same, with the same theoretical rationale, but utilize non-uniformed officers to minimize the teenager's likely problem with authority figures.

Most community-based programs (e.g., recreation, summer camp, clubs) are justified by juvenile officers on the merits of: (1) involving youth in constructive activity; (2) filling the time the juveniles might otherwise spend in delinquent activity; (3) providing informal contact between juveniles and police; and (4) involving juveniles in activities in which they can achieve. These rationales are based largely on social control, subcultural and psychological theories of delinquency. Implied in many statements by juvenile officers is the belief that these programs also are good for community relations, and indicate a social consciousness on the part of police.

Police juvenile officers do feel that their prevention programs serve the aforementioned purposes. But they also seem to agree that there is no way to measure "prevention." This opinion may give them license to operate programs which cater to the interests of the police officer, satisfy community expectations, stabilize or expand a power base within the department, or continue tradition. The Chief of Police in Lincoln, for example, stated that the summer camp program may be better for the officers than for the juveniles. The Youth Clubs in Washington are an institution in themselves, with success indicated by a card box of 20,000 "active" members. The School Resource Officer in Tucson is expected to play an educational role

in one school and to scare juveniles out of criminal tendencies in another. An interest in boxing held by the head of the juvenile unit in Topeka will probably involve his officers with the officers in another police unit which traditionally sponsors programs for juveniles.

Several arguments have been made in the literature about the inappropriateness of the operation of prevention programs by police officers. Discussion by Bittner and Krantz in Standards Relating to Police Handling of Juvenile Problems summarizes most of the questions raised:⁶ whether schools should allow themselves to be used by a police department for public relations purposes; whether police manpower should be diverted from the police law enforcement function; whether school authorities should allow children to be under surveillance, interviewed and interrogated within the school setting; whether schools should encourage the visibility of police when they do not know how this influences the behavior of the youth. Most of these concerns, according to the authors, have not yet been addressed by police departments.

Opposition to police operated community-based programs, which is discussed in the literature is based on several arguments: (1) all officers do not have the special training and skills needed to work with youth; (2) although programs exist, there is usually a lack of sufficient department commitment to the program in terms of resources and manpower; (3) juveniles who have not displayed delinquent tendencies are usually the ones that are attracted to these programs; (4) expending public funds by two governmental agencies (the recreation department and the police department) to carry out similar programs is not sound; and (5) when police personnel operate a recreation program, they shirk their more appropriate role of law enforcement.

Lacking empirical data, it is not possible to evaluate the merit of any of the arguments advanced for or against the operation of prevention programs. At the moment, the philosophy, interest and resources of a department, unit or officer are of more concern to a department than tested effectiveness.

Conclusions

Little in the way of evaluation has been done with police prevention programs. To some degree, this is related to the real difficulties in measuring prevention; to some degree, this is related to the fact that many prevention programs are community relations programs in disguise. For the most part, however, little evaluation of program operations occurs because the police are not oriented to research and evaluation, and place their limited resources in patrol-related statistics.

An interesting parallel can be drawn between the earliest use of police officers as police probation officers (Chapter II) because of a lack of other available resources, and the operation of prevention programs by the police in an area in which little is known by the community about preventing delinquency. If the parallel is appropriate, it says more about the fluid nature of the police role, than about expectations for program success.

Notes Chapter VI

1. Richard J. Lundman, Paul T. McFarland and Frank R. Scarpitti, "Delinquency Prevention and Assessment of Projects in the Professional Literature," Crime and Delinquency, July 1976.
2. Michael C. Dixon and William E. Wright, "Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Programs, Report on the Findings of an Evaluation of the Literature," Nashville, Tennessee: The John F. Kennedy Center for Research on Education and History Development, October 1974.
3. Richard W. Kobetz, The Police Role and Juvenile Delinquency, Gaithersburg, Md; International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1971, p.136.
4. Ibid., p. 137.
5. National Task Force to Develop Standards and Goals for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Preventing Delinquency, Washington, D.C.: National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, LEAA, January 1977.
6. Egon Bittner and Sheldon Krantz, Standards Relating to Police Handling of Juvenile Problems, Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, LEAA, March 1976 (draft).

Chapter VII

Implications for Research and Analysis

Responses to the mail survey (Chapter II) suggest that most city and county police departments servicing populations of over 100,000 currently operate juvenile units. Telephone interviews and field visits, concentrated in departments serving jurisdictions of from 100,000 to 500,000, revealed that most units perform one or more of three functions --- investigation, screening, and program operation --- through which the units attempt to achieve several primary goals.* The preceding chapters also show that little empirical data exist to validate the operating assumptions which underly these goals, making it difficult to make definitive statements about goal achievement.

It is our conclusion that a national evaluation of the operation of police juvenile units which might gather more empirical data in an attempt to answer the question, "Should there be a police juvenile unit?" is unwarranted. This conclusion is grounded in several reasons which have a negative cumulative impact. First, the organization of a police department to handle juveniles is a local matter. Because the juvenile unit does nothing which cannot be handled elsewhere in the department or justice system, whether or not to have a unit, and what duties to assign to it, is an administrative decision for each police chief which involves a host of local

*Although juvenile officers perform a myriad of additional activities, ranging from addressing community groups to investigating child abuse handling missing person calls and transporting juveniles from detention to court, most of the tasks which consume the officers' time can be subsumed as part of the investigation, screening or program operation processes.

department and system variables. Whether the unit, in fact, does accomplish the operational and administrative goals set for it by the department entails a management study which asks questions that a national evaluation is not suited to answer. Second, the more important questions in policing juveniles deal with the efficacy of the functions themselves (e.g., the productivity of investigations, the uniformity of screening, the effectiveness of prevention programs), rather than with which police unit performs these functions. Third, it is our impression, from telephone interviews and field visits, that current trends in policing -- team policing, departmental decentralization, the generalist officer -- are undermining the role and autonomy of the juvenile unit. These trends are responses to intra-organizational concerns (such as officer morale, arrest productivity, upward mobility) and would probably not be influenced by data resulting from a national evaluation of juvenile units. Fourth, the reality of juvenile unit operations is that many units currently have to compete for cases with other departmental divisions. For example, units which investigate reported delinquent behavior frequently have jurisdiction over the non-serious offender, while the felony case is assigned to the criminal investigations division. As juvenile offenders become increasingly responsible for the more serious crimes in an area, a situation that already exists in the nation's largest cities, and is a trend in the medium-size cities, we would speculate that the criminal investigations division will investigate even more of these cases. Fifth, legislative trends previously referred to are further limiting unit jurisdiction. Although the influence is indirect, legislation which removes status offenders from the jurisdiction of the juvenile court, or mandates that certain groups of juvenile offenders, by

CONTINUED

2 OF 4

virtue of their offense and age, be handled by the courts as adults, are decreasing the unit's "business." Rather than investigating these cases, or counseling both juvenile and parent(s), juvenile officers would either ignore the occurrence (e.g., runaway, incorrigible) or transport the juvenile to an agency with jurisdiction. Sixth, and last, whether or not juvenile units can achieve their primary goals may be as, or more, dependent upon the workings of the other components of the juvenile justice system than upon any internal department changes which a national evaluation might suggest. The parens patriae concept behind the juvenile justice system is still favored for the non-serious offender, but the successful implementation of this concept depends upon the full cooperation of all system components. Any system change in philosophical orientation from labeling theory to deterrence theory may only influence the handling of the serious juvenile offender (in the direction of a greater number of juveniles being referred to adult criminal court). In summation, the current realities of juvenile crime, policing, legislation and theory lead to the conclusion that a national evaluation of police juvenile units at this time is unwarranted.

This does not mean, however, that existing juvenile units should not be monitored to determine whether, on the local level, they are operating efficiently or that research is not needed to fill some important gaps of information which have been identified throughout this document. The following sections (1) present one approach to unit monitoring which is derived from the functional framework used throughout this document, and (2) list additional areas of research that should receive priority attention in the future prior to formal unit impact evaluations.

Monitoring the Juvenile Unit's Activities

It is our conclusion that understanding what a unit and its officers are doing (through a monitoring design) is a necessary step which precedes assessing how well they are doing (through an evaluation design). Program monitoring is a management tool which does the following:¹

...provides current information on the implementation, operation and immediate output of a project while it is in progress. When any of these is judged inadequate, management can take corrective action to increase the chances that a project will satisfy ... objectives and goals.

The basis for monitoring is the description of the program or project. For example, the flow diagrams presented in Chapters IV and V, for the investigation and screening functions, respectively, display the inputs, outcomes and processes of these functions. Before any monitoring system can be implemented, there has to be a determination of what information is needed, a development of procedures to produce the type and quality information needed, and a means of assuring that the monitoring information is utilized.

Although much of this document discussed the primary goals and operating assumptions of juvenile units, it was with the caveats that not all units ascribe to each goal, that some of the goals were in conflict, and that goals could be operationalized differently, depending upon site-specific department, justice system and community factors. Under such circumstances it is impractical to select goals for all units, specify operational

objectives, or create a single evaluation design.

A more useful approach is to begin by asking units to answer two interrelated questions, which are a necessary first step to an evaluation and which can be answered even without full agreement on ultimate goals:

- what activities are the officers performing;
- what is the outcome of these activities.

Establishing department and unit goals which are relevant and feasible for a specific jurisdiction can be done either prior to, during, or following the monitoring process.

The discussion which follows presents one approach to answering these questions for the investigation and screening functions discussed in preceding chapters.* The approach follows the flow of cases through the unit, and focuses on how officers handle these cases. Both the activities and outcomes of officer activities are of concern.

Activities

Few juvenile unit officers document all of their activities. While officer activities vary from public speaking to interrogating juveniles, it is suggested that units attempt to (1) distinguish the major functions officers perform, (2) display the activities which comprise these functions, and (3) decide what information should be gathered on these activities.**

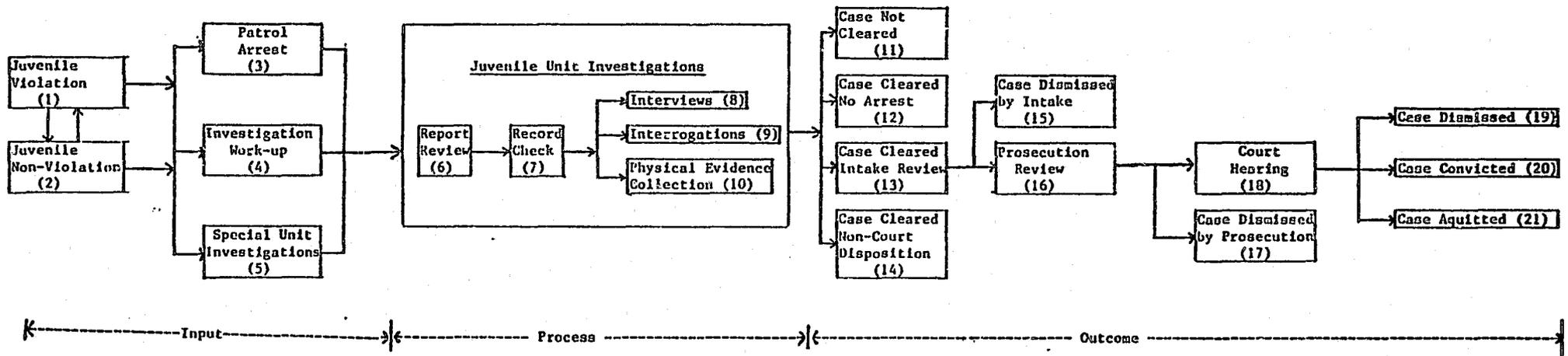
----- Based on the approach taken in this document, Figures 6 and 7 synthesize the investigations and screening processes are known by staff.***

* The reader may want to review the investigative and screening case flow models (p. 175 and p. 176, respectively).

