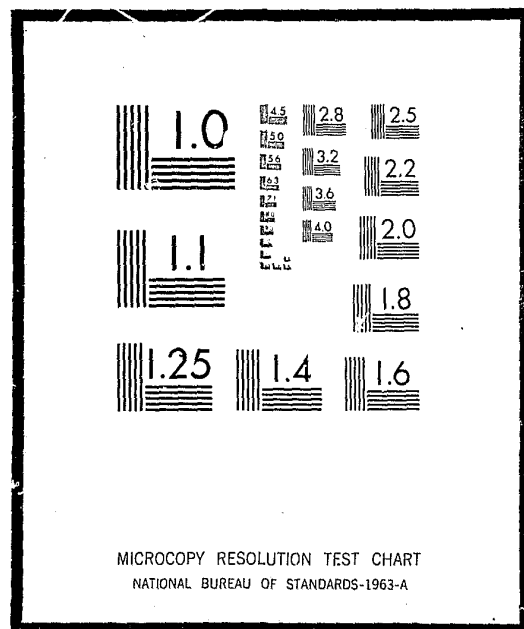


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COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS, LAW
ENFORCEMENT PRACTICES AND REFERRAL RATES
TO FLORIDA'S DIVISION OF YOUTH SERVICES*

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None of those who assisted in this project in various ways are responsible for its deficiencies and shortcomings; these are solely the responsibility of the author.

Table of Contents

	page
Introduction	1
Statewide Census Data Analysis	3
Demographic characteristics and referral rates	5
Social class and referral rates	8
Family patterns and referral rates	10
School patterns and referral rates	14
Control variable analysis	21
Summary of statewide analysis	25
Law Enforcement in Selected Counties	27
Organizational Policy Differences: A Comparative Analysis	30
High referral counties	30
Moderate and low referral counties	31
Patrolmens' Criteria for Referral: A Comparative Analysis	34
Comparison of Patrolmens' Beliefs and Attitudes in	
High Referral vs. Low Referral Counties	39
Community orientation of patrolmen	39
Relations with DYS	41
Authoritarianism	43
Discussion and Implications	46
Summary of findings	46
Interpretation of findings	47
Questions for further research	49
Policy recommendations	51

List of Tables

Table		Page
1	Demographic Characteristics and Referral Rates	5
2	Demographic Characteristics of High Delinquency Referral Counties	6
3	Demographic Characteristics of High CINS Referral Counties	7
4	Social Class Composition and Referral Rates	9
5	Social Class Characteristics of High Delinquency Referral Counties	11
6	Social Class Characteristics of High CINS Referral Counties	12
7	Family Patterns and Referral Rates	13
8	Family Patterns of High Delinquency Referral Counties . .	15
9	Family Patterns of High CINS Referral Counties	16
10	School Patterns and Referral Rates	17
11	School Patterns of High Delinquency Referral Counties . .	19
12	School Patterns of High CINS Referral Counties	20
13	Demographic Variables Related to Referral Rates	22
14	Social Class Variables Related to Referral Rates	24
15	Miscellaneous Statistics from Sample Counties	28
16	Mean Ranks of Alternative Decisions regarding Juvenile Cases by County	35
17	Conditions for Taking Juvenile to DYS by County	37
18	Relative Importance of Selected Discretionary Factors by County	38
19	Community Integration of Patrolmen by County	40
20	County Referral Rates and Community Integration of Patrolmen	41
21	Evaluation of Relationship with DYS by County	42
22	County Referral Rates and Evaluation of Relations with DYS	42

List of Tables (cont;)

Table		Page
23	County Referral Rates and Evaluation of DYS Intake Criteria	43
24	County Referral Rates and Decision to Release Juvenile because DYS will Release Him	43
25	Mean Authoritarianism Scores by County	44

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS, LAW ENFORCEMENT PRACTICES AND
REFERRAL RATES TO FLORIDA'S DIVISION OF YOUTH SERVICES

Introduction

This report is based on an exploratory research project designed to investigate the relationship between selected community characteristics and the rates of referral of juveniles to the Florida Division of Youth Services. The project was initiated in response to the Division's concern with differential referral rates in different counties of the state. Differential referral rates may be due to actual differences in the amount of delinquency and other misbehavior committed in the different counties of the state. However, differential referral rates may also indicate that different communities enforce different standards of behavior for youth. Thus, behavior that is tolerated or ignored in one community may lead to a complaint to the police and subsequent referral to DYS in another. This means failure to provide equal justice for all under the law. It means that the system of juvenile justice is not administered equally throughout the state. The magnitude of this problem can be seen in the fact that arrest rates per 1000 juveniles range from 10.5 in Highlands County to 78.6 in Sarasota County. Since other studies have shown that only a small percentage of delinquent behavior is officially processed, the total volume of delinquency could undoubtedly be much higher in all counties. The amount that is processed is no doubt affected by numerous social factors in the community or characteristics of law enforcement agencies.

The development of strategies by DYS to correct the possible inequality in the administration of juvenile justice requires some understanding of the social factors which may lead to differential referral rates. For example, do large, densely populated metropolitan communities have higher referral rates,

proportionately, than do smaller communities? Do communities which have experienced rapid population growth have higher referral rates than more stable ones? To what extent do police officers follow different policies in their surveillance of youth? To what extent do they differ in their decisions on whether or not to refer a youth to DYS? Do these differences reflect differing community standards as evidenced, for example, by the proportion of retired persons in the community? Providing answers to these and similar questions can be a first step in enabling officials of the Division of Youth Services to work toward greater uniformity in the administration of juvenile justice. It can help show the types of communities where appropriate special action needs to be taken and perhaps suggest the directions such action might take.

Our analysis of the relationship between community characteristics and DYS referral rates will be divided in 4 major parts. First, we shall investigate the relationships between several demographic and social class characteristics provided in the U.S. Census and referral rates. With counties as the unit of analysis, this stage will provide statewide coverage. Second, we shall examine the referral policies of a sample of the law enforcement agencies in a set of eight counties selected for field work. To select the sample counties all counties were ranked on the basis of the percentage of their juvenile population referred to DYS, and the sample of eight counties was selected to include counties with high, medium, and low referral rates. These counties also differed in terms of several other potentially significant social characteristics. The analysis of referral policies will be based on interviews with chiefs of police or sheriffs or their assistants. The third part of this report is based on a questionnaire survey of a sample of the law enforcement officers in the selected counties. The purpose of the survey is to determine the operating practices of patrolmen (as opposed to official agency policy) with respect to juveniles, as well as their attitudes and orientations toward several issues

related to their work with juveniles. The goal of the second and third parts will be to explore whether there is any relationship between referral rates and law enforcement agencies' policies or operating practices or attitudes of law enforcement personnel. The fourth and final portion of this report will be to suggest policy implications implied by the findings, as well as to suggest some areas where more research is needed. One obvious area where additional research will be needed is in evaluating any strategies developed to correct the problem of differential referral rates.

Statewide Census Data Analysis

U.S. Census tapes, which provide county-wide data, were the major source of data for this part of the analysis. The raw data were converted into the appropriate proportions, and these were correlated with rates of referral to DYS for delinquency offenses and other forms of juvenile misbehavior (CINS offenses) separately. There are 4 major categories of variables which were related to referral rates: (1) basic demographic variables, (2) social class (3) family structure, and (4) educational experiences of juveniles. The relationship between each specific variable and referral rates is expressed in terms of a correlation coefficient. This coefficient theoretically ranges from -1.0 to +1.0. A score close to -1.0 would indicate a strong inverse relation; a score close to +1.0 would indicate a strong positive relation, and a score close to 0 would indicate no significant relation with referral rates. In addition to the correlation coefficients, cross-classification tables will be presented where appropriate to show the nature of the relationships discussed.

Demographic characteristics and referral rates.

Table 1 (page 5) shows several demographic variables which are significantly related to delinquency rates. None of these are significantly related to CINS rates, however; that is, none of the correlation coefficients in the CINS

column are large enough to differ significantly from a chance occurrence.

The significant relationships in Table 1 show that delinquency referral rates are highest in counties in which a large proportion moved into the state since 1965, which have a high proportion of the population living in urban areas, and which have high net migration rates. Referral rates are also high in counties in which a large proportion of the population is over 65 years of age. On the other hand, referral rates are low in counties with a high proportion who are Florida born, a high proportion whose residence has been unchanged since 1950, and in which a large proportion of domiciles are single family dwellings. Referral rates are also lower in counties with a large proportion of the population engaged in agriculture.

These relationships are portrayed in tabular form in Table 2 (page 6) (for delinquency referral rates) and Table 3 (page 7) (for CINS referral rates). The results are consistent with the analysis of the correlation coefficients. For example, in Table 2 almost 6 percent (5.9) of the counties with low density have high referral rates while almost 59 percent (58.8) of those with high density have high referral rates. On the other hand, almost 48 percent (47.8) of the counties with a low proportion of Florida born inhabitants have high referral rates, while none of those with a high proportion of Florida born do.

The relationships for CINS referral rates, shown in Table 3 for comparative purposes, are not nearly as consistent. In several cases these relationships are not linear; that is, the proportions do not increase or decrease consistently across rows. This would explain why the correlation coefficients in Table 1 are not statistically significant. Of course, all of these relationships may reflect the influence of other factors rather than being genuine relationships. After we examine these preliminary relationships, we shall introduce several variables as controls. If these relationships are maintained in the control variable analysis, we shall be on firmer ground in drawing conclusions regarding county characteristics which are related to referral rates.