** The approach taken is based on analyzing officer activities and outcome of the flow of cases, in contrast to measuring opinions, attitudes and perceptions of juvenile and non-juvenile officers, system actors, or the community, which are not grounded in or stem from juvenile officer case handling.

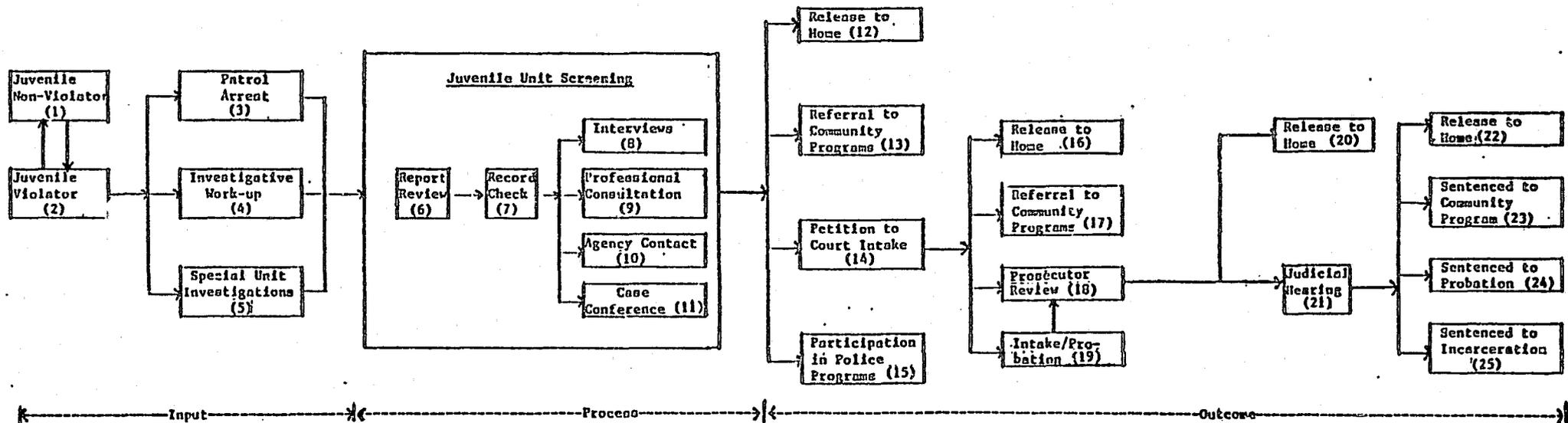
*** The measurement models display considerably more than the processes and outcomes of investigation and screening. The usefulness of the additional information will become clear as the discussion proceeds.

FIGURE 6. Measurement Model for Police Juvenile Unit Investigation Function



Key:
 — flow of juvenile cases
 [] states juvenile cases can be in and related measurement points

FIGURE 7. Measurement Model for Police Juvenile Unit Screening Function



Key:

— Flow of juvenile violators

▭ States juvenile violators can be in and related measurement points

These figures are more detailed than the flow diagrams presented in Chapters IV and V and are more appropriate for monitoring purposes. According to these figures, the investigation process (numbers 6 - 10 on Figure 6) includes the activities of report review, record check, interviews, interrogations, and physical evidence collection; the screening process (numbers 6 - 11 on Figure 7) includes the activities of report review, record check, interviews, professional consultation, agency contact and case conference. These diagrams are for illustrative purposes; each unit which attempts to gather information on the investigative, screening or any other activities of its officers should modify the figures presented to be most relevant to the needs of the unit. For example, the investigations diagram could be easily adapted to display the components of reported cases of child abuse by altering box (1) from juvenile to adult violation, and adding whatever additional investigative activities juvenile officers perform (e.g., agency contact) as well as any additional investigative outcomes.

Once the activities are outlined, decisions must be made about what the unit wants to know about the activities. For example, the unit may want to know several things about interviews undertaken in the course of investigating a case: the number of interviews; the relationship of the interviewee to the case (e.g., victim, witness); whether the information gained was additional, verifying, repeat or worthless information; the time taken to conduct the interviews. This same information may be desired for the interviews undertaken for the screening function, although the information gathered and the use to which the information is put will vary.

The information gathered on officer activities should have a clear purpose. In one unit the purpose might be to compare unit officers; that

is, to determine which officers are doing the more thorough case investigations. In another unit it may be to determine which interviews lead to new information, in an effort to more efficiently choose those interviewees with whom a great deal of time should be spent. In a third unit, information gathered on the investigative process will link investigative activities with investigative outcomes (e.g., to determine the amount of investigative effort which is put into cases which are not being cleared).

This approach is also appropriate for understanding the screening function. For example, a unit may want to know several things about the agency contacts an officer makes in the course of reaching a case disposition: the number of contacts made; the type of agencies contacted (e.g., drug addiction center, mental health clinic); the nature of the information solicited; the responsiveness of the agency contacted. Ultimately, this information might be used to determine the nature and extent of contact with different agencies, or the need to seek additional resource alternatives.

Outcomes

For each unit function, and component activities, there are several potential outcomes. The outcomes displayed on Figures 6 and 7 are, again, for illustrative purposes.

According to Figure 6, there are several stages and outcomes of the investigative process: case not cleared, case cleared without arrest, case cleared by arrest and sent to intake, and case cleared and disposed of without recourse to court. Those cases sent to intake may or may not reach the prosecutor for review, and those cases reaching the prosecutor may or may

not be heard before a judge and adjudicated.

Similar to the above discussion of "activities," the type of information to be gathered and the use to which the information is to be put should be decided upon simultaneously. For example, a unit may want to know its clearance record and will attempt to gather information on the number of cases not cleared, to be compared with the number of cases cleared. Or a unit may want to assess the relative effectiveness of sending different types of cases to court, and gather information on the number and types of cases sent to intake, those which reach the prosecutor, and those which are convicted by a judge. This kind of information can ultimately lead to unit decisions about the types of cases into which officers should put greater investigative effort.

The screening function (Figure 7) has its own set of possible outcomes: release to home, referral to community programs, petition to court, and participation in a police program. Beyond these outcomes we see that a petition to court intake can lead to several additional outcomes which return juveniles back to their homes, place them in community programs, send their cases to the prosecutor, or provide them with intake services (i.e., some form of probation). As the Figure shows, the case may or may not continue on to court, where several options (e.g., probation, institutionalization home) are open to the judge.

The most important question to ask, in terms of either of these functions, is whether the outcomes which result are the ones desired by the unit and the department. Our suggestions for particularly critical questions about the investigative and screening functions are as follows:

Investigations

1. Is the information gathered by juvenile officers needed to clear cases?
2. Is the information gathered by juvenile officers needed to prosecute cases?

Screening

1. Are similar cases disposed of similarly by all juvenile officers?
2. Do cases referred to court by juvenile officers reach the stage of a judicial hearing?

Questions which are goal-specific, such as whether case dispositions made by juvenile officers minimize system penetration for some offenders, are not addressed in this document, since they depend on whether or not a particular unit has such a goal.

On a more basic level, however, a unit may merely want to summarize case decisions made by its officers during the year (e.g., the number released to home, referred to community programs, etc.). To add more complexity to the assessment, the unit may want to determine whether different types of offenses (e.g., burglary, larceny) are likely to receive different dispositions (e.g., most burglary offenses are sent to court, most larcenies are sent home). Finally, the unit may want to determine how those cases it deems "serious" (that is, those sent to court) are disposed of by intake, the prosecutor, and the judge. This information may ultimately lead to unit policy decisions about case dispositions or attempts to work in closer contact with the court components.

Explanatory Variables

Gathering information on the processes and outcomes of case investigation and screening is the first step in learning how the unit and its officers operate. Trying to understand why the unit works as it does is

the second step, involving explanations which are unit- and department-specific.

Let us return to an investigative question inferred in the previous discussions: which cases petitioned to court are not heard by a judge. Once data which are gathered on those cases which are screened out of the system somewhere after being sent to intake, the important question is "why" this is occurring. Do intake workers assess the quality of investigative evidence in reaching their decisions and find such evidence lacking? Does the prosecutor have formal or informal policies which dictate office adjudicatory priorities and result in additional screening? Are these policies related to the evidentiary soundness of the case? In other words, the assessment of activities and outcomes does not end until the "why" question is answered.

The range of potential explanatory variables is wide, from those which are related to department policies (over which unit officers may have some control), to those which are related to community attitudes (over which unit officers may have little control). These variables are site-specific, and may include the following:

Investigations

Department Factors

- Department policies on jurisdiction, procedure
- Relations between juvenile and non-juvenile officers
- Available and accurate department records
- Time interval between an incident and juvenile unit involvement
- Quality of preliminary investigation by patrol or follow-up by investigators

Unit Factors

- Supervision of juvenile officers
- Caseloads of juvenile officers
- Juvenile officer attitude about the enforcement of a specific law
- Resources available for juvenile unit investigations

Juvenile Justice System Factors

- Knowledge of intake, prosecutor and judicial policies
- Directives from other juvenile justice system agents

Community Factors

- Tolerance for specific types of offenses
- Difficulties in investigating specific crimes or individuals

Screening

Department Factors

- Department policy and goals
- Information gathered by non-juvenile officers
- Opinions of or pressure from arresting officer

Unit Factors

- Nature of cases received
- Belief in effectiveness of community programs
- Informal disposition policies
- Individual officer biases

Juvenile Justice System Factors

- Court sentencing behavior
- Intake case disposition policy
- Prosecutor priorities
- Feedback from community referrals
- Feedback from court

Community Factors

- Existing community-based programs and alternatives (number, type, availability, accessibility)
- Existing spaces in secure detention facilities
- Reimbursement agreements for community and correctional placements
- Victim concerns

Using a Measurement Model

The above discussion has relied on Figures 6 and 7, which are measurement models of the investigation and screening processes. These measurement models attempt to accomplish three things: (1) to present a visual image of

the component processes of the investigation and screening functions; (2) to display the components with sufficient detail to allow a link-up between officer activities and case outcomes; and (3) to display the entire process in a manner which makes them conducive to measurement (in our case, for monitoring purposes). Although these models provide a relatively good fit for the questions listed above, it is assumed that an evaluator would re-structure each model to suit the specific questions of interest to a unit, and to display the specific components of a unit's activities.*

The models go beyond activities and outcomes of investigation and screening, and look at inputs into the process. The inputs have been added to both models merely to indicate that a range of intra-organizational questions can also be asked about juvenile officer activities in relation to the stage at which a case is received and the department division from which a case is received. Although potential long-range outcomes of investigative and screening activities could also be displayed (e.g., judicial memorandum on suggested police investigative practices such as needed parental signatures on Miranda waivers, or recidivism of the juveniles received different dispositions by police), it was felt that this would be warranted only for a larger evaluation endeavor and not needed in a monitoring design.

The information needed to answer the questions posed above can all be taken from these measurement models. The numbers in the boxes on Figures 6 and 7 correspond to points at which measurements can be taken;** which

* The construction of a measurement model is not critical to the monitoring process. Its construction should be omitted if such a model is more confusing than edifying.

** These numbers are arbitrary and are used for ease of display and discussion.

measurements should be taken correspond to those specific questions an evaluation wants to ask of the investigative and screening functions.

Measurement tables taken can be constructed to better organize the entire measurement process. Tables 21 and 22 have been partially completed to serve as a guide for the use of the measurement models. These tables serve, again, merely to visually organize the steps involved in selecting monitoring points, outlining the information desired, stating the desired comparisons (if any) and speculating on potential explanatory variables.

Several questions regarding the investigative process are being asked and answered in Table 21.* Question A asks about the investigative activities performed by unit officers. The first column on the table indicates that information on measurement point number six is requested; the second column notes that measurement point number six corresponds to the report review activity of juvenile officers. Column three specifies the type of information to be gathered about that activity. For example, the table indicates that for the report review activity, measurement point six, information is desired on the number of reports reviewed, the type of reports reviewed and the time spent reviewing reports.** The division from which a unit receives a case (the last column) may explain the number and type of reports reviewed, and time taken. If these same measures of interest are taken for measurement points seven, eight, nine and ten, the result is a distribution of all investigative activities of juvenile officers.

Question B focuses on information gathered by juvenile officers. As

* Many more could have been included in this table -- those that appear on the table are for illustrative purposes.

** Not every unit may want each of these items of information.

TABLE 21. Examples of Questions, Measurement Points, Activities and Measures of Interest in Monitoring the Investigative Function

QUESTION A: What investigative activities are the unit officers performing?

<u>Measurement Point</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Measures of Interest</u>	<u>Comparisons, If Desired</u>	<u>Potential Explanatory Variables</u>
6	Report Review	Number of Reports; Type of Reports; Time Spent Reviewing Reports.	---	Division from which case is received
7	Record Check	Number of Records Checked; Source Used; Time Spent on Records Check	---	Department Record Keeping System
8	Interviews	Number of Interviews Conducted; Subject of Interviews (witness, complainant); Time Spent on Interviews	---	Unit Resources
9	Interrogations	Number of Interrogations; Location; Parent Present; Time Spent	---	Department Policy; Department Forum
10	Physical Evidence Collection	Number; Nature of Information; Case Description	---	Unit Resources

QUESTION B: What information is gathered in the course of an investigation?

8	Interviews	Nature of Information (new, repeat, verifying); Type of information (suspect, crime scene, persons' actions)	---	Nature of Work by Non-juvenile Officers
9	Interrogations	Number per case; Location; Confession Given	---	Quality of Work by Non-juvenile Officers; court policies

QUESTION C: Does the information gathered lead to case prosecution?

11	Case Not Cleared	Number; Charge	---	---
12	Case Cleared, No Arrest	Number; Charge	---	---
13	Case Cleared, Intake Review	Number; Charge	---	Intake Review Policy
14	Case Cleared, Non-court Disposition	Number; Charge	Compare 11 with 12, 13, 14	Strength of Evidence; Prosecution Policy; Intake Review Policy
16	Prosecution Review	Number; Charge	---	---
18	Court Hearing	Number; Charge	Compare 13 with 16, 18	---

TABLE 22. Examples of Questions, Measurement Points, Activities and Measurements of Interest in Monitoring the Screening Function

QUESTION A: What screening activities are the unit officers performing?

<u>Measurement Point</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Measures of Interest</u>	<u>Comparisons, If Desired</u>	<u>Potential Explanatory Variables</u>
6	Report Review	Number of Reports; Type of Reports; Time Spent Reviewing Reports	---	Division from which case is received
7	Record Check	Number of Records Checked; Sources Used; Time Spent on Records Check	---	Department Record Keeping System
8	Interviews	Number of Interviews Conducted; Subject of Interviews (witness, complainant); Time Spent on Interviews	---	Unit Resources
9	Professional Consultation	Number of Professionals; Nature of Profession	---	Unit Resources
10	Agency Contact	Number, Type of Agency; Nature of Contact; Source of Knowledge re: Agency	---	Agencies Available
11	Case Conference	Number of Conferences; Individuals Present; Time Spent on Conference	---	---

QUESTION B: What distinguishes juveniles who are placed in police programs from those given another disposition?

12	Release to Home	Number; Charge; Prior Record; Age; Sex; Race; Family Stability; etc.	---	---
13	Referral to Community Programs	" "	---	Program Policy; Program Availability
14	Petition to Court Intake	" "	---	Court Policy
15	Participate in Police Programs	" "	Compare 15 with 14, 13, 12	Department Policy

it appears on Table 21, interview information is requested (measurement point eight), and it has been arbitrarily categorized into "new", "repeat" or "verifying" information, and again by topic (suspect, crime scene). The nature of the case work-up done by non-juvenile officers (patrol, investigators) is a potential explanatory variable for the type and nature of information gathered (or not gathered) by juvenile officers. These same measures of interest are indicated for measurement point nine, interrogation.

The information on the table under Question C indicates that comparisons between and among measurements are useful in responding to this question on case prosecution. According to the Table, both number and charge are requested for cases which are not cleared (11), cases which are cleared, but not by arrest (12), cases which are cleared by arrest and forwarded to intake (13), cases which are cleared but disposed of at the police level (14), cases sent by intake to the prosecutor for review (16), and cases sent by the prosecutor to a court hearing (18). The fourth column, labeled "Comparisons, If Desired," indicates two desired comparisons: (1) a comparison of uncleared cases (11) and uncleared cases (12, 13, 14); and (2) a comparison of cases sent by the unit to intake (13) with those cases that were seen by the prosecutor (16) and then by the judge (18). The first comparison indicates the juvenile officer's success in clearing cases; the second comparison, an indication of the "fall-out" rate of cases sent to the court by the unit. Some of the factors which might influence the process and outcome of investigations appear in the last (right hand) column of this table. Although these factors will always be specific to a given site, those listed were important in the units visited.

Table 22 presents some questions asked previously about the screening function. Question A asks about the screening activities performed by unit officers. The first column, as was the case with the investigation table indicates that information is requested on measurement points six through eleven, which on the measurement model (Figure 6) correspond to the following activities: report review, record check, interviews, professional consultation, agency contact, and case conference. The third column on Table 22 indicates what measures are of interest for each of these activities. The fourth column indicates that no comparisons among activity variables are of interest; the last column indicates some potential explanatory variables.

Question B on Table 22 entails a comparison of those cases placed in a police program (measurement point fifteen) with cases receiving all other possible police dispositions (release to home, referral to community program, petition to court intake). By comparing several of the variables on which information is desired (e.g., column three: charge, prior record of juvenile, age of juvenile, age of juvenile), an approximation of whether similar cases receive uniform treatment can eventually be made.

A Monitoring Design

It would be premature to detail a monitoring design gathering information on investigative and screening functions, without knowing the data needs of the unit or department. A very thorough design might call for the type of data referred to in the above discussion to be gathered on every case handled by the unit. A more practical approach to gathering such information would be to sample cases on either a periodic basis (e.g., a semi-annual review) or a continuing basis (e.g., a continuous

sampling of every nth case received by the unit).

Future Research

Although a national evaluation of police juvenile units is not suggested at this time, the data gathered during the course of this study illuminated several directions for future research. The remaining discussion outlines these areas and some of the important research questions.

The Value of Investigators

Prior research on the investigative process, supported by the data this study generated, raises several questions about whether, and to what extent, the resources and manpower spent for investigators -- including specialized juvenile investigators -- are productive and cost effective. Past research on the adult investigator has led to suggestions about a more diminished role for the investigator. Data from the two juvenile units researched in this study suggested that juvenile investigators add little new information to the cases reviewed. In fact, it was difficult to discern whether any of the information added to the case was necessary for case prosecution because a large number of cases diverted from a judicial hearing by the police, intake and prosecution is done for social, rather than legal, reasons. Few cases reach the point of being tested legally in court. The following three questions, focused on juvenile investigators, deserve research attention, although each question could be asked of any group of investigators:

- Are juvenile officers better able to investigate juvenile cases than are non-juvenile officers?
- Is the information gathered by the juvenile unit needed for clearing cases?
- Is the information gathered by the juvenile unit needed for case prosecution?

Based upon this study's two case studies, it is our research hypothesis that: (a) little new information is added by the juvenile unit to that already gathered by non-juvenile officers; (b) the clearing of most cases is not dependent upon information gathered by the juvenile unit; and, (c) the strength of the prosecutor's case is not dependent upon investigative activities of the juvenile unit. Rather, information gathered by the juvenile unit plays a small role in the decision to prosecute a case. Support for these hypotheses would have implications for department organization (e.g., division of labor among officers, resource allocation) and officer morale, self-esteem and productivity.

Uniformity of Case Disposition

The question of uniformity in case decision-making has been researched over two decades. The focus, however, has always been on the arrest decision. That decision, however, may be of less importance than the "final" police disposition made by the juvenile officer. Not only does the juvenile officer make the decision to refer a case to court, but this officer also decides on community referrals which, according to research previously commented upon, may be widening the net of juveniles coerced into "treatment."

The following question is suggested for future research:

- Are similar cases disposed of similarly by:
the arresting officer; the juvenile officer;
intake; prosecutor; and judge?
- Are police dispositions which refer juveniles to
community based programs widening the net of
juveniles receiving an imposed sanction?

It is our hypothesis that there is an identifiable group of offenses and offenders who are treated uniformly by the police, intake, prosecutor and judge, although the groups might differ for the system actors. We received some indication of this through the case study data presented in Chapter V (screening): there was more variability in the disposition of burglary cases among juvenile officers, than of larceny cases. It may be, for example,

that there is a core group of offenders and offenses upon which agreement can be reached by police about case disposition; cases not in this core will be less uniformly dealt with. Each system actor (e.g., intake, prosecutor) may define these "core" cases differently. Observations of police and intake screening activities revealed that these two system actors may be asking the same questions, using identical criteria, and selecting among similar options.

Information on uniformity in case decision-making will necessarily have implications for guidelines for the use of discretion at several decision-making points and for supervisory practices and mechanisms which hold legal agents accountable for their decision.

Although data was not gathered during the course of this study on the widening-of-the-net phenomenon, the literature reviewed, and police practices observed suggest a closer look into this question.

Overlapping Decision-making

By discovering the multiple points at which one case can be screened, and the overlapping functions and options which exist among system actors, it is clear that research on decision-making should extend beyond the police role. The following question is suggested for future research:

- What is the impact -- on the juvenile, the police, the system -- of juvenile officer activities and decisions which are duplicated by other agents of the juvenile justice system?

It is our hypothesis, based on data gathered for this study, that where little coordination of effort takes place among police, intake, prosecution and judge in their decision-making, repetition of activities and decisions at several system levels results. This repetition, rather than contributing to a checks-and-balances system, results in: (a) a loss of respect for the system by the juvenile, (b) the inefficient use of justice system resources, and (c) a disillusionment with the system by the police. According to

interviews with police officers, the juvenile continues to lose respect for the justice establishment as he or she continues to have contact with it. In addition, the police officer -- juvenile or non-juvenile officer -- who refers a juvenile to court, only to find the juvenile "out on the street before me", begins to lose respect for the system as well.

The final irony in an uncoordinated juvenile justice system may be that regardless of the number of duplications within any given system, a stable proportion of cases reaches the judge on a yearly basis. The natural policy implications which would flow from such research would be in the area of system coordination.