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics and Referral Rates

Demographic variables	Correlation coefficients	
	Delinquency referral rates	CINS referral rates
Density (number of persons per square mile)	.2175*	-.0129
Percent of population in urban areas	.5356***	.1030
Net in-migration rate: 1960-1970	.4915***	.0515
Proportion of population Florida born	-.7023***	-.1892
Proportion who moved from outside Florida since 1965	.5626***	.1405
Proportion of persons who lived in same house since 1950	-.6033***	-.0954
Proportion employed in agriculture	-.2860**	.002
Proportion retired (over 65)	.3969***	.2003
Proportion of single family dwellings	-.5744***	-.0683
Proportion who speak Spanish	.1914	-.1031

Significance Level

* .05 level

** .01 level

*** .001 level

Table 2

Demographic Characteristics of High Delinquency Referral Counties*

	Proportion of Counties with high delinquency referral rates**			
	Low	Med. low	Med. high	High
Density	5.9(17)	12.5(16)	23.5(17)	58.8(17)
Net migration	5.0(20)	14.3(14)	37.5(16)	47.1(17)
Percent urban	0(15)	16.7(18)	17.6(17)	64.7(17)
Percent retired	23.5(17)	14.3(14)	27.3(22)	35.7(14)
Percent of single family dwellings	43.8(16)	47.1(17)	9.5(21)	0(13)
		<u>Low</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>High</u>
Proportion Florida born		47.8(23)	25.0(24)	0(20)
Proportion from outside Florida		0(27)	47.8(23)	35.3(17)
Proportion stable since 1950		44.8(29)	14.8(27)	0(11)
Proportion in agriculture		40(20)	23.3(30)	11.8(17)

*High referral counties are those in approximate upper quartile of referral rates.

**Numbers in parentheses show N on which percentage is based

Note:

The decisions on number of categories for each variable was based on an analysis of the range and distribution pattern for that variable.

Table 3

Demographic Characteristics of High CINS Referral Counties**

	Proportion of Counties with high CINS referral rates*			
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Med. low</u>	<u>Med. high</u>	<u>High</u>
Density	17.6 (17)	43.8(16)	29.4(17)	11.8(17)
Net migration	30(20)	14.3(14)	37.5(16)	17.6(17)
Percent urban	26.7(15)	16.7(18)	35.3(17)	23.5(17)
Percent retired	11.8(17)	28.6(14)	27.3(22)	35.7(14)
Percent of single family dwellings	12.5(16)	47.1(17)	14.3(21)	30.8(13)
		<u>Low</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>High</u>
Proportion Florida born		26.1(23)	25(24)	25(20)
Proportion from outside Florida		29.6(27)	30.4(23)	11.8(17)
Proportion stable since 1950		24.1(29)	29.6(27)	18.2(11)
Proportion in agriculture		20(20)	26.7(30)	29.4(17)

*High referral counties are those in approximate upper quartile of referral rates.

**Numbers in parentheses show N on which percentage is based.

Note:

The decisions on number of categories for each variable was based on an analysis of the range and distribution pattern for that variable.

Social class and referral rates.

The relationship between several indicators of social class and delinquency and CINS referral rates is portrayed in Table 4 (page 9). The results are surprising, to say the least. While almost all of the literature on social class and delinquency shows the lower class to be more likely to be involved in delinquent behavior as reflected in official statistics, the correlation coefficients in Table 4 show just the opposite. Almost without exception, the relationships between the indicators of low social class and delinquency referrals were inverse. Similarly, the relationships between the indicators of high social class and delinquency referrals were positive. Thus, for example, the higher the proportion of families with children below the poverty level, the lower the delinquency referral rates. Further, the higher the proportion of families with incomes greater than \$15,000 annually, the higher the referral rate.

The one exception to this pattern is when proportion of low cost rental units is used as the indicator of low social class standing of counties. There is a positive relationship between the proportion of rental units lower than \$60 per month and delinquency referral rates.

All the patterns are much less consistent with CINS referral rates, however. The only significant relation is that between proportion of owner-occupied housing valued at less than \$10,000 and CINS referral rates. This relation is inverse, meaning that the higher the proportion of this price housing, the lower the CINS referral rate.

In interpreting these results it should be borne in mind that the unit of analysis is counties, rather than individuals or families. This means that the above statements should not be taken to imply that persons with a high class standing are more likely to be referred to DYS for delinquent behavior or that persons with a low class standing are less likely to be referred. Rather, the

Table 4
Social Class Composition and Referral Rates

Social Class variables	Correlation coefficients	
	Delinquency referral rates	CINS referral rates
Proportion of juveniles in families below poverty level	-.4653***	.0827
Proportion of families with children on public welfare	-.5631***	-.1273
Proportion of families with children below poverty level	-.5771***	.0206
Proportion of female heads of household with children below poverty level	-.3985***	-.0512
Proportion of families with incomes less than \$5000	-.3934***	.1942
Proportion of owner occupied housing valued at less than \$10,000	.0163	-.2030*
Proportion of rental units lower than \$60	.5679***	.1320
Proportion of housing units with occupancy greater than 1.01 per room	-.4524***	-.1638
Proportion of households with no autos	-.3992***	-.0867
Proportion of families with incomes more than \$15,000	.5111***	-.0981
Proportion of rental units more than \$150	-.0353	.1432
Proportion of persons over 25 with 1-3 years college	.5974***	.0822
Proportion of persons over 25 with B.A.	.4384***	.0585

Significance Level

*.05 level

** .01 level

***.001 level

term social class refers to the class composition of counties, not the class standing of individuals or families. It is possible, for example, that the high delinquency rates in "high class" counties are actually due to the delinquency committed by persons with a relatively low social class standing. (Our data do not justify such an assertion, however, since we do not have data on individuals within the counties.)

The relationships between the social class indicators and referral rates are portrayed in tabular form in Tables 5 and 6 (pages 11 and 12, respectively). The results shown are consistent with our interpretation of the correlation coefficients in Table 4. Table 5 shows that counties which score high on indicators of low social class tend to have low delinquency referral rates. For example, almost half of the counties with a low proportion of families with children below the poverty level have high referral rates, while none of the counties with a high proportion of poverty families with children do. On the other hand, for example, none of the counties where the proportion of "over \$15,000 per year" families is low have high referral rates, while half of those counties with a high proportion of these high income families have high rates of delinquency referrals.

This pattern is not so consistent for CINS referral rates, however. A major reason is that many of the relationships are curvilinear. Nevertheless, in a couple of cases, the pattern seems to change, with CINS referral rates increasing as the proportion of low class families increases. (See 1st and 7th row of Table 6.) This is not a consistent change, however.

Family patterns and referral rates.

The relationship between several family variables and referral rates is given in Table 7 (page 13). Only one of the relationships is statistically significant, however: that between fertility rates and referral rates. This relationship is inverse, which means that the higher the fertility rate, the lower the

Table 5

Social Class Characteristics of High Delinquency Referral Counties*

	Proportion of counties with high delinquency referral rates**			
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>High</u>	
Proportion of juveniles in families below poverty level	45(20)	26.9(26)	4.8(21)	
Proportion of families with children on public welfare	44(25)	22.2(27)	0(15)	
Proportion of families with children below poverty level	48(25)	16.1(31)	0(11)	
Proportion of families with incomes under \$5000	38.1(21)	37.5(24)	0(22)	
Proportion of owner-occupied housing valued at less than \$10,000	21.7(23)	30(20)	25(24)	
Proportion of rental units lower than \$60	4.3(23)	34.8(23)	38.1(21)	
Proportion of families with incomes over \$15,000	0(21)	31.3(32)	50(14)	
Proportion of rental units more than \$150	25(24)	23.8(21)	27.3(22)	
Proportion of persons over 25 with 1-3 years of college	0(22)	22.7(22)	52.2(23)	
Proportion of persons over 25 with B.A.	4.2(24)	28.6(21)	45.5(22)	
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Med. low</u>	<u>Med. high</u>	<u>High</u>
Proportion of households with no autos	29.4(17)	41.2(17)	25(16)	5.9(17)
	<u>Low</u>		<u>High</u>	
Proportion of housing with occupancy greater than 1.01 per room	36.1(36)		12.9(31)	
Proportion of female heads of household with children below poverty level	28.6(49)		16.7(18)	

*High referral counties are those in approximate upper quartile of referral rates.

**Number in parentheses show N on which percentage is based.

Note:

The decisions on number of categories for each variable was based on an analysis of the range and distribution pattern for that variable.

Table 6

Social Class Characteristics of High CINS Referral Counties*

	Proportion of counties with high CINS referral rates**			
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>High</u>	
Proportion of juveniles in families below poverty level	10(20)	34.6(26)	28.6(21)	
Proportion of families with children on public welfare	24(25)	29.6(27)	20(15)	
Proportion of families with children below poverty level	24(25)	25.8(31)	27.3(11)	
Proportion of families with incomes under \$5000	9.5(21)	37.5(24)	27.3(22)	
Proportion of owner-occupied housing valued at less than \$10,000	26.1(23)	35(20)	16.7(24)	
Proportion of rental units lower than \$60	21.7(23)	39.1(23)	14.3(21)	
Proportion of families with incomes over \$15,000	33.3(21)	31.3(32)	0(14)	
Proportion of rental units more than \$150	8.3(24)	42.9(21)	27.3(22)	
Proportion of persons over 25 with 1-3 years of college	27.3(22)	31.8(22)	17.4(23)	
Proportion of persons over 25 with B.A.	25(24)	33.3(21)	18.2(22)	
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Med low</u>	<u>Med. high</u>	<u>High</u>
Proportion of households with no autos	35.3(17)	17.6(17)	25(16)	23.5(17)
	<u>Low</u>		<u>High</u>	
Proportion of housing with occupancy greater than 1.01 per room	25(36)		25.8(31)	
Proportion of female heads of household with children below poverty level	30.6(49)		11.1(18)	

*High referral counties are those in approximate upper quartile of referral rates.