Impact of Labeling and Deterrence

It was difficult to gain a clear picture in the course of this study of the effects on the juvenile of minimizing system penetration or of using sanctions in a specific manner to deter delinquent behavior. Data from the two case studies suggest that juvenile officers invoke labeling theory for the less serious offenses and offenders they return home, and deterrence theory for those they petition to court. The impact of implementing each theory should be researched further:

- What are the effects -- on the juvenile, the police, the system -- of implementing either or both labeling and deterrence theory?

Research into this question should focus on both the anticipated and unanticipated consequences of implementing either theory.

Baseline Data

One thing was perfectly clear from this study: current record keeping practices must change if the community and nation are to understand the nature of the juvenile crime problem and the handling of the juveniles by the juvenile justice system. Data which currently groups descriptively

dissimilar offenses does a disservice to policy makers. So does a comparison and/or aggregation of offenses which are defined differently across jurisdictions. The fact that age of majority varies for 16 to 18 years across jurisdictions further complicates such comparisons.

Although this study did not attempt to systematically assess police record keeping techniques, several general observations have implications for future data gathering. For example, no information currently exists on the handling of juveniles on-the-street by patrol. Where a daily log is kept by patrol, an entry will not indicate whether an incident may have involved a juvenile. In addition, no information exists on the informal contact(s) a juvenile officer has with a juvenile and his or her family. The information which is included in case jackets, or which is summarized by a juvenile unit on a monthly basis at the request of the sheriff or chief of police, may be done so to satisfy minimal state reporting and funding requirements rather than for internal policy planning.

It is frequently difficult to tell from a system's record keeping system how, or how well, the system is functioning. First, differing data bases may be used in one system. In Onondaga County, for example, the police count juveniles and the court counts incidents; in Lincoln, the police use team policing sectors; their major referral point, the Youth Service System, uses the census tract; the schools use school districts. Second, the meaning of data categories is not always clear. In Washington, D.C., a case which is dismissed due to "lack of prosecutorial merit" means that the prosecutor's manpower shortage required that the office give this case low prosecutorial priority. Third, information does not flow back and forth through the system. Police records are incomplete regarding cases petitioned to court or referred to community agencies. In Lincoln, it may take six

months for central records to learn the disposition of a court case; this disposition may never reach the juvenile unit. Cases that are disposed of prior to a judicial hearing may have no entry in police files. Most juvenile units visited had case file information on police disposition only; even the outcomes of police-community referrals were not known.

Several implications for data gathering follow which might result in a more accurate picture of juvenile crime and the operation of the juvenile justice system:

- Descriptive information is needed on offenses for which juveniles are taken into custody, to give a more precise picture of the nature of juvenile offenses. This might result in the use of categorical distinctions which are more appropriate for disposition purposes.
- National data should be collected and analyzed according to offense, offender, and jurisdictional categories which would be more meaningful to policy or funding decisions on the local and national levels.
- Longitudinal information is needed which tracks juveniles through the entire justice process. This is the necessary first step to creating a justice "system", by analyzing necessary and unnecessary repetitions of activities and decisions.

Notes - Chapter VII

1. John D. Waller et al., Monitoring the Criminal Justice Planning Agencies, Washington, D.C.; US Government Printing Office, March 1975, p. 3.

Appendix A

Telephone Survey of Experts

Telephone Interview Guide, Survey of Experts

Person Contacted _____
Address: Office _____
Home _____

Telephone _____ Date of Interview _____ Time Began _____
Time Ended _____

- I. What are three or four of the most important issues in the area of police handling of juveniles which a national study should explore?
 - a. What impact does each issue have on the handling of juveniles by the police?
 - b. What impact does each issue have on the organizational structure of the police department?
 - c. From which groups does each issue receive support?
 - d. Is there any literature on these issues you feel merits our attention?

- II. What are important considerations to keep in mind when evaluating the effectiveness of a police department's handling of juveniles?
 - a. What constitutes "effectiveness?"
 - b. What might be some evidence of effectiveness?

- III. Do you know of any programs which we might study for our national evaluation?

Telephone Survey of Experts

Al Andrews
Chief, Peoria Police Department
Peoria, Illinois

Allen Bersin
Special Counsel, Board of Police
Commissioners
Los Angeles, California

Egon Bittner
Professor, Brandeis University
Waltham, Massachusetts

Richard Bongard
Lieutenant, Los Angeles Police
Department
Los Angeles, California

Lee Brown
Director, Multnomah County Division
of Public Safety
Portland, Oregon

Don Cawley
University Research Corporation
Chevy Chase, Maryland

Francis A. Daley
Captain, Youth Aid Division
New York Police Department
New York City, New York

Floyd Feeney
Director, Center on the Administration
of Justice, National Urban League
New York City, New York

T. Ferdinand
Professor, Department of Sociology
Northern Illinois University
DeKalb, Illinois

Arthur J. Foehrenbach
Director, Department of Youth Services
Dade County, Florida

Robin Ford
Director, Kane County Diagnostic Center
Geneva, Illinois

Lois Forer
Judge, Criminal Court
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Cappy Gagnon
Police Foundation
Washington, D.C.

Don Gibbons
Professor, Department of Sociology
Portland State University

Lee Burt Hawkins
Director of Public Safety Department
Lexington-Fayette County
Lexington, Kentucky

John Kirby
Detective, Liaison to Youth Unit
Kansas City Police Department
Kansas City, Missouri

Orman Ketcham
Judge, Superior Court of D.C.
Washington, D.C.

Richard Kobetz
International Association of Chiefs
of Police
Gaithersburg, Maryland

Soloman Kotrin
Social Science Research Institute
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, California

William Kolendar
Chief, San Diego Police Department
San Diego, California

David Larson
Juvenile Justice Supervisor
Anne Arundel Department of Justice
Services
Annapolis, Maryland

Roy McClaren
Chief, Arlington County Police Department
Arlington, Virginia

Survey of Experts (cont.)

Marge McGreevy
Research Analyst, Department for
Youth, Ronnelair County
Troy, New York

Walter Miller
Center for Criminal Justice
Harvard Law School
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Wilfred Nurenburger
Judge, Juvenile Court
Lincoln, Nebraska

James Parsons
Chief, Birmingham Police Department
Birmingham, Alabama

Alice Popkin
Professor, Antioch School of Law
Washington, D.C.

Dan Pursuit
Associate Director, Delinquency
Control Institute
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, California

Albert Reiss
Professor, Department of Sociology
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Peter Ronstadt
Captain, Tucson Police Department
Tucson, Arizona

Andrew Rutherford
Professor, Yale Law School
New Haven, Connecticut

Rosemary Sarri
Professor, University of
Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Lloyd Sealey
Professor, John Jay College of Criminal
Justice
New York City, New York

Gertrude Shimmel
Inspector, New York City Police
Department Youth Division
New York, New York

H.L. Singer
Major, Detective Bureau
Dade County Public Safety
Miami, Florida

Alex Swan
Chairman, Sociology and
Anthropology Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Terence Thornberry
Center for Studies in Criminology
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Charles Wellford
Office of Justice Policy and
Planning
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Jerry Wilson
Seaboard Securities
Washington, D.C.

Robert Woodson
Director, Administration of
Justice, National Urban League
New York, New York

James Zeman
Juvenile Defenders Office
Detroit, Michigan

Frank Zimring
Professor, Center for Studies
in Criminal Justice
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Appendix B

National Mail Survey Questionnaire

2.

Section II JUVENILE UNIT INFORMATION (to be answered by Departments with UNITS)

1. **Commanding Officer:**
 - (a) Name _____
 - (b) Rank _____
2. **To whom does Commanding Officer report?**
 - (a) Rank of Officer _____
 - (b) Division _____
3. **Year Unit was Established:** _____
4. **Reason(s) for Establishing Unit:**

5. **Unit Budget:**
 - (a) Current Amount \$ _____
 - (b) Over previous year, did budget:

Increase	_____
Decrease	_____
Same	_____
 - (c) If a change in budget, was it similar to rest of department?
 Yes _____ No _____
 If No, explain: _____

 - (d) **Receive LEAA funds:**

	<u>Currently</u>	<u>Previously</u>
Yes	_____	_____
No	_____	_____
Unsure	_____	_____
 - (e) **If received LEAA funding, purpose and approximate dates:** _____

6. **Current Strength of Unit**
 - (a) Sworn Officers

<u>No.</u>	_____
Full-time	_____
Salaried Part-time	_____
Non-salaried Part-time	_____
 - (b) Civilians

<u>No.</u>	_____
Full-time	_____
Salaried Part-time	_____
Non-salaried Part-time	_____
 - (c) **Sex of Sworn Juvenile Officers:**

No. Male	_____
No. Female	_____

6. (continued)
 - (d) **Race and Ethnic Background of Sworn Juvenile Officers:**

No. of: White	_____
Black	_____
Spanish Surname	_____
Amer. Indian	_____
Asian	_____
Other	_____
 - (e) **Strength of Unit over Previous Yr.**

No. Increased by:	_____
No. Decreased by:	_____
No Change:	_____
 - (f) **Line Officers:**

<u>Rank</u>	<u>No.</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
7. **Juvenile Officer Information:**
 - (a) **Armed:** Yes _____ No _____
 - (b) **Clothes:** Uniform _____ Plainclothes _____
 Both _____
 - (c) **On Duty:** Day _____ Evening _____
 Night _____ Weekend _____
8. **Minimum Requirements for Juvenile Officers:**
 - (a) **Education:** Yes _____ No _____
 If Yes, what: _____

 - (b) **Experience:** Yes _____ No _____
 If Yes, what: _____

 - (c) **Other:** _____

9. **Specialized Training for Juvenile Officers:**

Yes	_____	No	_____
If Yes, (a) When conducted; (Check one)			
Pre-service		_____	
In-service		_____	
(b) Where conducted: _____			

3.

9. (continued)

(c) Type of Training _____

(d) Is training a requirement for all?
 Yes _____ No _____

10. Three Most Frequent Juvenile Offenses
 Handled by Unit:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

11. Do juvenile officers handle cases
 involving adult offenders: Yes _____ No _____
 If Yes, specify (e.g., rape): _____

* 12. Officer Deployment:

	Frequently	Sometimes	Never
Patrol	_____	_____	_____
Investigation	_____	_____	_____
Counseling	_____	_____	_____
Program Operation	_____	_____	_____
Administration	_____	_____	_____
Other	_____	_____	_____

13. Is there specialization within your unit?

Yes _____ No _____
 If Yes, specify _____

* 14. Activities of Juvenile Unit:

	Sponsored by Unit	Participated in by Unit
Community Relations	_____	_____
Safety Programs	_____	_____
Police Probation	_____	_____
Training Other Officers	_____	_____
School Programs	_____	_____
Crime Prev. Pgrms.	_____	_____
Recreation Programs	_____	_____
Diversion Programs	_____	_____
Child Abuse Investig.	_____	_____
Gang Control	_____	_____

15. Participation of Juvenile Unit in Research
 or Experimental Program over last five yrs.
 Yes _____ No _____
 If Yes, specify _____

* 16. Orientation of the Juvenile Unit

(Rank order with 1=primary concern)
Rehabilitation _____
 (assistance after a juvenile has been
 officially identified):
Law Enforcement _____
 (identification, apprehension)
Prevention _____
 (activities which keep unlawful behavior
 from occurring)
Administration _____
 (activities and prosecution activities
 associated with the processing of forms
 and records)

4.

Section III JUVENILE OFFICER INFORMATION (to be answered by departments with Juvenile Officers)

* 1. Personnel Information:

<u>No. Officers</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Division</u>	<u>Rank of Commanding Officer</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

2. Strength of Juvenile Officers Over Previous Year:

No. Increased by: _____
 No. Decreased by: _____
 No Change: _____

3. Minimum Requirements for Juvenile Officers:

(a) Education: Yes _____ No _____
 If Yes, _____

(b) Experience: Yes _____ No _____
 If Yes, what: _____

(c) Other: _____

4. Specialized Training for Juvenile Officers:

Yes _____ No _____
 If Yes, (a) When conducted: (Check one)
 Pre-service _____
 In-service _____
 (b) Where conducted: _____

5. Juvenile Officer Information:

(a) Armed: Yes _____ No _____
 (b) Clothes: Uniform _____ Plainclothes _____
 Both _____
 (c) On Duty: Day _____ Evening _____
 Night _____ Weekend _____

6. Juvenile Offenses Handled by Officers:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

7. Do juvenile officers handle cases involving adult offenders: Yes _____ No _____

If Yes, specify (e.g., rape): _____

5.

Section IV DELINQUENCY CASE FLOW (to be answered by departments with UNITS or OFFICERS.)
(Exclude Status Offenses)

- * 1. Are any juvenile cases handled by Non-Juvenile Officers? Yes ___ No ___
If yes, based on: Offense _____ Explain: _____
Age _____
Previous Record _____
Other _____
- * 2. Actions taken by Non-Juvenile Officers before case is received by Juvenile Officers:
Charge/Petition _____
Fingerprint _____
Investigate _____
Contact Parent _____
Report(s) _____
Interrogate _____
Photograph _____
Other, specify _____
- * 3. Actions of Juvenile Officers which typically result in taking a juvenile into custody:
Patrol _____
conduct Investigation _____
Response of Dispatch _____
Response to Walk-In _____
Referral from other Division _____
Response to Call-in by Parent _____
Referral by School _____
Referral by Community Agency _____
Other: _____
- o 4. Juvenile Officer's use of alternatives to taking a juvenile into custody/arrest:

	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>
Counsel and Release to Parent/Guardian	_____	_____	_____
Referral to Social Services	_____	_____	_____
Police Programs	_____	_____	_____
Outright Release	_____	_____	_____
Other, specify _____	_____	_____	_____
- 5. Do juvenile custody/arrest procedures differ from adult arrest procedures?
Yes ___ No ___
(a) When are juveniles accorded Miranda rights? _____

(b) Do juveniles exercise their rights to a lawyer?
Frequently ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___
(c) Are juveniles questioned before parents arrive? Yes ___ No ___
- 6. Do you accept a juvenile's waiver of rights? Yes ___ No ___
(a) Must parents agree to waiver?
Yes ___ No ___
(b) Must lawyer agree to waiver?
Yes ___ No ___
- 7. Do Juvenile Officers question or interrogate juveniles taken into custody?
Yes ___ No ___
(a) Who questions/interrogates?

(c) Are parents present during interrogation of juveniles?
Yes ___ No ___
(d) Is lawyer present during police interrogation of juveniles?
Yes ___ No ___

6.

- * 8. Is a police hearing conducted in juvenile cases? Yes ___ No ___
 If yes, (a) Who conducts the hearing? _____
 (b) Who is present at the hearing? _____
 (c) What are dispositions which can result from a hearing? _____

 (e) Is information obtained during the police hearing used in Court?
 Frequently ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___

- * 9. Who officially charges/petitions a juvenile with an offense?
 Non-Juvenile Officer _____
 Juvenile Officer _____
 Other, specify _____
- 11. Under which circumstances is detention used?

- 10. Who makes the detantion decision?
 (check one)
 Police ___ Police and Court ___
 Court ___ Intake (probation) ___
 Other, specify: _____

- * 12. Characterize the relationship between the Juvenile Officers and the Non-Juvenile Officers in the department:

	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>
Exchange information on juveniles	___	___	___
Cooperate in apprehensions	___	___	___
Cooperate in investigations	___	___	___
Cooperate in determining appropriate case outcome	___	___	___
Other, specify: _____	___	___	___

- * 13. Characterize the relationship between the Juvenile Officers and the Juvenile Court:

	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>
Notification of court	___	___	___
Conferences/communication with intake	___	___	___
Conferences/communication with judges	___	___	___
Conferences with probation	___	___	___
Other, specify: _____	___	___	___

- * 14. Relationship with Community Organizations:

(a) Name the three community organizations which receive the most juvenile referrals.

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

(b) Do you cooperate with organizations operated by individuals from the communities in which the problem youth live? Yes ___ No ___

If yes, specify: _____

- 15. Characterize the relationship between Juvenile Officers and Community Organizations:

	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>
Referrals to organizations	___	___	___
Participation in organizations' programs	___	___	___
Exchange case information	___	___	___
Organizations' employees work in dept.	___	___	___
Other, specify: _____	___	___	___

7.

Section V DELINQUENCY CASE FLOW (Excluding Status Offenses) (To be answered by departments WITHOUT Juvenile Units or Officers)

1. Do juvenile custody/arrest procedures differ from adult arrest procedures? Yes ___ No ___
 - (a) When are juveniles accorded Miranda rights? _____

 - (b) Do juveniles exercise their rights to a lawyer? Frequently ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___
 - (c) Are juveniles questioned before parents arrive at police station? Yes ___ No ___
2. Do you accept a juvenile's waiver of rights? Yes ___ No ___
 - (a) Must parents agree to waiver? Yes ___ No ___
 - (b) Must lawyer agree to waiver? Yes ___ No ___
3. Is a police hearing conducted in juvenile cases: Yes ___ No ___
 - If yes, (a) Who conducts the hearing? _____
 - (b) What is the purpose of the hearing? _____
 - (c) Who is present at hearing? _____
 - (d) What are dispositions which can result from a hearing? _____

 - (e) Is information obtained during the police hearing used in Court? Frequently ___ Sometimes ___ Never ___
4. Who makes the detention decision? (Check one)

Police ___	Police and Court ___
Court ___	Intake (probation) ___
Other, Specify: _____	
5. Under what circumstances is detention used? _____

6. Describe the processing of the typical juvenile case from initial contact to court referral: _____

7. Does processing differ for felony and misdemeanor cases? Yes ___ No ___

If yes, specify: _____

* 8. Characterize the relationship between the officers and the Juvenile Court:

	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>
Notification of court dispositions	_____	_____	_____
Conferences/communication with intake	_____	_____	_____
Conferences/communication with judges	_____	_____	_____
Conferences with probation	_____	_____	_____
Other, specify: _____	_____	_____	_____

* 9. Relationship with Community Organizations:

(a) Name the three community organizations which receive the most juvenile referrals:

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

(b) Do you cooperate with organizations operated by individuals from the communities in which the problem youth live? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, specify: _____

10. Characterize the relationship between officers and community organizations:

	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>
Referrals to organizations	_____	_____	_____
Participation in organizations' programs	_____	_____	_____
Exchange case information	_____	_____	_____
Organizations' employees work in Depts.	_____	_____	_____
Other, Specify: _____	_____	_____	_____

Section VI STATUS OFFENSE CASE FLOW (To be answered by ALL survey respondents)

Note: Status offenses are illegal acts committed by juveniles which would not be illegal if they were committed by adults.

1. Are status offenses handled by: *
 Juvenile Unit Yes ___ No ___
 Other police unit Yes ___ No ___
2. Three major status offenses handled by department last year:
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
3. Are status offenses handled differently from delinquency cases?
 Yes ___ No ___
 If yes, explain: _____

4. Are due process procedures required?
 Yes ___ No ___
 If yes, explain: _____

5. Referral of Status Offenders to the Police by:

	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>
Family	_____	_____	_____
Schools	_____	_____	_____
Other police units	_____	_____	_____
Social service agencies	_____	_____	_____
Other, specify: _____	_____	_____	_____
6. Referral of Status Offenders to Court by police:

	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>
Truants	_____	_____	_____
Runaways	_____	_____	_____
Incorrigibles	_____	_____	_____
Other, specify: _____	_____	_____	_____

Section VII DATA AVAILABILITY (To be answered by ALL survey respondents)

1. Type of Reports Maintained:

Incident report	_____	Referral report	_____	Other(s)	_____
Arrest report	_____	Investigative report	_____		_____
Contact report	_____	Juvenile Court report	_____		_____

* 2. Juvenile Record and Report System:

	<u>Arrest Records</u>	<u>Reports</u>
Where kept?	_____	_____
Who has access?	_____	_____
How long kept?	_____	_____
Automated?	_____	_____
Are they destroyed?	_____	_____

3. Do officers maintain an activity log?

(a) Juvenile Officers:	Weekly	_____	Daily	_____	None	_____
(b) Non-Juvenile Officers:	Weekly	_____	Daily	_____	None	_____

4. Evaluation in the last five years:

	<u>Juvenile Unit</u>	<u>Other Division or Unit</u>
Evaluation?	Yes ___ No ___	Yes ___ No ___
By whom?	Yes ___ No ___	Yes ___ No ___
For What purpose?	Yes ___ No ___	Yes ___ No ___

 THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Appendix C

Follow-up Telephone Survey: Respondents

Telephone Interviews, Cities and Counties

Cobb County, GA

Columbia, SC

Contra Costa County, CA

DeKalb County, GA

Duluth, MN

Essex County, NJ

Fairfax County, VA

Greensboro, NC

Hialeah, FL

Houston, TX

Jacksonville, FL

Lincoln, NB

Multnomah County, OR

Nassau County, NY

Onondaga County, NY

Pinellas County, FL

Prince George's County, MD

Rochester, NY

St. Paul, MN

San Bernadino, CA

San Jose, CA

Seattle, WA

Topeka, KS

Torrance, CA

Tucson, AZ

PROBE QUESTIONS FOR TELEPHONE SURVEY*

Section II Juvenile Unit Information (for departments with Units)

Q 12, OFFICER DEPLOYMENT

Probe only those functions marked "Frequently," If none were marked "Frequently," go to those marked "Sometimes."

Patrol: What activities constitute patrol?
Is patrol coordinated with other divisions?

Investigation: Are investigations mainly self-initiated or are cases referred to the unit for investigation?

What activities compromise the typical investigation?

Where are most investigations conducted (e.g., outside station, homes)?

Are investigations conducted in conjunction with other divisions?

Counseling: What is the objective(s) of counseling?

Where is counseling conducted?

Does the Juvenile officer receive any training in counseling?

To whom is counseling directed (e.g. the juvenile, the family)?

Program Operation: Determine whether the response to Q 14 adequately covers the matter.

Administration: Describe typical activities

Q. 14, ACTIVITIES OF JUVENILE UNIT

For each activity checked, ask respondent to describe the activity, state its goals; objectives. If there are more than 3 checked on each column, ask respondent to select 3 of each column which involve most of the officers.

*Questions are keyed to the national survey questionnaire.

Q 16, ORIENTATION OF THE JUVENILE UNIT

Is it fair to ask you to rank your unit this way?

Which activities in Q 14 are related to each orientation? Any additional ones?

Would you characterize your units' objectives in another way?

How would an officer outside the juvenile unit rank the unit on these orientations?

How do you feel an officer outside the juvenile unit would rank the department as a whole on these orientations?

Section III Juvenile Officer Information

(for departments with juvenile officers)

Q 1, PERSONNEL INFORMATION

Do juvenile officers perform only juvenile-related activities? If not, what other activities do they perform?