**Numbers in parentheses show N on which percentage is based.

Note:

The decisions on number of categories for each variable was based on an analysis of the range and distribution pattern for that variable.

Table 7

Family Patterns and Referral Rates

	<u>Correlation Coef</u>
	<u>Delinquency referral rates</u>
Proportion of female headed households with juveniles	-.0023
Proportion of population divorced or separated	-.0955
Proportion of mothers with children 6-17 who are employed	-.1333
Proportion of children under 18 without 1 parent	.1522
Proportion of children under 18 without both parents	-.1664
Fertility rate for married females 25-44 years of age	-.3960**

**Sig. at .001 level

delinquency referral rate. While the other relationships are not statistically significant, it might be noted that the direction of the relationship between proportion of children without one parent and referral rates (both delinquency and CINS) is positive. That is, that the higher the proportion of children without one parent, the higher the referral rate. However, the relation is inverse for proportion of children without both parents and referral for delinquency offenses. The relationship between proportion of mothers employed and referral rates is also negative; that is, the higher the proportion of mothers who work, the lower the referral rate.

Tables 8 and 9 (pages 15 and 16, respectively) provide the percentages with high referral rates (for delinquency and CINS offenses, respectively) in the various categories of family variables. Although for the most part these relationships were not strong enough to be statistically significant, it is nevertheless worth noting that the relationship between delinquency referral rates and proportion of female headed households with juveniles is positive. So is that between delinquency referral rates and proportion divorced or separated and proportion without one parent. This positive pattern appears only for those counties with high referral rates; for all counties, the relations were inverse for the most part.

Those counties with high CINS referral rates also show a positive relationship between these rates and proportion divorced or separated. Again, this pattern does not hold when all counties were considered.

School patterns and referral rates.

The final set of statewide variables to be related to DYS referral rates have to do with the school system. Like social class composition of community and family patterns, one might reasonably expect juvenile misbehavior to be affected by school patterns since the school is such a dominant institution in the lives of juveniles.

The variables listed in Table 10 (page 17) (compiled from the Census tapes

Table 8

Family Patterns of High Delinquency Referral Counties*

Family variables	Proportion of counties with high delinquency referral rates**			
	Low	Med.	High	
Proportion of female headed households with juveniles	18.2(22)	29.2(24)	28.6(21)	
Proportion of population divorced or separated	12.5(24)	25.9(27)	43.8(16)	
Proportion of mothers with children 6-17 who are employed	21.7(23)	40.9(22)	13.6(22)	
Proportion of children under 18 without 1 parent	15.4(26)	28.6(21)	35(20)	
Proportion of children under 18 without both parents	38.5(26)	21.7(23)	11.1(18)	
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Med. low</u>	<u>Med. high</u>	<u>High</u>
Fertility rate for married females 25-44 years of age	47.1(17)	29.4(17)	18.8(16)	5.9(17)

*High referral counties are those in approximate upper quartile of referral rates.

**Numbers in parentheses show N on which percentage is based.

Note:

The decisions on number of categories for each variable was based on an analysis of the range and distribution pattern for that variable.

Table 9

Family Patterns of High CINS Referral Counties*

Family variables	Proportion of counties with high CINS referral rates**			
	Low	Med.	High	
Proportion of female headed households with juveniles	22.7(22)	35.5(24)	14.3(21)	
Proportion of population divorced or separated	20.8(24)	25.9(27)	31.3(16)	
Proportion of mothers with children 6-17 who are employed	26.1(23)	18.2(22)	31.8(22)	
Proportion of children under 18 without 1 parent	15.4(26)	28.6(21)	35(20)	
Proportion of children under 18 without both parents	19.2(26)	43.5(23)	11.1(18)	
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Med. low</u>	<u>Med. low</u>	<u>High</u>
Fertility rate for married females 25-44 years of age	17.6(17)	23.5(17)	37.5(17)	23.5(17)

*High referral counties are those in approximate upper quartile of referral rates.

**Numbers in parentheses show N on which percentage is based.

Note:

The decisions on number of categories for each variable was based on an analysis of the range and distribution pattern for that variable.

Table 10

School Patterns and Referral Rates

	<u>Correlation Coefficients</u>	
	<u>Delinquency referral rates</u>	<u>CINS referral rates</u>
Proportion of persons age 14-15 in school	-.0750	-.1548
Proportion of persons age 16-17 in school	.0354	.0186
Estimated absenteeism rate in grades 7-9, 1972-73	.3205*	.0232
Estimated absenteeism rate in grades 10-12, 1972-73	.1225	.0293
Proportion of students in grades 7-9 promoted in 1972-73	.1724	-.0499
Proportion of students in grades 10-12 promoted in 1972-73	-.1672	.0091
Proportion of high school graduates who did not continue their education in 1972-73	-.5412***	-.2842**

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

***Significant at .005 level

and from Florida Department of Education publications) show few significant relationships with referral rates. The strongest relationships are between referral rates and proportion of graduating seniors who continued their education. However, contrary to common sense predictions, this relation is inverse. That is, the higher the proportion who did not continue their education, the lower the proportion of juveniles referred to DYS. This relation is stronger for delinquency referral rates than CINS referral rates. The only other significant relationship in Table 10 is that between delinquency referral rates and absenteeism of students in grades 7-9. As one might expect, the higher the absentee rate, the higher the proportion of delinquency referrals. None of the remaining variables is significantly related to referral rates, whether delinquency or CINS.

These school patterns were also cross-tabulated with delinquency and CINS referral rates, and a portion of the results is presented in Tables 11 and 12 (pages 19 and 20, for delinquency and CINS rates, respectively). The proportions shown are generally consistent with the relationships in Table 10. For example, over half (57.9%) of the counties in which relatively few high school seniors did not continue their education had high delinquency referral rates, while only 6.3% of the counties where a high proportion did not continue had high delinquency referral rates. While the percentage differences are not as marked for CINS referral rates, the pattern is the same.

With respect to absentee rates in grades 7-9, almost 14 % of the counties with low absentee rates had high delinquency referral rates, while almost 39% of the counties with high absentee rates had high delinquency referral rates. There is practically no difference with CINS rates, however. It might also be noted from Table 11 that the same positive relationship between absences and delinquency referrals is evident for students in grades 10-12, although it is not strong enough to be statistically significant. One other relationship from Table 12, not statistically

Table 11

School Patterns of High Delinquency Referral Counties*

<u>School Patterns</u>	<u>Proportion of counties with high delinquency referral rates**</u>			
	<u>Low</u>		<u>High</u>	
Proportion of persons age 14-15 in school	20.8(24)		27.9(43)	
Estimated school absentee rates in grades 7-9, 1972-73	13.9(36)		38.7(31)	
Proportion of students in grades 7-9 promoted in 1972-73	25(32)		25.7(35)	
Proportion of students in grades 10-12 promoted in 1972-73	29(31)		22.2(36)	
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>High</u>	
Estimated school absentee rates in grades 10-12, 1972-73	8(25)	34.5(29)	38.5(13)	
Proportion of high school graduates who did not continue their education in 1972-73	57.9(19)	15.6(32)	6.3(16)	
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Med. low</u>	<u>Med. high</u>	<u>High</u>
Proportion of persons age 16-17 in school	13.3(15)	33.3(15)	29.2(24)	23.1(13)

*High referral counties are those in approximate upper quartile of referral rates.

**Numbers in parentheses show N on which percentage is based.

Note:

The decisions on number of categories for each variable was based on an analysis of the range and distribution pattern for that variable.

Table 12

School Patterns of High CINS Referral Counties*

<u>School Patterns</u>	<u>Proportion of Counties with high CINS referral rates**</u>			
	<u>Low</u>		<u>High</u>	
Proportion of persons age 14-15 in school	20.8(24)		27.9(43)	
Estimated school absentee rates in grades 7-9, 1972-73	25(36)		25.8(31)	
Proportion of students in grades 7-9 promoted in 1972-73	25(32)		25.7(35)	
Proportion of students in grades 10-12 promoted in 1972-73	35.5(31)		16.7(36)	
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>High</u>	
Estimated school absentee rates in grades 10-12, 1972-73	20(25)	34.5(29)	15.4(13)	
Proportion of high school graduates who did not continue their education in 1972-73	31.6(19)	25(32)	18.8(16)	
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Med. low</u>	<u>Med. high</u>	<u>High</u>
Proportion of persons age 16-17 in school	26.7(15)	33.3(15)	12.5(24)	38.5(13)

*High referral counties are those in approximate upper quartile of referral rates.

**Numbers in parentheses show N on which percentage is based.

Note:

The decisions on number of categories for each variable was based on an analysis of the range and distribution pattern for that variable.

significant but worth noting anyway, is that between promotion of students in grades 10-12 and CINS referrals. Where promotion rates are low, the proportion of counties with high CINS referrals is twice that of counties where promotion rates are high (35.5% vs. 16.7%).

Control variable analysis.

For all of the county characteristics discussed above, the relationships with referral rates may or may not be genuine relationships. It is possible, for example, that the strong relationships shown between several demographic and social class variables and referral rates are due to the influence of some other factor, in which case the relationship shown would be spurious. Similarly, the lack of many significant relationships with family patterns or school factors may be due to the masking influence of some other factor. The analysis in this section will re-examine several of the relationships presented earlier while controlling for the effects of other potentially relevant factors. If the relationships are not changed drastically as a result of introducing controls, this will strengthen the authenticity of the relationship.

The relationship between some selected demographic variables and referral rates with controls is shown in Table 13 (page 22). The first row presents the relationships without controls. The control variables are listed in the left margin. To determine the effect of each of these controls on the original relationship, the correlations at the top of each column can be compared with the appropriate correlations listed below.

Among the demographic variables significantly related to referral rates are some which reflect the size of the county (e.g. percent urban and density) and others which reflect extent of community growth (e.g. net migration and proportion of population who moved to Florida). Since size and growth may themselves be related, we need to control for each while looking at the other's relation to referral rates. Table 13 shows that the relation between percent urban and delinquency referral rates

Table 13

Demographic Variables Related to Referral Rates

<u>Control Variables</u>	<u>Percent urban</u>		<u>Density</u>		<u>Net Migration</u>		<u>Proportion Florida born</u>	
	<u>Delinq.</u>	<u>CINS</u>	<u>Delinq.</u>	<u>CINS</u>	<u>Delinq.</u>	<u>CINS</u>	<u>Delinq.</u>	<u>CINS</u>
NONE	.54***	.10	.22*	-.01	.49***	.05	-.70***	-.19
Other Demographic controls								
Percent urban	_____	_____	_____	_____	.41***	.02	-.55***	-.16
Density	_____	_____	_____	_____	.48***	.05	-.69***	-.21*
Net migration	.47***	.09	.17	-.02	_____	_____	_____	_____
Proportion Florida born	.15	-.02	.15	-.02	_____	_____	_____	_____
Proportion moved since 1969	.48***	.06	.22*	-.02	_____	_____	_____	_____
Social Class controls								
Families with Children on welfare	.32*	.04	.08	-.04	.23*	-.03	-.51***	-.15
Juveniles below poverty level	.36**	.20	.05	.02	.31**	.12	-.60***	-.38***
Families with less than \$15,000	.40***	.35*	.08	.07	.42***	.12	-.63***	-.35**
Families with more than \$15,000	.25	.28	.03	.03	.34**	.11	-.57***	-.31**
Persons with college degree	.36***	.09	.12	-.03	.41***	.03	-.62***	-.18
Family Pattern controls								
Female-headed households	.56***	.10	.22*	-.01	.55***	.07	-.70***	-.19
Proportion divorced or separated	.54***	.11	.22*	-.01	.48***	.02	-.70***	-.17
Mothers employed	.53***	.10	.21*	-.02	.49***	.05	-.70***	-.18
Fertility	.42**	.15	.07	-.01	.39***	.06	-.65***	-.24*
School controls								
9th grade absenteeism	.53***	.10	.21	-.02	.47***	.05	-.70***	-.19
12th grade absenteeism	.53***	.10	.21*	-.01	.49***	.05	-.70***	-.19
Proportion not continuing education	.33*	-.07	.06	-.11	.39***	-.05	-.58***	-.04

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

*** Significant at .001 level

is consistently reduced by the introduction of social class control variables. However, the relations continue to be significant. However, the inverse relation between proportion Florida born and CINS referrals increases with three social class control variables, representing both lower class and upper class controls (-.19 vs. -.38, -.35, and -.31). This strengthens the relevance of proportion Florida born as a variable inversely related to referral rates. Also, the relation between CINS referrals and percent urban increases with several social class variables controlled and in one case becomes statistically significant. While it is not entirely clear why these changes occur differently for delinquency referrals and CINS referrals, it may be that in high referral counties the relative importance of delinquency vs. CINS referrals is somehow related to social class. This could be a result of differences in the type of delinquency behavior in "middle class" vs. "lower class" counties. The controls for family patterns and school experiences result in very little change in the original relationships between the demographic variables and referral rates.

Table 14 (page 24) shows the effect of several control variables on the relationship between some selected social class variables and referral rates. Overall, the results appear to be comparable to those in Table 13. Controlling for demographic variables reduces somewhat the relationships between delinquency referrals and social class variables and increases in some cases the relationships between CINS referrals and social class. (Many of the relations with CINS rates continue to be low, however.) Family patterns and school controls have no significant effect on the original relationships except for fertility. This is due to the inverse relation between fertility and social class.

We also re-examined the relationship between the family patterns and school experiences with controls for the various demographic and social class variables. However, the results do not differ substantially from the analysis without controls so the tables will not be presented or discussed further.

Table 14

Social Class Variables Related to Referral Rates

<u>Control Variables</u>	<u>Families with children on welfare</u>		<u>Juveniles below poverty</u>		<u>Families with less than \$5000 income</u>		<u>Families with more than \$15000 income</u>		<u>Persons with college degree</u>	
	<u>Delinq.</u>	<u>CINS</u>	<u>Delinq.</u>	<u>CINS</u>	<u>Delinq.</u>	<u>CINS</u>	<u>Delinq.</u>	<u>CINS</u>	<u>Delinq.</u>	<u>CINS</u>
NONE	-.56***	-.13	-.47***	.08	-.39***	.19	.51***	-.10	.44***	.06
Demographic controls										
Percent urban	-.37***	-.08	-.20	.19	-.02	.39***	.18	-.28*	.13	-.01
Density	-.54***	-.14	-.42***	.08	-.34**	.20*	.47***	-.10	.41***	.06
Net migration	-.38***	-.12	-.25**	.14	-.29**	.22*	.37***	-.14	.34**	.04
Proportion Fla. born	-.01	.04	.12	.34**	-.02	.36**	.16	-.27**	.15	-.04
Proportion moved since 1969	-.49***	.06	-.36**	.21**	-.28**	.31**	.44***	-.17	.35**	.002
Proportion in agriculture	-.54***	-.13	-.39***	.10	-.30**	.23*	.44***	-.11	.36**	.07
Proportion retired	-.50***	-.06	-.45***	.11	-.57***	.15	.59***	-.08	.49***	.07
Family Pattern controls										
Female-headed households	-.57***	-.13	-.47***	.08	-.41***	.20*	.52***	-.10	.45***	.06
Proportion divorced or separated	-.56***	-.10	-.47***	.08	-.41***	.17	.52***	-.09	.43***	.03
Mothers employed	-.56***	-.12	-.45***	.10	-.38***	.21*	.51***	-.11	.44***	.06
Fertility	-.47***	-.15	-.30**	.13	-.21*	.25*	.38***	-.13	.28*	.08
School controls										
9th grade absenteeism	-.53***	-.13	-.44***	.09	-.37***	.20	.51***	-.10	.48***	.06
12th grade absenteeism	-.55***	-.12	-.45***	.09	-.38***	.21*	.50***	-.10	.43***	.05
Proportion not continuing education	-.49***	-.04	-.28**	.26*	.22*	.36***	.34**	-.28*	.25*	-.09

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

***Significant at .001 level

Summary of statewide analysis.

The results of our statewide analysis enable us to construct a profile of the types of counties where referral rates are high. In terms of demographic characteristics, the high referral counties tend to have a low proportion of native Floridians, a low proportion of persons whose residences have remained stable over a long period of time, a low proportion of single family dwellings, and a low proportion of the population engaged in agriculture. They have a high proportion of inhabitants who moved into their communities from outside Florida and live in urban areas, with high density, and with a fairly high proportion retired.

The social class composition of the counties with high referral rates appears to be solidly middle class rather than lower class. High referral counties have a low proportion of inhabitants on welfare, a low percentage of families with children below the poverty level, a low proportion earning less than \$5000 per year, a low proportion of families with no automobiles, and a low proportion of over-crowded housing. Further, these high referral counties have a large proportion of families earning more than \$15,000 per year and of individuals with a college education. Somewhat inconsistent with this pattern is the fact that high referral counties also have a high proportion of housing which is low cost rental housing.

Hardly any of the family variables for which we were able to obtain measures were significantly related to referral rates. There is a significant inverse relation between fertility rates and delinquency referrals; that is, the higher the fertility rates, the lower the referral rate. This is consistent with the social class analysis, since fertility rates are generally lower in the middle class than the lower class. Although the other family variables were not statistically significant in their relation to referral rates, it is nevertheless worth noting that proportion of employed mothers is inversely related to referral rates (that is, the larger the proportion employed, the lower the referral rate).

Finally, with respect to school patterns, the high referral counties are counties

in which the proportion of young people who did not continue their education beyond high school is low. In other words, in counties where a large proportion of young people continue their education referral rates are high. Again, this is consistent with the social class analysis, since middle class young people are more likely to continue their education beyond high school than lower class. Somewhat inconsistent with this, however, is the fact that 7th through 9th grade absentee rates are positively related to delinquency referral rates.

In short, then, high referral counties appear to be relatively affluent counties. They are urban and rapidly growing and have a high proportion of mobile families. This pattern emerges much more clearly from analysis of delinquency referrals than CINS referrals.

It is important to point that the conclusions reached above regarding the social class composition of high referral counties should not be taken to imply that the juvenile misbehavior which leads to high referral rates is necessarily committed by the affluent and mobile newcomers to the community. The conclusions reached here have to do with county composition, not individual or family class level. In fact, it may be that the delinquency is committed by the lower-class people living in these communities.