Describe the way in which they work within the different divisions.

Why was a juvenile officer assigned to a specific division?

Are the assignments to a specific division of a specific nature or a specified time length?

Section IV Delinquency Case Flow

(for units and officers--exclude status offenses)

Q 1, JUVENILE CASES HANDLED BY NON-JUVENILE OFFICERS

If answered YES, probe each category to uncover the exact qualifying conditions and types of offenses (e.g., robbery) handled by non-juvenile officers.

If age: what year, for what crimes?

If previous record: (a) how many prior convictions?
(b) for which type of offenses?
(c) Prior arrests?

Q 2, ACTIONS OF NON-JUVENILE OFFICERS

Are these actions based on policy (e.g. orders, manuals, memos, regulations)?

At what point in case processing do non-juvenile officers turn the case over to juvenile officers?

What is the typical sequence of activities for a (1) felony; (2) misdemeanor?
(*Note--use the most frequent offenses noted in an earlier question (e.g. robbery) to make the response specific.)

Q 3, ACTIONS OF JUVENILE OFFICERS RESULTING IN CUSTODY

Are these actions based on policy? (e.g. orders, manuals, memos, regulations)

Do specific types of offenses that come into the unit in a particular way (e.g. robberies by dispatch)?

Q 4, JUVENILE OFFICER'S USE OF ALTERNATIVES

Probe those checked "Frequently." If none, go to those marked "Sometimes."
On what basis is that decision made?

For each checked "Never," ask:

Is there a specific policy on this? Does policy forbid such actions?

If "Police Programs" was checked, ask which programs.

Q 4, IS A POLICE HEARING CONDUCTED?

When is a hearing not conducted?

Who decides to conduct a hearing?

Is the decision to have a hearing left to the discretion of the officer?

Is an official record of proceedings kept?

Is the hearing more useful to your decision-making in some confrontations than in others?

What factors are important in making decisions at the hearing (e.g. record of juvenile, family concern)?

Q 9, OFFICIALLY CHARGING/PETITIONING A JUVENILE

Does the authority of the juvenile and non-juvenile officer overlap at any time?

Do juvenile officers charge/petition under specific circumstances? (e.g. case types, certain hours of operation)

Q 12, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JUVENILE OFFICERS AND NON-JUVENILE OFFICERS

Review response given by respondent.

For those checked "Frequently," ask with which divisions, under what circumstances, describe a typical "coordination." If none checked "Frequently," go to "Sometimes."

Why is cooperation/exchange better with some divisions? Which divisions?

For those checked "Never" why not?

What are the most frequent problem areas?

Q 13, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JUVENILE OFFICERS AND JUVENILE COURT

For those checked "Frequently," describe the typical situation (circumstances, type of case). If none checked "Frequently," go to "Sometimes."

For those checked "Never," why not?

Would the respondent describe the juvenile court as differing in philosophy or attitudes than the juvenile officer (as pertains to juveniles)?

What are the most frequent problem areas?

Is there an informal relationship with court personnel? Describe it.

Q 14, RELATIONSHIP WITH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

- a. Describe the nature of their relationship to the specific organizations listed (e.g. do police contact agency or visa versa, how frequently is contact made, how is contact made, who makes it, for specific crimes, types or kids).

What does the organization do?

- b. Describe the organization in terms of its locations, activities, clientele, staff.

Q 15, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JUVENILE OFFICERS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

For those checked "Frequently," describe the typical situation (circumstances, cases, offenders). If none checked "Frequently," go to "Sometimes."

For those checked "Never," why not?

Section V Delinquency Case Flow : (Departments without unit or officers-- exclude status offenders)

Q 6 a Q 7 PROCESSING OF JUVENILE CASE

Ask respondent to take a typical felony and misdemeanor (using a specific offense) and describe the processing from point of contact with officer (e.g. through dispatch, walk-in) through referrals, diversions, petition to court. Keep asking about qualifications on this process (e.g., age of juvenile, time of day/night, nature of offense, previous record of juvenile, etc.)

You should be able to draw a process flow when respondent is finished.

Q 8, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OFFICERS AND JUVENILE COURT

For those checked "Frequently," describe the typical situation (circumstances, type of case). If none checked "Frequently," go to "Sometimes."

For those checked "Never," why not?

Would the respondent describe the juvenile court as differing in philosophy or attitudes than the juvenile officer (as pertains to juveniles)?

Q 9, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OFFICERS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

- a. Describe the nature of their relationship to the specific organizations listed (e.g. do police contact agency or visa versa, how frequently is contact made, how is contact made, who makes it, for specific crimes, types or kids).

What does the organization do?

- b. Describe the organization in terms of its locations, activities, clientele, staff.

Q 10, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OFFICERS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

For those checked "Frequently," describe the typical situation (circumstances, cases, offenders). If none checked "Frequently," go to "Sometimes."

For those checked "Never,": why not?

Section VI Status Offense Case Flow

Q 3, STATUS OFFENSES HANDLED DIFFERENTLY

Are there procedural differences in the typical case flow? What are they?

Are there program differences? What are they?

Are there regulation differences? What are they?

Is the enforcement of status offenses a discretionary decision?

Q 4, DUE PROCESS

Which elements of due process are required in handling juveniles and status offenders?

How are they handled (e.g., when are Miranda warnings given, if applicable)?

Is due process used for specific cases, or offenders, or circumstances? If so, explain.

Section VII Data Availability

Q 2, JUVENILE RECORD AND REPORT SYSTEM

For each of the reports indicated in Q 1, make sure that all information asked for on Q 2 is completed.

Under what circumstances have different records on reports been requested by individuals outside the police department?

Are there any regulations governing sharing data with non-police organizations or individuals?

If reports are destroyed

- (a) what is the manner of their "destruction" (e.g. expungement, sealing)?
- (b) who does it?
- (c) how frequently are records reviewed for destruction?
- (d) is the destruction covered by policy (e.g. regulations, memos)?

Remember: Ask for

- (1) organizational chart
- (2) annual report
- (3) manuals/orders regarding the handling of juveniles
- (4) blank report forms

Appendix D

Field Visit Instruments

Twelve sites were visited, each by two staff for a period of two days. The sites visited were:

Arlington, Virginia
Baltimore, Maryland
Contra Costa County, California
Duluth, Minnesota
Greensboro, North Carolina
Lincoln, Nebraska
Multnomah County, Oregon
Onondaga County, New York
Topeka, Kansas
Torrance, California
Tucson, Arizona
Washington, D.C.

Attached are the topics and questions covered during the site visits. The following topics were focused upon:

Goals and Objectives
Organization
Jurisdiction/Authority
Units Functions
Case Flow
Case Types
Discretion of Officers
Due Process
Officer Capability
Impact of the Unit on Others
Impact of Others on the Unit
Data Available
The Unit's Overall Objectives

During the course of the site visits, the following were interviewed:

Police Department Personnel

9 Police Department Heads
8 Juvenile Unit Heads
21 Juvenile Unit Officers
45 Non-Juvenile Officers
8 Records Officers
5 Planning/Development Personnel

Court Personnel

4 Defense Attorneys
7 Prosecutors
19 Intake/Probation Personnel
10 Judges

Community Agencies

11 Community Programs
6 Social Welfare Agencies

153 TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

1. What are the Goals and Objectives:
 - a. Of the department in handling juveniles
 - b. Of the Unit in handling juveniles
2. In what ways do department and unit goals and objectives differ?
3. How were the G & O developed?
4. How are the G & O disseminated:
 - a. Throughout the department (e.g. manuals, orders)
 - b. Throughout the Unit
5. Does any mechanism exist for evaluating whether the department or Unit is achieving its G & O? If so, what is it?
6. Is there any sanctioning mechanism if G & O are not achieved? If so, what is it?
7. Do the Goals and Objectives of the Unit differ from those of:
 - a. The Court?
 - b. Corrections?If so, what problems does this cause for the police?

ORGANIZATION

1. Get a copy of the organization chart for this discussion.
2. To which division does the Juvenile Unit Report? Rank of Officer?
(Review ENTIRE section II for response)
3. How is officer allocation determined? And for the Juvenile Unit?
4. Is the role of the officer defined anywhere? For the juvenile officer?
(written? where found?) Get a copy.
5. Who determines the focus/activities of the Unit?
6. Who determines the Juvenile Officer(s) workload, work allocation, etc?
7. The Budget, Get a copy.
 - a. Who prepares it for the Unit? (talk to person, if necessary)
 - b. What is taken into consideration?
 - c. How is it established?
 - d. What additional costs are associated with the Unit's existence?
(e.g. time contributed by employees, merchant contributions)

JURISDICTION/AUTHORITY

1. Over what types of cases and tasks does the unit have jurisdiction?
 - a. Over which does the Unit have sole jurisdiction?
 - b. Over which is jurisdiction shared with other police divisions? Which ones?
 - c. Over which cases, decisions, programs, or functions regarding juveniles doesn't the Unit have jurisdiction?
2. What is the nature of the relationship (cooperation, coordination, hostility) between the Unit and:
 - a. Patrol
 - b. Detectives
 - c. Community Relations
 - d. Special Units
3. Does the Juvenile Unit have policies and procedures which are different from the other police divisions? Get a copy.
4. At what level(s) is juvenile unit policy made? (i.e. what policy at which levels).

UNIT FUNCTIONS

1. Describe, in detail, the major activities of the Unit (review survey data):
 - a. Nature of the activity
 - b. Amount of time devoted to it
 - c. Amount of manpower devoted to it
 - d. Role played by the police
 - e. Role played by the juvenile
2. Are the activities governed by departmental policies, orders, etc?
3. What aspects of these functions are coordinated with other police divisions? Nature of the coordination?
4. What aspects of these functions are coordinated with others outside the police department? Which groups?

CASE FLOW

1. Review the survey questions in this section and the responses given.
(May want to repeat some to check on accuracy)
2. Are delinquency problems handled differently than status offenses?
3. Depict the typical case flow for handling delinquency problems.
Take examples from typically handled situations.
 - a. Cases the Unit receives from Patrol
 - b. Cases the Unit receives from Investigations or Others
 - c. Cases the Unit originates
 - d. Cases never handled by the Unit

At each decision point (those below among others)...

- a. Decision to investigate
- b. Decision to have a case conference
- c. Decision to make a final police determination
- d. Decision to refer to detention

...highlight:

- a. the options available
- b. the criteria used in making the decision
- c. Who it is that makes the decision

4. Depict the typical case flow for handling status offenses, if handled differently from delinquency cases. Follow the above.
5. What are the procedures when the child is a victim?
6. What are the most significant ways in which processing the juvenile differs from processing the adult?

CASE TYPES

1. What are the most frequent types of cases handled by the Unit?
(Review survey response). By Others? By both?
2. For each type of case, describe the situational elements (e.g., time of day, place, weapon, victim).
3. For each type of case, describe the typical offenders (e.g., race, sex, age).
4. Availability of statistics. (Review survey, Section I, question 7)
 - _____ # cases had contact with?
 - _____ # cases investigated?
 - _____ # cases diverted to community agency?
 - _____ # cases placed under informal police probation/counseling?
 - _____ # cases Unit not had contact with (but other divisions did)
 - _____ # cases arrested?
 - _____ # cases referred to court?