Nevertheless, the contrast between the conclusions drawn from our statewide analysis and those of previous studies of delinquency differ markedly. Most studies show that delinquent behavior, particularly as reflected in official statistics, is predominantly a phenomenon of lower class communities. Some possible explanations for this discrepancy, and policy implications, will be suggested in the final part of this report.

Law Enforcement in Selected Counties

The next stage of this study involved selecting a sample of counties for field work. The primary focus of our field investigations was with the police and sheriffs' departments, since the decisions made by these agents of social control should be expected to determine to a significant degree the number of juvenile referrals to DYS Intake Counsellors.

The primary factor considered in selection of sample counties was the relative proportion of the juvenile population referred to DYS. Specifically, it was decided to select counties with high, moderate, and low referral rates so as to provide a meaningful basis for comparison. In addition, an effort was made to select counties which varied in terms of other significant factors, such as size, region, and so on, again for purposes of comparison. The counties selected, ranked from high to low in referral rates, are as follows: Sarasota, Hillsborough, Duval, Bay, Broward, Brevard, Polk, and Highlands. These represent 6 of the DYS regions as well as the major geographical sections of the state. Also, these counties provide a good cross-section of size categories, with 1972 population ranging from 36,245 in Highlands County to 722,659 in Broward County.

Within each county, the sheriff's department as well as the police department of the largest municipality were selected for study. In addition, other municipal police departments which reflected the same demographic patterns as the county as a whole were selected (to the extent feasible), with the only limitation being that police departments with fewer than 10 officers were excluded. The table on the following page lists the counties selected, the municipalities within each county, and several salient characteristics of each.

Field work in the target communities was initiated by a phone call to the police chief or sheriff to schedule an interview. For departments with juvenile officers or a juvenile division, the officer in charge of this division was also interviewed. At the time of the interview, arrangements were made to distribute the Patrolmen's

	# of Officers	Officers/ 1900 Pop	Crime Rate/ 1000 Pop	# of Juvenile Arrests	Juv Arrest Rat / 1000 Juv Pop	Juvenile/Adult Arrest Ratio	% Pop Under 18	% Pop Over 65	% Pop Negro	# of Household
BAY	134	1.7	26.2	398	13.3	.08	37.0	7.3	13.4	2340
Panama City	52	1.6	27.1	260	29.0	.12	35.1	8.7	24.5	1040
Uninc	50	2.1	36.6	52		.02				
BREVARD	404	1.7	33.6	1992	21.4	.36	38.7	5.6	9.4	6850
Melbourne	60	1.4	35.3	419	26.5	.40	37.5	8.1	12.2	1210
Titusville	38	1.2	44.2	366	21.1	.78	41.8	4.3	9.4	870
Cocoa	24	1.4	37.2	149	23.3	.18	38.6	5.9	29.2	490
Uninc	197	2.1	27.3	473		.26				
BROWARD	1333	1.8	41.1	6344	31.2	.22	28.1	17.9	12.8	22250
Ft Lauderdale	376	2.5	54.5	1275	34.0	.11	25.1	18.5	14.8	5460
Pompano Bch	102	2.1	47.6	688	55.9	.23	25.8	21.6	21.1	1400
Lauderhill	25	1.9	34.1	429	114.7	1.12	27.7	17.7	0.4	300
Sunrise	39	2.9	12.4	27	6.6	.15	30.3	17.3	0.1	250
Uninc	123	0.9	38.8	688		.23				
DUVAL	832	1.5	43.6	4738	24.1	.16				
Jacksonville	786	1.5	44.2	4402	24.1	.16	35.1	7.5	22.9	16160
HIGHLANDS	38	1.0	15.1	117	10.5	.06	30.8	20.7	21.0	1040
Avon Park	10	1.4	18.5	16	6.5	.03	34.1	18.5	31.2	220
Sebring	14	1.8	12.7	57	27.5	.11	26.3	27.0	16.0	280
Uninc	14	0.7	14.9	44		.04				
POLK	345	1.4	35.2	2385	28.0	.20	34.1	12.6	17.5	7300
Lakeland	88	2.0	45.9	658	48.3	.18	30.5	16.1	22.3	1400
Bartow	24	1.8	37.6	133	27.7	.13	35.8	9.0	31.1	390
Lake Wales	19	2.2	25.0	97	34.9	.15	32.8	14.6	36.3	270
Uninc	92	0.7	33.5	908		.20				
SARASOTA	211	1.6	37.1	2277	78.6	.38	22.1	28.6	7.0	4860
Sarasota	92	2.2	43.7	809	82.2	.26	23.5	26.3	15.9	1610
Venice	25	2.8	33.3	158	123.0	.47	14.5	41.7	1.4	3050
Uninc	88	1.1	34.6	1307		.50				
HILLSBOROUGH	785	1.5	43.0	5463	30.8	.18	33.5	10.4	13.9	158750
Tampa	551	1.9	51.5	3876	43.0	.16	31.1	12.3	20.0	94850

+ Statistics drawn from 1972 Annual Report, Crime in Florida
* 1970 Census data

Questionnaire to a sample of the patrolmen in the Department. Copies of the interview schedule for Police Chiefs and of the Patrolmen's Questionnaire are included in the appendix to this report.

The number of Patrolmen's Questionnaires distributed in each department varied according to the department's size. The sampling ratio desired ranged from nearly 100% of the patrolmen or deputies in the smaller departments to 33% in the larger ones. However, the limited resources available did not make adequate follow-up feasible, so the final sample obtained was considerably less than that desired. Usable questionnaires were completed by a total of 418 patrolmen, with county totals ranging from 16 in Brevard County to 171 in Hillsborough County. These questionnaires, together with 26 personal interviews conducted with police chiefs and sheriffs (or their assistants) and with juvenile officers, constitute the primary data on which our analysis in this section is based.

It must be borne in mind that the high and unevenly distributed non-response rate limits the representativeness of our sample and introduces possible bias into our data. For example, one might reasonably assume that those patrolmen who agreed to complete the questionnaire are less negative in their attitudes toward DYS than those who refused, since they were all aware that the study was sponsored by DYS. Such biases can be partially offset by comparing the questionnaire responses of patrolmen with the information provided in the personal interviews. Even so, this study should be regarded as exploratory in nature.

As noted earlier, the sample counties were deliberately selected to represent a wide range of DYS referral rates. Our basic strategy will be to compare high referral counties with low referral counties to see if there are systematic differences in police policies, operating practices or attitudes. Specifically, we shall focus on two questions: (1) Do the law enforcement agencies of high referral and low referral counties differ in their organizational policies or practical decisions on referrals? (2) Do the basic attitudes and orientations of officers toward youth, the law, DYS, and related matters, differ in high referral vs. low referral

counties? To answer these questions, we shall focus first on the organizational policies as revealed in the interviews with agency heads. Second, we shall deal with the practices and the attitudes of the patrolmen as revealed in the questionnaire responses.

Organizational Policy Differences: A Comparative Analysis

High referral counties.

The counties selected as high referral counties include Sarasota, Hillsborough, Duval, and Bay. Information was gathered from 8 law enforcement agencies in these counties, including (in all cases but 1) the sheriff's department and the police department of the largest city. The one exception was Duval County, where almost the entire county is included in the corporate limits of Jacksonville. The information obtained through personal interviews will not be linked with specific departments in our discussion in order to protect the anonymity of respondents and confidentiality of their responses.

Based on the information provided by agency heads (or their assistants), there appears to be considerable heterogeneity in referral policies. Some departments (typically sheriffs' departments with large rural areas to cover) refer only 10 to 15 percent of the juveniles which come to the attention of officers for misbehavior. In the 8 agencies being considered, 4 routinely refer almost all cases, and 2 more refer well over half. In those departments where not all are routinely referred, the decision on whether to refer is determined most often by the seriousness of the offense. For example, felonies are almost always referred. In some cases, narcotics offenses, larceny and trespassing are also referred. The referral decision is sometimes based also on consideration of the juvenile's home environment. In one county, CINS offenses are referred to school authorities.

Police officers serve as intermediaries between the public and DYS officials. Thus, it is worth noting that all of the agency representatives interviewed in the high referral counties perceived that the public would like to see juvenile behavior

controlled more closely than it is. Also, 6 of the 8 law enforcement agency spokesmen reported difficulties in their relations with DYS. Poor communication was blamed in some cases, while others felt that a juvenile brought to DYS should be retained until the hearing. Examples were often cited of juveniles brought in for serious offenses who were released within a short time by DYS. This undermines the authority of the police and gives juveniles the impression that the law can be broken with impunity. Police morale obviously suffers thereby, but even more important, the social control system of the community loses its effectiveness.

Moderate and low referral counties.

The moderate and low referral counties selected for field work include: Broward, Brevard, Polk, and Highlands. There were 16 different departments from which data were obtained, again including the sheriff's office and the police department of the largest city in each county.

Like the high referral counties, the moderate and low referral counties also exhibited considerable heterogeneity in their referral policies. However, it appears that only two of these 16 departments routinely refer almost all juveniles contacted for misbehavior to DYS, although several others almost always forward a "for information only" report. At the other extreme, in two departments referral to DYS is used only as a last resort. One of these departments has a juvenile officer who is extremely effective in working with juveniles, even to the point of assisting DYS counsellors because parents request that he work with their children. Five other departments also make very few referrals (perhaps 10%), with release to parents mentioned as a typical strategy.

In between these policy extremes of routine referral of all cases and referral only as a last resort, other departments make the decision on whether to refer on the basis of the nature of the case. The most frequently mentioned factor taken into consideration is the seriousness of the offense. Felonies are generally referred. Crimes of violence or against persons were also mentioned as requiring referral. Misdemeanors may be referred or not, depending on such factors as age and

attitude of the child, cooperativeness of parents, and prior record of juvenile. CINS offenses appear to be rarely referred. Several departments in these moderate and low referral counties deliberately give their officers considerable discretion to make an appropriate decision based on the circumstances of the case. An effort is seemingly made in these flexible departments to "give the kids a break" by not referring unless the juvenile's behavior or attitude is such that there is a compelling need to refer.

To what extent do the referral policies of these moderate and low referral counties reflect community attitudes of tolerance toward juvenile misbehavior? As was the case with the high referral counties, a majority of the agency spokesmen reported that the public would like to see juvenile behavior controlled more strictly. However, while all 8 of the agency spokesmen in the high referral counties indicated this, there were some exceptions in the moderate and low referral counties. Specifically, for 5 of the 16 agencies in these counties, their representatives did not feel that the public wanted juveniles controlled more closely. In both of the departments where referrals are made only as a last resort, the public was perceived as not wishing juvenile behavior controlled more strictly. While these differences are not conclusive, they nevertheless are suggestive of the role that public attitudes may have on law enforcement agency referral policies.

Reported relations with DYS also vary in these moderate and low referral counties. On the whole DYS relations in these counties appear to be better than in the low referral counties. While 6 of the 8 departments in the high referral counties reported strained relations, only 3 of 16 departments in the moderate and low referral counties reported strained relations with DYS. Perceived reasons for the difficulties with DYS are that DYS has too much discretion in handling juveniles and often releases juveniles too quickly. In spite of these problems, several of the departments in these counties reported "very good" or "excellent" relations with DYS. The contrast with the high referral counties is striking.

In sum, the information obtained from the law enforcement agency heads suggests that in high referral counties, routine referral of all juveniles is more common than in moderate and low referral counties. In the moderate and low referral counties, by way of contrast, there is more likely to be a policy of encouraging officers to exercise discretion, and to refrain from making a referral unless there is a compelling reason. Of course, our limited data base does not permit a firm conclusion of this kind, and there are exceptions to the pattern described. Nevertheless, our results are suggestive, and point to the need for further research.

Of course, official policies, as articulated by agency heads, are not necessarily mirrored in the day-by-day practices of the patrolmen on the street. Accordingly, we turn now to a descriptive analysis of the practices and attitudes of our sample of patrolmen in the selected departments as revealed in their questionnaire responses.

Patrolmens' Criteria for Referral: A Comparative Analysis

In looking at the day to day activities of patrolmen it should be noted first of all that dealing with juveniles appears to occupy a very small part of patrolmen's time. Almost 85 percent of the patrolmen reported contacting less than 6 juveniles per working day. Although the most frequent juvenile contact was reported in the county with the highest referral rates, for all counties the relationship between referral rates and number of juveniles contacted was only slightly positive and not statistically significant.

Of the juveniles who do come to police officers' attention for misbehavior, it appears that the pattern of their decisions is not at all related to the pattern of referral rates characteristic of the county as a whole. Officers were asked to indicate the proportion of juveniles they dealt with in each of the following ways: (1) warning and release, (2) warning and taken home to parents, (3) referral to prevention program or social service agency, and (4) referral to DYS Intake. Their responses to these options were then ranked, with a rank of 9 arbitrarily assigned if an option was not used at all. Mean rank scores were then computed for each county separately, and the results are presented in Table 16. If the decisions of individual officers were consistent with the county-wide referral rates, we should expect the mean ranks in the 4th row ("Referred to DYS") to shift systematically from high to low (i.e., from a low score, indicating a high rank, to a high rank score) as we move from left to right across the table. Correspondingly, the ranks for the other three options should reflect an opposite pattern. However, this is not the case. The mean ranks shift erratically and reveal no clear pattern.

We also grouped the counties into high referral counties and low referral counties and then cross-classified the rank scores with the resulting two groups of counties. Again, the findings were inconclusive, and the relationship was not statistically significant. It should be pointed out, however, that in the overall

Table 16

Mean Ranks of Alternative Decisions regarding Juvenile Cases by County*
(on scale of 1 to 5)

Decision	Overall mean	County (Arrayed from high to low DYS referral rates)							
		High				Low			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Warning and release	4.53	4.5	4.6	4.0	4.9	4.4	5.4	6.1	2.6
Warning and taken home to parents	4.32	3.7	4.6	3.3	6.0	4.4	4.3	3.6	4.7
Referred to prevention program or service agency	7.22	6.9	7.2	7.6	7.4	7.2	6.7	7.5	6.1
Referred to DYS	5.74	6.5	5.9	6.3	3.6	5.8	4.4	6.1	4.4
N**	409	38	165	40	21	76	16	32	21

*Low number indicates relatively high rank for a particular decision.

**N's may vary slightly for individual items due to non-response to some items.

sample slightly over half of the patrolmen did not report making any referrals at all to DYS. Further, in response to a question on the number referred to DYS each week, 90 percent of the respondents indicated that they refer less than 3.

Even though each individual patrolman may make relatively few referrals to DYS, the total number referred in a county may still be considerable. Thus it is important to learn what kinds of juvenile misbehavior are likely to lead to a referral. The patrolmen in our sample were asked to indicate whether they would or would not take a juvenile to DYS Intake in each of 12 specified situations. Their responses to a selected set of these conditions is portrayed in Table 17, broken down by county.

The results show that patrolmen's referral decisions do not appear to vary systematically by county. While there is considerable heterogeneity between counties, it is not the case that patrolmen in high referral counties consistently follow stricter referral policies, at least according to their reports. (This is evident from the data in that the county scores do not systematically decline from the left to the right of each row.) It is clear that more serious offenses (felonies and distributing narcotics) are referred more consistently than less serious offenses (misdemeanors and CINS offenses), but beyond this there does not seem to be a consistent pattern.

This same lack of systematic variation by county is also evident in patrolmen's rating of the importance of several factors in influencing their decisions regarding juvenile cases. Patrolmen were asked to indicate on a 5-point scale how important each of 9 different factors was in influencing their decisions (ranging from "always very important" to "never important"). Their responses concerning a selected set of factors are summarized in Table 18.

Again, if the importance of these various factors in influencing patrolmen's decisions varied systematically according to county referral rate, we should expect the mean rating scores to change consistently across each row. Inspection

Table 17

Conditions for Taking Juvenile to DYS by County
(Mean scores on 0 to 1 scale)*

Conditions	Overall mean	County (Arrayed from high to low DYS referral rates)							
		High				Low			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Non-violent felony	.77	.71	.79	.90	.90	.73	.87	.56	.78
Misdemeanor	.19	.05	.16	.20	.62	.12	.44	.31	.17
Juvenile offense (CINS)	.27	.15	.22	.20	.57	.25	.69	.22	.56
Uncooperative attitude	.57	.50	.50	.50	.36	.50	.40	.51	.49
Aggressiveness	.37	.37	.33	.40	.62	.31	.62	.25	.50
Smokes marijuana	.32	.16	.30	.30	.70	.23	.81	.31	.43
Distributes narcotics	.74	.71	.70	.77	.90	.69	1.0	.75	.83
Incapable or uncooperative parents	.82	.82	.80	.85	.86	.83	.81	.75	.91
N**	414	38	169	40	21	75	16	32	23

*A score of "0" would mean no officers would refer juveniles for the reason indicated; a "1" would indicate that all of them would.

**N's may vary slightly for individual items due to non-responses to some items.

Table 18

Relative Importance of Selected Discretionary Factors by County**
(mean scores on 1 to 5 scale)*

Discretionary Factors	Overall Mean	County (Arrayed from high to low DYS referral rates)							
		High				Low			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Juvenile's attitude	1.72	1.54	1.96	1.42	1.37	1.49	1.37	2.0	1.57
Seriousness of offense	1.27	1.05	1.35	1.17	1.10	1.38	1.06	1.22	1.30
Time of day	3.32	3.24	3.39	2.78	2.95	3.45	3.18	4.03	3.0
Alone or with others	3.16	3.10	3.22	3.10	2.84	3.14	3.0	3.32	3.17
Type of neighborhood	3.39	3.29	3.46	3.25	2.95	3.51	3.06	3.45	3.48
Age of juvenile	1.99	1.95	2.0	1.90	1.74	2.25	1.47	1.90	1.87
Sex of juvenile	3.42	3.39	3.46	3.42	3.10	3.36	2.81	3.97	3.30
Family situation	1.96	1.68	2.05	2.02	1.63	1.91	1.56	2.16	2.13
Prior record	2.28	2.26	2.40	2.22	1.47	2.37	2.25	2.10	2.13
N**	411	38	168	40	19	76	16	31	21

*Ranked on 1 to 5 scale, with score of "1" indicating "always very important", and "5" indicating "never important".

**N's may vary slightly for individual items due to non-responses to some items.

of the table reveals that this is not the case. The only recognizable pattern in the table is based on comparison of the various factors themselves. For example, seriousness of offense is very important as a criterion in all counties while type of neighborhood is of much less importance.