OFFICER CAPABILITY

1. How are juvenile officers recruited?
2. How are juvenile officers selected?
 - a. Selection procedure?
 - b. Special qualifications?
3. Is specialized training received prior to assuming duties as a juvenile officer? If so, what is the nature, frequency, etc.
4. Is specialized training received after assuming duties as a juvenile officer? If so, what is the nature, frequency, etc.
5. In general, in which ways do juvenile officers differ from non-juvenile officers:
 - a. In work style
 - b. In philosophy
 - c. In attitudes
 - d. In personality

IMPACT OF THE UNIT ON OTHERS

1. Does the Unit's existence affect the work of other department divisions?
 - a. The way they handle juveniles?
 - b. Functions they perform?
2. Does the Unit's existence affect the work of other agencies? If so, in what ways:
 - a. Of the court (e.g., workload)
 - b. Of intake (e.g., their decisions)
 - c. Of community programs (e.g., their volume of clientele)
3. Does the Unit's existence create a special relationship between the department and the juvenile court which wouldn't exist otherwise?
4. What is the relationship between the Unit officers and non-juvenile officers (e.g., patrol, detectives, special divisions)?

IMPACT OF OTHERS ON THE UNIT

1. In what ways do others (e.g., the court, political groups, community programs) influence the operations of the Juvenile Unit?
2. What types of demands are placed on the Unit by others?
3. How does the Unit respond to this influence?
4. What types of demands are placed on the department by others?
5. How does the department respond to this influence?

DATA AVAILABLE

1. Review survey for type of reports maintained and records. For each listed:
 - a. Get a clean copy (or better, a completed one, without a name)
 - b. What is it used for (e.g., budgeting, manpower deployment, setting priorities and targets, annual report)?
 - c. Who uses it?
 - d. Where is it kept?
 - e. How long is it kept?
 - f. Is the information computerized?
 - g. Is the information destroyed? Circumstances?
2. Who determines what data should be gathered?
3. What statistics exist in summary form (e.g., arrest)?
 - a. What is it used for?
 - b. Who gathers it?
 - c. Who is it submitted to?
 - d. What information is summarized?
4. If any previous evaluation of the Unit (see survey). Get copy.

Report Checklist:

_____ Incident Report	_____ Referral Report
_____ Arrest Report	_____ Investigative Report
_____ Contact Report	_____ Juvenile Court Report
_____ Activity Log (Patrol? Unit?)	

DISCRETION OF OFFICERS

1. What decisions of the Unit are discretionary?
 - a. In terms of handling juveniles (processing them)
 - b. In terms of programs and functions

2. What decisions of the individual officer are discretionary?

For each decision, what options exist?
how extensive is the discretion?
what criteria are used to make the decision?

3. What guidelines exist for the limitation of discretion? Get copies.
 - a. If court guidelines, what do they cover?
 - b. If department policies, manuals, orders, what do they cover?
 - c. If legislative statutes, what do they cover?

4. Are there any mechanisms for holding officers accountable for their decisions (e.g., supervisory control, appeals board)?

5. What impact does the exercise of discretion have on the court?

6. To what extent are laws selectively enforced?

DUE PROCESS

1. Review Survey Section IV, Questions 5,6,7.

2. What is the nature of the constraints under which the Unit operates (e.g., department orders, court guidelines, legislative statutes).

3. In what ways are juveniles treated differently than are adults?

4. What is the attitude of the local courts on the question of due process for juveniles? How is the attitude made known (e.g., through their procedures)?

5. What is the attitude of most juvenile officers toward due process for juveniles? How is this attitude made known?

6. How do you know if due process procedures are being followed?

7. Are there any sanction for not following due process procedures (within the department, through the court) ?

8. Get a copy of any forms, statistics, waivers, etc.

Appendix E

Case Study Methodology

The data gathering techniques used for the three case studies involved structured observation of the daily activities of juvenile officers, structured interviews with police, court, and community agency personnel, and a review of closed police juvenile files. The application of these techniques were site-specific. A two-person team remained at each of the three sites for a period of four weeks to gather the data.

Observation

A coded activity sheet was developed, based upon preliminary visits to eleven police departments with juvenile units (and one department without a unit). During the case study period, staff used an Observation Log to record: officer activity, the time spent on that activity, and the activity's relevance for either the investigation or screening function. A total of five juvenile officers were observed in Greensboro, five in Torrance, (Multnomah had no juvenile unit). Approximately 40 hours of observation of juvenile officers took place in both Greensboro and Torrance, and 30 hours of non-juvenile officers in Multnomah.

No attempt was made to obtain a complete description of all of the activities of the juvenile officer. Only those activities which were part of the investigative and screening functions were included in the observation categories. Other activities were recorded just so that gross generalizations about the work day were possible.

Interviews

Structured interviews were conducted with juvenile officers, non-juvenile officers, juvenile justice personnel and community agency representatives in each site. The absolute number of interviews conducted

at each site varied by size of juvenile unit and particulars of the department, justice system, and community. Attempts to speak with juveniles were made at each site, although staff were successful in only two of the sites. The following interviews were conducted:

	<u>Greensboro</u>	<u>Torrance</u>	<u>Multnomah</u>
Juvenile Officers	14	5	--
Non-Juvenile Officers	4	7	9
Intake	1	1	2
Defense Counsel	1	4	1
Prosecuting Attorney	1	5	2
Judge	1	2	1
Community-Based Agencies/Programs	9	12	6
Juveniles	9	3	--

Interviews with juvenile officers consisted primarily of debriefing those officers on cases closed during the period staff were on-site. The interview consisted of an in-depth discussion of investigation and screening activities and decisions made in that case. Twenty-five (25) case debriefings were completed at each site. All other interviews were structured to generate differing perspectives on the work of juvenile officers and on police juvenile specialization.

Case File Review

An attempt was made to take a systematic sample of 200 files of juvenile cases closed within a six-month period prior to the case study period. The sample consisted of offenses in five categories, chosen to combine frequency of police handling (larceny, burglary, runaway) with range of problems handled (assault, vandalism). Modifications in sample

selection were made at each site to accommodate different record keeping systems.

In Greensboro, the juvenile unit's log of incoming cases for 1976 was used to identify the universe. Case numbers for the five offense categories were abstracted, and a systematic sample of those cases were taken to reach a sample size of 197.

In Torrance, a log of the previous 12 months of closed cases (1976-77) was used to identify the universe of cases. Case numbers for the five offense categories were abstracted, and a systematic sample of those cases were taken to reach a sample size of 219.

In Multnomah, where there was no juvenile unit, there was no source for juvenile cases available from the Sheriff's Department. The Records Office keeps track of incident reports by crime category and team area, with no separate numbering or identification system for juvenile cases. Two sources were used to piece together the 1976 flow of juvenile cases in this department: (1) a sample of cases from the sheriff's records in which the suspect was a juvenile but had not been identified or arrested (N=55); (2) a sample of cases referred to intake (N=155).

Case Debriefing - Screening

Case No. _____ Master No. _____

Date Case Received _____ Date Case Completed _____

Charge _____

Case Description (in brief) _____

1. Did you make the arrest in this case? Yes No
If no, at what point did you receive the case?

2. Did you investigate the case? Yes No

3. Upon initial review of this case, did you anticipate the final disposition?
 Yes No

4. Did this case contain sufficient information to make a disposition when you received it?
 Yes No
If no, what further information did you want?

5. How did you go about obtaining the additional information?

6. What information was obtained from each technique?

<u>Technique</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Information Obtained</u>
Interviews _____	_____	_____
File Checks _____	_____	_____
Discussions with Non-Juv. Officer _____	_____	_____
Discussions with JJS Agency Personnel _____	_____	_____
Discussions with Youth-Serving Agency Personnel _____	_____	_____
Case Conference with Juvenile _____	_____	_____
Juv. and Parent _____	_____	_____
Parent alone _____	_____	_____
Other _____	_____	_____

7. At which point did you decide upon the disposition you finally made?

8. What factors did you feel were most important in making your disposition decision in this case? (List and Rank)

<u>Factors</u>	<u>Rank</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

9. What was the disposition chosen for this case?

- Home
- Court
- Restitution
- Public Agency-Medical
- Public Agency-Psychological
- Public Agency-Drug/Alcohol Rehab.
- Public Agency-Other
- Private Agency-Medical
- Private Agency-Psychological
- Private Agency-Drug/Alcohol Rehab.
- Private Agency-Other

- Residential
- Non-Residential

10. To which specific agency was the juvenile referred?

11. Were there other dispositions you considered and rejected? Yes No
If yes, why did you reject them?

<u>Dispositions Considered</u>	<u>Reasons Rejected</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

12. Who made the final disposition decision?

Juvenile Officer ___ Supervisor ___ Other ___

13. If you made the final disposition, did anyone review it? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, who reviewed it?

14. To what extent did the juvenile participate in the disposition decision?

15. What restrictions limit your disposition decisions in this case?

Statutory: ___ Yes ___ No Which: _____

Court Rules: ___ Yes ___ No Which: _____

Dept. Orders: ___ Yes ___ No Which: _____

Other: ___ Yes ___ No Which: _____

16. Is there any informal agreement among officers in the unit about how this particular case should be disposed of? ___ Yes ___ No

17. Is there any informal agreement among officers in the unit about how any case should be disposed of? ___ Yes ___ No

Examples:

CASE DEBRIEFING FORM -- INVESTIGATIONS

Case No. _____ Master No. _____

Date Case Received _____ Date Case Completed _____

Charge _____

Case Description (in brief) _____

1. Approximately how many cases were you handling at the time you received this case? _____

2. What types of reports were completed by other officers before you received this case?

_____ Incident/Case Report _____ Custody
_____ Arrest/Custody _____ Referral
_____ Juvenile _____ Vehicle
_____ Supplementary _____ Other (specify) _____

3. Did this case contain sufficient information to send to court when you received it?
_____ Yes _____ No

If No: What was missing from it?

4. Your investigation:

a. What type of information did your investigation supply?

b. Was it additional? _____ Yes _____ No

c. Was it verifying information? _____ Yes _____ No

d. What reports did you complete for this case?

e. How many interviews were conducted with:
_____ the juvenile _____ the victim _____ witnesses _____ other (specify)

f. How many interviews did you conduct during this investigation? _____
_____ By Telephone _____ By Mail _____ In person _____ Other (specify)

5. What contact with other police officers involved in this case were made?

<u>No. Contacts</u>	<u>Unit Assignment</u>	<u>Reasons for Contact</u>

6. Approximately what percentage of your time was spent in the field for this investigation?

What was the nature of the field activities? _____ percentage

7. Did you encounter any problems (non-routine) during the course of this investigation?

If yes, describe the problem and how dealt with:

8. Did you work with any other police divisions on this case?

Divisions	Worked with on case?		Working Relationships:	
	Yes	No	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory
Patrol Division				
Detective Div.				
Planning and Res.				
Training Div.				
Traffic Div.				
Records				
Vice/Narcotics				
Community Rel.				
Other (specify)				

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR HEAD OF JUVENILE UNIT

1. How do you assign cases (e.g. geography, caseload)?

2. Do you instruct the juvenile officers? Yes No
If yes, What is the nature of the instruction?

3. Do you monitor juvenile officers during the course of an investigation?
 Yes No
If yes, What specific things do you look for?

4. Do you monitor juvenile officers during the screening of cases?
 Yes No
If yes, What specific things do you look for?

5. Do you review each case upon the completion of the investigation?
 Yes No
If yes, describe the review process:

6. Is a case investigation subject to review by any other police personnel?
Yes No
If Yes, by whom?

7. Is case screening subject to review by any other police personnel?
 Yes No
If Yes, by whom?

8. Do you confer with supervisors from other units/divisions about the work of your officers? Yes No
If yes, with whom about what topics?