Comparison of Patrolmens' Beliefs and Attitudes in High Referral vs. Low Referral Counties

Our original hypothesis was that differences in referral rates between high referral counties and low referral counties might be related to differences in the perceptions and attitudes of individual patrolmen. However, since the differences in patrolmen's referral decisions are not systematically related to county-wide differences in referral rates, it seems unlikely that we should find systematic differences in the perceptions and attitudes of individual officers in the different counties. Nevertheless, we examined differences in patrolmen's perceptions of seriousness of juvenile misbehavior problem, integration of police in the community, evaluations of relations with DYS, and some selected dimensions of authoritarianism, to see if any systematic differences between counties existed. As it turned out, few did, as we shall see briefly below.

Community orientations of patrolmen.

Perception of seriousness of juvenile behavior problems was determined by asking patrolmen to indicate on a scale of 1 to 7 the extent to which (1) juvenile crime and (2) juvenile misbehavior other than crime were a major problem in the community. Responses were summed, and the resulting distribution divided into high, medium, and low categories. These were then cross-tabulated with "high referral counties" vs. "moderate and low referral counties". The resulting relationship was erratic and not statistically significant, indicating no significant difference between counties in patrolmen's perceptions of extent of juvenile misbehavior problem

Patrolmen in the different counties also did not vary significantly in their

perceptions of the public's desire to see juvenile misbehavior controlled more closely. Mean scores on a 5-point scale (ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree") for the eight counties ranged from 3.6 to 4.0, indicating a tendency for the average patrolman to perceive that the public "would like to see juvenile behavior controlled much more closely". The county with the highest referral rate was tied with the next to the lowest county in having the highest mean scores on this variable. Obviously, therefore, perceptions of public intolerance of juvenile misbehavior cannot account for differential referral rates.

In spite of the lack of significant differences in patrolmen's perceptions of public attitudes, there appears to be a slight tendency for patrolmen in the high referral counties to be less integrated into the community. Evidence for this consists of patrolmen's extent of agreement or disagreement with the following two statements: (1) "For the most part the police are respected in this community", and (2) "Policemen in this community don't differ greatly from others in the community in their attitudes and opinions about juvenile delinquency". Patrolmen responded to each item on a 5-point scale, ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". Responses were summed to provide a community integration scale, and the mean scores on this scale for each county are shown in Table 19 below.

Table 19

Community Integration of Patrolmen by County
(Mean score on scale of 2 to 10)*

Overall mean	County (Arranged from high to low DYS referral rates)								
	High							Low	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Community integration*	7.0	6.7	7.1	6.6	6.9	7.4	7.7	7.4	
N	417	38	171	40	21	76	16	32	23

*High score indicates high community integration.

While the scores do not change consistently across the row, it is of interest that three of the four lowest referral counties have mean scores above the overall mean. This suggests that patrolmen in low referral counties may be more highly integrated into their communities.

In order to test further this possibility, counties and community integration scores were grouped into low and high categories and then cross-tabulated. The results are presented in Table 20 below. While the relationship is not quite strong enough to be statistically significant (at the .05 level), the pattern suggests that low referral counties are more likely to have high levels of integration of patrolmen in the community than high referral counties (53.1 percent vs. 43.7 percent respectively).

Table 20

County Referral Rates and Community Integration of Patrolmen

Community integration	County Referrals	
	Low	High
Low	46.9(69)	56.3(152)
High	53.1(78)	43.7(196)
N.	147	270

Chi-square = 2.98; df = 1, not significant

Relations with DYS.

Next, we compare the different counties in terms of patrolmen's perceptions of their relations with DYS. Patrolmen were asked to indicate on a scale of 1 to 5 (ranging from "very good" to "poor") the kind of working relationship they had with DYS. Mean scores for the eight counties are shown in Table 21 on page 42.

While some differences are apparent, these do not vary systematically with county referral rates. However, when the counties are grouped into 2 categories based on referral rates, there is a tendency for the high referral counties to be characterized by more negative evaluations of DYS. (See Table 22 pg. 42.) For example, 20 percent of the patrolmen in the high referral counties had negative

evaluations of their relations with DYS, while almost 8 percent had these negative evaluations in the low referral counties.

Table 21

Evaluation of Relationship with DYS by County
(Mean score on 1 to 5 scale)*

Overall mean	County (Arranged from high to low DYS referral rates)								
	High							Low	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Relation with DYS*	2.7	2.7	2.8	3.1	2.3	2.7	1.9	2.7	2.1
N	412	38	168	40	21	75	16	31	23

*1 = very good; 5 = poor

Table 22

County Referral Rates and Evaluation of Relations with DYS

Evaluation of relation with DYS	County Referrals	
	Low	High
Good	42.8(62)	40.1(107)
Average	49.7(72)	39.3(105)
Not good	7.6(11)	20.6(55)
N	145	267

Chi-square = 12.4, df = 2; significant at .05 level

Patrolmen also did not vary systematically by county in their evaluation of DYS intake criteria. In all counties but one, more than half felt these criteria were inadequate; in the one exception almost half did. Again, however, when counties were grouped into high referral vs. low referral counties, patrolmen in the high referral counties were somewhat more likely to see DYS intake criteria as inadequate (77.9 percent vs. 64.8 percent; see Table 23 on page 43).

This negative evaluation of DYS intake criteria undoubtedly affects patrolmen's decisions on whether to refer. Over half of the patrolmen in all counties indicated that they sometimes release juveniles because they know they will be

released by DYS anyway. This appears to occur somewhat more often in the high referral counties. (See Table 24 below.) The difference is not statistically significant however.

Table 23

County Referral Rates and Evaluation of DYS Intake Criteria

Evaluation of DYS intake criteria	County Referrals	
	Low	High
Adequate	35.2(50)	22.1(58)
Inadequate	64.8(92)	77.9(205)
N	142	263

Chi-square = 7.5; df = 1, significant at .01 level.

Table 24

County Referral Rates and Decision to Release Juvenile because DYS will Release Him

"Do you sometimes release a juvenile because you know he will be released by DYS anyway?"	County Referrals	
	Low	High
Yes	56.2(82)	64.4(172)
No	43.8(64)	35.6(95)
N	146	267

Chi-square = 2.4; df = 1, not significant

Authoritarianism.

The final aspect of patrolmen's perceptions and attitudes we shall examine is the general personality characteristic of authoritarianism. Previous studies have shown that the police tend to score high on authoritarianism. Our concern is whether the police in different counties vary systematically in terms of authoritarian attitudes. If so, this might help explain the differences in referral rates between counties.

The authoritarianism scale we developed included three different dimensions of authoritarianism. These are as follows: compulsiveness, punitive morality,

and sense of victimization. (The items used to measure these dimensions were all taken from scales used elsewhere. Compulsiveness was measured by responses to questions 31 through 37; punitive morality by questions 38 through 43, and victimization by questions 48 and 49; all these items are in Part II of the Patrolmen's Questionnaire.)

Mean scores for these dimensions of authoritarianism are presented in Table 25 (below) for each county separately. If referral rates were affected by the degree of authoritarianism of patrolmen, we should expect to find that mean scores would be higher in the high referral counties. This is not the case, however. The data in Table 25 show that the variation between counties is very low and does not appear to be related systematically to referral rates.

Table 25

Mean Authoritarianism Scores by County

Dimension of Authoritarianism	Overall mean	County (Arranged from high to low DYS referral rates)							
		High							Low--
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Compulsiveness	21.2	21.2	21.2	22.4	20.6	20.6	20.9	21.7	21.3
Punitive morality	23.4	23.4	23.3	22.8	22.5	23.1	22.4	25.9	23.7
Victimization	5.6	5.8	5.7	5.3	5.6	5.2	5.7	6.3	5.6
N	417	38	171	40	21	76	16	32	23

We also grouped the counties into high referral vs. low referral counties and compared the distribution of low, medium, and high authoritarianism scores in the two groups of counties. The results were not statistically significant. Thus, on the basis of this preliminary analysis it is not possible to explain differential referral rates in terms of differential degrees of authoritarianism of patrolmen in different counties.

In sum, then, our comparison of patrolmen's attitudes and orientations in the different sample counties failed to demonstrate many clear differences which might help account for differential referral rates. Practically no differences existed

in the factors which influence patrolmen's decisions regarding the handling of juvenile cases, in their perceptions of community attitudes toward juvenile behavior, or in degree of authoritarian attitudes. However, patrolmen in the high referral counties tended more frequently to have negative attitudes toward their relation with DYS and to be somewhat less integrated into their communi-

Discussion and Implications

Summary of findings.

The major conclusions drawn from this study are as follows:

1. On a statewide basis the high referral counties tend to be densely populated, urban counties which have experienced rapid population growth and which have a large proportion of affluent, middle class families. Low referral counties, on the other hand, are likely to be less dense, rural, and more stable in population and to have a relatively larger number of poorer families.
2. Among the 8 sample counties there is some evidence of policy differences between the law enforcement agencies of high referral counties and those of moderate or low referral counties. The agencies in high referral counties tend to follow a policy of routinely referring all cases of juveniles apprehended for misbehavior to DYS. In the moderate and low referral counties law enforcement agencies tend to encourage greater discretion in making the decision on whether or not to refer, and thus they refer only a fraction of the cases they handle. There are exceptions to these patterns. For example, some of the sheriffs' departments in the high referral counties resemble the low referral counties in referring only a fraction of their cases. In all counties, the most important factor affecting the decision on whether or not to refer is seriousness of the offense.
3. Law enforcement personnel in the sample high referral counties tend to have more negative attitudes toward DYS than those in the sample moderate and low referral counties. This difference is evident both from the interviews with agency heads (i.e. police chiefs and sheriffs) and from the questionnaire responses of patrolmen. There are exceptions to this pattern, but the pattern is clear and consistent. The negative feelings toward DYS grow out of perceived communication gaps, excessive discretionary power of DYS Intake Counsellors, and the belief that DYS grants juveniles a quick release too frequently. This latter complaint appears to be a major source of bitter complaints by law enforcement personnel. In both the high and low referral counties a majority of law enforcement personnel felt

that DYS intake criteria are inadequate, and a sizeable minority of patrolmen reported that they sometimes release juveniles because they know DYS will release them anyway.

4. The differences between the high referral counties and low referral counties in police officers' perceptions of public attitudes or integration into the community appear to be minimal. The law enforcement agency heads in the high referral counties reported somewhat more frequently that they believe the public would like to see juvenile behavior controlled more strictly (although many in the low referral counties concurred). Also, there was a slight tendency for the patrolmen in the moderate and low referral counties to be more highly integrated into their community. These differences were not extensive, however.
5. Our data did not show any differences between the high referral and low referral counties in the operating practices of patrolmen with respect to DYS referrals, or the criteria utilized in deciding whether or not to refer. In all counties the single most important factor affecting referral decision is seriousness of offense. Thus, on the basis of our limited sample, we cannot conclude that the policy differences described earlier resulted in actual behavioral differences between patrolmen in dealing with juveniles.
6. Patrolmen in the high referral counties did not differ from those in the low referral counties in terms of an authoritarian personality pattern. Thus it is not possible to attribute differential referral rates to a greater degree of authoritarianism of patrolmen in the high referral counties.

Interpretation of findings.

While our findings suggest several different kinds of unanswered questions, we nevertheless offer in this section a tentative interpretive model which focuses on the rapid growth experience of several Florida counties and the social and political background of the enlarged functions of DYS.

The rapid population growth which several Florida counties have experienced is a well-known fact. The effect of rapid growth on local community institutions

is not as obvious. Communities which are fairly stable tend to evolve an institutional structure by which members can deal with local problems and meet community needs. Among these institutional patterns are mechanisms of social control whereby juvenile misbehavior is dealt with. These mechanisms may take a variety of forms ranging from neighborhood surveillance of juveniles to police cooperation with a juvenile's parents when misbehavior is observed. These patterns depend on shared community standards and extensive interpersonal linkages among community members and with representatives of community institutions.

When a community experiences rapid growth, due to massive in-migration of people with a wide variety of backgrounds, the effect may be to disrupt these local institutional patterns. This disruption adds to the strain caused by the population increase itself, and the community soon finds its problems outstripping its ability to solve them at the local level. The result is likely to be a demand for state or federal assistance in dealing with community problems plus increased utilization of such outside assistance as is available.

This process may help explain the high referral rates of urban, densely populated counties which have experienced high rates of population growth in recent years. It may also explain why the social class composition of the high referral counties tends to be middle class, rather than lower class, since a large proportion of the newcomers to Florida are affluent, middle class families.

This same decrease in the relative self-sufficiency of local communities in the face of population growth and accompanying social change may also be related to the political pressures which led to the re-organization of DYS and expansion of its functions. As a state organization, DYS is called upon to perform social control functions which local communities find themselves unable to perform adequately.

The use of DYS as a substitute for local resources is consistent with our findings regarding the law enforcement policy differences between high referral and low referral counties. As noted earlier, law enforcement personnel in low

referral counties frequently use alternatives to DYS referral in their handling of juvenile cases. Also, the lower level of community integration of the police in high referral counties is consistent with our analysis of the effects of rapid growth in disrupting community institutions.

Since its reorganization DYS has not been a passive participant in the process described above. In an effort to prevent repeated delinquent behavior rather than merely punish it, DYS has attempted to create a public image as a service organization with a non-punitive, non-stigmatizing orientation toward the juveniles they process. This kind of image, together with the day-by-day decisions which it stimulates, no doubt contributes to the strains in the relations between DYS and law enforcement agencies. The efforts of DYS to be non-punitive are interpreted by law enforcement personnel as excessive leniency.

This service agency image may, however, result in more middle class juveniles being referred than would otherwise be the case. Middle class families are no doubt more likely than lower class families to see the importance of the kinds of services offered by a service organization. Thus they may be more likely to utilize DYS as an aid to prevent minor misbehavior from evolving into more serious behavior problems. Our data, of course, do not enable us to tell whether referrals by parents or others outside the law enforcement system are greater for middle class juveniles. This and several other questions which merit further research will be listed briefly in the next section.

Questions for further research.

Since this study was designed as an exploratory study, a definitive explanatory model which accounts for differential referral rates in different counties is not possible at this point. While our results are perhaps suggestive in explaining differential referral rates, they are even more suggestive of additional questions listed briefly below.

1. Are there actual differences in the extent of delinquency or other forms of

juvenile misbehavior between the high referral counties and the low referral counties. This, of course, is the big unanswered question in any study based solely on official statistics, since these statistics represent only a fraction of the total volume of delinquent behavior. It is tempting to speculate that actual delinquency rates may be higher in high referral counties due to the partial breakdown of community integration resulting from rapid population growth. This possibility needs to be investigated, so that if necessary appropriate preventive action can be taken where it is needed.

2. What are the socio-economic characteristics of those juveniles referred to DYS in high referral counties? As noted earlier, the fact that referrals are higher in rapidly growing, middle class counties does not mean that middle class new arrivals are necessarily the ones most likely to be referred. Specifically, then, are middle class or lower class youth more likely to be referred? And, are the ones referred more likely to be new residents or long-term residents in their communities? Again, obtaining answers to these questions can provide guidance in the development of appropriate strategies for coping with high referral rates.
3. Related to the above is the question of whether delinquent behavior is more likely to be committed in middle class communities or lower class communities. Counties are much too large and heterogeneous to be appropriate for an investigation of community characteristics. Counties include many different kinds of communities and it is entirely possible for youths to travel to adjacent communities and there get involved in delinquent behavior. For high referral counties it is important to be able to pinpoint more precisely than we have done the types of neighborhoods where delinquent behavior is a problem. For example, is delinquent behavior more likely to be committed in the new middle class suburban communities, or in older and more stable lower class communities?
4. Are there significant sources of referrals other than from law enforcement personnel, and if so, is the frequency of referrals from such sources higher in

the high referral counties? For example, in view of the efforts of DYS to create a public image as a service organization, do parents in middle class communities sometimes refer their children themselves for counselling or to reinforce their own authority?

5. Are there differences in the referral practices of patrolmen in high referral vs. low referral counties which we were unable to detect? As noted earlier, our sample of patrolmen was not necessarily a representative sample. Although we were unable to show any differences, this may be due to the lack of representativeness of our sample. There should be at least some differences between counties due to the differences in policies which we showed. Also, whether these policy differences would be maintained for a larger sample of high referral vs. low referral counties should also be investigated further.

Policy recommendations.

In spite of the limitations of our study and the unanswered questions raised above, our findings and our analysis may nevertheless provide a sufficient basis for consideration of the following policy recommendations.

1. We recommend that the DYS record system be evaluated and revised to enable more complete information to be provided on juveniles referred and to facilitate retrieval of information for purposes of analysis. Developing a record system should never be an end in itself, of course. We would not want the processing of records to occupy so much staff time and energy that personal contact with juveniles is undermined. Nevertheless, an adequate record system should provide sufficient information on the juveniles referred that meaningful analysis of their characteristics could be undertaken. For example, information on social class background and type of neighborhood could be of great value in answering some of the questions raised above.
2. We recommend that a series of seminars be held with law enforcement personnel in high referral counties to explore alternative strategies for improving working

relationships. These should be sponsored by an independent agency. While the format of these seminars would need to be developed at some length, we suggest that communication of a summary of the results of this study could be a meaningful starting point for discussion. One of the functions of the seminars would be to enable DYS personnel and law enforcement personnel to develop a better mutual understanding of one another's divergent perspectives in coping with their common problems. The ultimate goal would be to develop mutually acceptable procedures for working together in dealing with various types of juvenile problems.

3. In view of the criticisms of DYS, especially by law enforcement personnel in the high referral counties, we recommend that DYS initiate the establishment of special independent, limited term complaint offices in the high referral counties. These should be organized in such a way that input is sought from local law enforcement personnel and from the public in the local community. These offices should be responsible for receiving complaints about DYS policies or procedures, and DYS should be prepared after a set time to initiate changes in procedures when appropriate.
4. We recommend that DYS undertake an extensive study to determine the criteria utilized by Intake Counsellors in deciding whether or not to take official action with juveniles brought to them by law enforcement personnel. Such a study should assess the influence of various pressures and constraints (such as limited facilities) which may prevent DYS staff from making what they feel is the best decision in some cases. Following determination of the criteria used by Intake Counsellors in making their decision, these criteria should be evaluated in consultation with law enforcement personnel and others involved in working with youth or in the juvenile justice system. The ultimate goal is to develop criteria for official action which are workable and can be accepted by all involved in the juvenile justice system. A similar study should also be undertaken to develop workable criteria for detention.

While these recommendations won't necessarily solve all the problems, they may nevertheless contribute to improving the relationships between DYS and others involved in the juvenile justice system and to insuring that all juveniles throughout the state are dealt with in the most equitable and effective way possible.

END