9. Do you participate in any phase of the investigation? Yes No
If yes, what activities and decisions are you involved in?

11. Do you participate in any phase of the screening process? Yes No
If yes, what activities and decisions are you involved in?

12. If an investigation of a case does not appear to be satisfactory, what steps are taken to correct it?

13. Are any cases returned by the prosecutor or intake for evidentiary reasons?
 Yes No
If yes, by whom?

If yes, what are the typical circumstances?

14. Have you had any problems about juvenile case investigations with any other police units/division? Yes No
If yes, what units and what problems?

15. Do you review final dispositions? Yes No
If yes, what specific things do you look for?

16. If a disposition does not seem to be appropriate, what steps are taken to correct it?

17. If you could change anything about the unit's investigations, what would it be?

18. If you could change anything about the unit's screening process, what would it be?

Juvenile Officer Background Information

1. Age _____
2. Race _____
3. Sex _____
4. Number of Years on Force _____ 5. No. Of Years in Juvenile Unit _____
6. Highest level of school completed: (check one)
 - _____ some high school/technical school _____ some college
 - _____ graduated high school/technical school _____ graduated college
 - _____ some graduate school
7. Current enrollment in school: (check one)
 - _____ No current enrollment
 - _____ High school _____ Graduate School
 - _____ College _____ Technical school (specify) _____
 - Other: _____

8. Previous assignments in police department:

No. Years Spent	Unit/Division	Rank

9. Training Provided as a Recruit:

	Type of Training (e.g. Seminar, Inst. Course)	Subject of Training (e.g. theory of delinquency)	Year Given	Length of Training e.g 'e.g. hours
a. In Investigations				
b. In Juvenile Work				
10. Training Provided since joining the department				
a. In Investigations				
b. In Juvenile Work				

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - REFERRAL AGENCY PERSONNEL

1. What services do you provide for juveniles and their families?

2. What are the characteristics of the juveniles you see (a.g. age, problem)?

3. Do you have eligibility criteria? Yes No
If yes, What are they?

4. What % of your clients are referred by the _____ Police Department?

5. Are the cases referred to you the _____ Police Department appropriate for your services? Yes No
If no, Why are they being referred?

If no, What do you do with them?

6. Do the police consult with you prior to making their referral decision?
Yes No
If yes, Under what circumstances (How, when, where and why?):

7. Would you like to have the police refer more of their cases to you? Yes No
If yes, Which kinds of cases?

If yes, Why aren't they referring them now?

8. Do you provide the police with feedback on the progress of the juveniles whom they have referred? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, Under what circumstances (How, When, Where, and Why)? ?

If no, Why not?

9. Do you think that the _____ Police Department's juvenile officers have the ability to diagnose and screen cases well? Yes _____ No _____
Explain:

10. Do you keep statistics on police referrals to your agency? Yes _____ No _____
(secure copies)

INTERVIEW WITH PROSECUTING ATTORNEY /COURT INTAKE
Investigations PUBLIC DEFENDER

1. Statistics for the prior year:

a. Number of juvenile cases referred from _____ Department _____

b. Percentage of all juvenile cases referred from _____ Department
which are processed to court _____

c. Reasons for which you decline to process to court (and percentage frequency)
Reasons Percentage of cases

2. In cases when you decline to prosecute, do you request additional investigation?
Yes _____ No _____ Explain:

*3. Do the police generally provide evidence that is legally sufficient? Yes ___ No ___

*4. Do the police generally provide evidence that is admissible? Yes ___ No ___

*5. Do you inform police of evidentiary or legal problems with their cases?

Yes ___ No ___

If Yes, what has been the effect (has it improved investigations?)

*6. Do you have any recommendations for changes in the manner in which the police, and especially the juvenils unit officers, do their investigative work?

*Starred questions for Public Defender

CASE FILE REVIEW- SCREENING

Master # _____
Case File # _____

Charge: Assault _____
Burglary _____
Vandalism _____
Larceny _____
Runaway _____

Disposition: _____ Court _____ Public Agency-
_____ Home _____ Medical
_____ Police Program _____ Public Agency-
_____ Restitution _____ Psychological
_____ Pvte Agency- _____ Public Agency-
_____ Medical _____ Drug/Alcohol Reh
_____ Pvte Agency- _____ Other (specify):
_____ Psychological _____
_____ Pvte Agency- _____
_____ Drug/Alcohol Rehab _____

Disposition to Residential Facility : Yes
_____ No

Charge Description

No. of Victims: _____

Weapon: _____ Yes _____ No

No. of Suspects: _____

Type Weapon: _____ Gun _____ Knife _____ Fist _____ Other _____

Time of Incident: _____ Day _____ Nite(6pm-6am)

Location of Incident:
_____ Business _____ Street
_____ Pvte Residence _____ Juvenile's Home
_____ School Grnds _____ Other(specify) _____

Injury to Victim: _____ Hosp. _____ No Hospitalztn

Property Damage: _____ \$100- _____ \$100+

Type of Propty: _____ Car _____ Personal Possn
_____ Merchandise
_____ Other (specify) _____

Source of Complaint: _____ Victim _____ Witness
_____ Police _____ Parent
_____ Self _____ Other(specify) _____

Victim/Defendant Relationship:
_____ Known _____ Unknown

Other Characteristics of Interest: _____

If Known: _____ Friend _____ Neighbor
_____ Parent _____ Sibling
_____ Relative
_____ Other (specify) _____

Defendant Characteristics

Age: _____ yrs. Sex: _____ M _____ F

Race: _____ W _____ B _____ Amer.Ind. _____ Chic _____ Asian

No. of Prior Arrests: _____

Other (specify): _____

No. of Prior Contacts: _____

Type of Prior Convictions: Fel Misd F&M

No. of Prior Convictions: _____

Prior Contacts or Arrests
for Same Offense? Yes No

Drug History

Employment History

Known Involvement with Marijuana:

Employed Full-Time at Time of Arrest:

 Yes No

 Yes No

Known Involvement with Heroin:

Employed Part-Time at Time of Arrest:

 Yes No

 Yes No

Known Involvement with Alcohol:

Reports

 Yes No

Documented Physical/medical Problems:

School History

 Yes No

Full-Time Student at Time of Arrest:

Documented Psychological Problems:

 Yes No

 Yes No

Part-Time Student at Time of Arrest:

Documented School Problems:

 Yes No

 Yes No

Grades at School at Time of Arrest:

Prior Probation Report:

 Good Poor N.A.

 Yes No

Grade Completed at Time of Arrest: _____

Prior Intake Report:

 Yes No

Defendant/Family Interaction

Parent Attendance at Case Conference:

Attitude of Parent(s):

 Yes No

 Concerned Unconcerned

Parent Ability to Control Child:

Parent Receptiveness to Suggestions of Police

 Yes No

 Yes No

Juvenile Resides With:

Family in Treatment Previously:

 Two Parents One Parent
 Relatives Foster Parent
 Other (specify) _____

 Yes No

Family Willingness to Obtain Treatment:

 Yes No

Defendant Characteristics

Attitude at time of arrest: Cooperative Uncooperative

Prior Treatment by Service Agency: Yes No
If yes; Residential OR Non-residential

If yes; Specify type of agency:

Police Program

Probation

Pvte Agency-Medical

Pvte Agency-Psychological

Pvte Agency-Drug/Alcohol Rehabilitation

Public Agency-Medical

Public Agency-Psychological

Public Agency-Drug/Alcohol Rehabilitation

Other, Specify: _____

OBSERVATION LOG
INVESTIGATION AND SCREENING

Initial Steps

Review initial arrest report
Create case file
Review local police arrest records
Review records of other police departments
Receive information on new case
Arrest suspect

Analyze Reports

Analyze police investigation reports (all but arrest records)
Analyze police referral reports
Analyze prior police custody/arrest reports
Analyze police incident report
Analyze police detention report
Analyze police prior contact report
Analyze other police reports
Analyze court reports
Analyze probation reports
Analyze intake report
Analyze prosecutor report
Analyze school report
Analyze disposition reports
Analyze referral reports
Analyze medical/psychiatric/psychological reports

Interview/Interrogate Principals in Case

Interview/interrogate juvenile suspects in the field (face-to-face)
Interview/interrogate juvenile suspects in the police facilities (face-to-face)
Interview/interrogate juvenile suspects over the phone
Interview/interrogate witnesses in the field (face-to-face)
Interview/interrogate witnesses in the police facilities (face-to-face)
Interview/interrogate witnesses over the phone
Interview/interrogate the victim in the field (face-to-face)
Interview/interrogate the parents in the field (face-to-face)
Interview/interrogate the parents over the phone
Interview/interrogate the parents in the police facilities (face-to-face)
Interview/interrogate parent (not as witness or victim) in office
Interview/interrogate parent (not as witness or victim) in the home
Interview/interrogate other sources of information (phone, field, office)

Assist Other Officers

Assist patrol officers in the field
Assist patrol officers in police facilities
Assist patrol officers over the phone

- Assist detectives in the field
- Assist detectives in police facilities
- Assist detectives over the phone
- Assist other officers in the field
- Assist other officers in police facilities
- Assist other officer over the phone

Request Assistance from Others

- Request assistance from patrol
- Request assistance from detectives
- Request assistance from other juvenile officers
- Request assistance from community relations officers
- Request assistance from court liaison officers
- Request assistance from other jurisdictions
- Request assistance from other officers

Confer with Others

- Confer with medical/psychiatric services in the office
- Confer with medical/psychiatric services in the field (or their office)
- Confer with medical/psychiatric services over the phone
- Confer with Intake/Probation in the office
- Confer with Intake/Probation in the field
- Confer with Intake/Probation over the phone
- Confer with Prosecutor in the office
- Confer with Prosecutor in the field (his-her office)
- Confer with Prosecutor over the phone
- Confer with judge in the office
- Confer with judge over the phone
- Confer with judge in the field
- Confer with youth-serving agencies in the office
- Confer with youth-serving agencies in the field
- Confer with youth-serving agencies over the phone
- Confer with patrol on a case
- Confer with head of a unit
- Confer with Investigations division (morning briefing)

Case Conference

- Conduct case conference (specify actors) in the office
- Conduct case conference (specify actors) not in the office

Complete Case Records

- Complete case report
- Complete other written records
- Transcribe/Record report on tape

CONTINUED

3 OF 4

Mail notifications

Testify in court

Gather evidence

Gather juvenile and transport to court

Gather witnesses and transport to court

Gather juvenile and transport to hall

Transport evidence

Pick up suspect in other jurisdiction

Process a suspect in station (booking)

Transport Probation Officer

Views possible stolen property in field

JUVENILE INTERVIEW FORM

MASTER NO. _____

CHARGE _____

AGE AT TIME OF OFFENSE _____

1. Briefly explain the circumstances of your involvement with the police.

2. What was the disposition in your case?

3. Did you discuss your case with a juvenile officer? Was a juvenile officer involved in any aspect of your case?

4. Was the Juvenile Officer any different from other police officers that you were in contact with?

5. Did you expect the disposition that you received?

If not, why not?

6. Did you feel that the disposition was fair?

If not, why not?

7. Do you have any friends or acquaintances who have been involved with the police?

If so, did they receive similar treatment? Explain.

The Quality of
this Document in some
sections is Poor

END