NATIONAL EVALUATION PROGRAM

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Secure Detention of Juveniles and Alternatives to Its Use

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

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NATIONAL EVALUATION PROGRAM
PHASE I SUMMARY REPORT

Secure Detention of Juveniles and Alternatives to Its Use

By

Thomas M. Young
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_____. Use of Secure Detention for Juveniles and Alternatives to Its Use. National Study of Juvenile Detention, Volume II. Chicago: The School of Social Service Administration, The University of Chicago, June 1976.

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A forthcoming report will set forth a plan for evaluating alternative programs. With the exception of Volume III, all of these reports will become available in the near future through the Loan Program of the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, P.O. Box 24036, S.W. Post Office, Washington, D.C. 20024.

FOREWORD

Concerned individuals and organizations have recognized the need for more information on secure detention and alternatives to its use. These concerns mirror two of the major goals of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974: to reduce the use of secure detention(incarceration) and to provide alternatives to detention for youth involved in the juvenile justice process.

The study shows that thoughtful communities can and have developed viable alternatives to detention for children in trouble--alternatives that are more humane than secure detention and present minimal risk to the community. The study's four program formats (residential and nonresidential) were roughly equal in their ability to keep both alleged delinquents and status offenders trouble free and available to the court. The failure rate ranged from 2.4 to 12.18 percent across the fourteen programs visited.

The study focuses on how youth are selected for admission to secure detention or placement in an alternative program in the context of decisions throughout the juvenile justice system process. It describes the four types of programs: public, nonresidential programs based on the Home Detention Model; Attention Homes; programs for runaways; and foster home programs under private auspices. The findings and recommendations should be of immediate practical benefit to juvenile courts and juvenile justice planners who are considering the introduction of an alternative to secure detention.

This study was funded by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, and as with all NEP studies in juvenile delinquency areas, it was monitored by the staff of the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. We look forward to more such cooperative ventures.

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INTRODUCTION

This is an executive summary of the findings and conclusions of a national study of the use of secure detention for juveniles and of alternatives to its use. The study was funded by the U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, under Phase I of its National Evaluation Program. The research was carried out during fiscal year 1976.

The purpose of the study was to provide information on the use of alternatives to secure detention which could assist those individuals and organizations seeking to implement certain provisions of the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (Public Law 93-415). That Act sets forth as two of its major goals a reduction in the use of secure detention (incarceration) and the provision of alternatives to detention for youths involved in the juvenile justice process (cf. Sec. 102(b) and Sec. 223(a), 10H). It further requires--for states seeking funds authorized by the Act--the elimination (within two years following submission of a state plan) of the use of detention for juveniles charged with offenses that would not be criminal if committed by an adult (Sec. 223(a), 12). Because of these provisions the study reported on here proceeded on the assumption that one must understand the use of secure detention in a jurisdiction in order to comprehend the use of alternatives. This, in turn, requires knowledge about the juvenile justice processes that are the context for both the use of secure detention and of alternatives. These assumptions led to an analysis of the significant aspects of the nation's experience with detention and alternatives to date which, when joined with the provisions of the Act, can help shape realistic plans and strategies for implementation and evaluation of federal policy in this area in the future.

The main components of the study involved (1) a review of literature published since 1967 on the use of secure detention and of alternatives, (2) the preparation of an Issues Paper which summarized the literature reviewed and set forth the salient issues to be studied in our field research, (3) the compilation of a list of existing alternative programs in the United States, (4) selection of and visit to fourteen juvenile court jurisdictions with alternative programs, (5) preparation of individual reports describing each jurisdiction including a detailed description of its alternative program and (6) submission of a final report based upon both the literature review and the field research.

This summary reports the results of the study in the following manner. First, we present the issues for study based on the literature review and the framework we chose to organize the information obtained from the literature review and the site visits. Second, we summarize that information with a focus on how youths are selected (or not) for admission to secure detention or placement in an alternative program. Third, we describe how jurisdictions were selected for site visit, the

taxonomy or classificatory schema we used to group alternative programs for analysis and comparison and what the programs were like. Fourth, we discuss all fourteen alternative programs in terms of their keeping youths trouble free and available to court and in terms of other goals which varied among the programs visited. Finally, we present our conclusions and recommendations to juvenile courts considering the introduction of an alternative program.

The Issues for Study and a Framework for Assessment

Our review of the literature on the use of secure detention for juveniles confirmed that the main issue now is what it always has been: secure detention is misused for large numbers of youths awaiting hearing before the nation's juvenile courts. This statement is supported by recent reports sent to us from twenty-two states and the District of Columbia, many of which contained statistics on youths detained by age, race/ethnicity, sex, type of offense and average length of stay. Similar reports from a few states in addition to those we received material from are summarized in the reports of other studies (Sarri, December, 1974; Ferster, et al., 1969). The types of misuse of secure detention revealed in this literature are:

(1) County jails are still used for temporary detention of juveniles, particularly in less populous states. Even in some more heavily populated jurisdictions, however, jails are used for some juveniles despite the existence and availability of a juvenile detention facility. In many states seeking to reduce the use of jails for the detention of juveniles, the dominant alternative is seen as the construction of a detention facility.

(2) Use of secure detention for dependent and neglected children appears to be on the decline as more jurisdictions develop either shelter-care facilities or short-term foster home programs. Some jurisdictions, however, are known to misclassify dependent and neglected children as youths in need of supervision who then are placed in secure detention. The extent of the latter practice is unknown.

(3) Many jurisdictions still exceed the NCCD recommended maximum detention rate of 10 percent of all juveniles apprehended; the proportion of juveniles detained less than 48 hours continues to hover around 50 percent. These patterns are frequently cited as evidence of the inappropriate use of detention.

(4) Many jurisdictions are unable to mobilize the resources necessary to attend to children with special (neurological and psychiatric) needs. These children are then often detained, sometimes for excessive lengths of time.

(5) Status offenders tend to be detained at a higher rate than youths apprehended for adult-type criminal offenses and also tend to be held longer.

(6) Youths of racial and ethnic minorities tend to be detained at higher rates and for longer periods than others; females are detained at a higher rate and longer than males.

(7) Extra-legal factors are more strongly associated with the decision to detain (versus release) than legal factors (those specified by juvenile codes). Time of apprehension (evenings and weekends), proximity of a detention facility and degree of administrative control over intake procedures have all been found to be associated with the decision to detain in addition to those factors contained in items five and six above.

The actual extent to which these patterns of misuse exist either within or between states is unknown. Many states--and jurisdictions within states--still do not collect statistics at regular intervals on the use of secure detention.

The reasons given in the literature for why such misuses occur are several. We have listed them in summary form as follows:

(1) Detention facilities receive a flood of inappropriate referrals from police, parents and other adults.

(2) Some courts have no detention criteria at all, merely accepting the cases referred by police.

(3) Other courts have verbal standards but leave intake decisions to employees who may introduce additional criteria, which may not be the same from employee to employee.

(4) Detention officials in many areas yield to the demands of police, parents and social agencies for detention, even if criteria are violated.

(5) Even when court officials screen referrals conscientiously, youths referred for status offense behavior are often detained securely and retained for extended periods because appropriate services and alternative placements in the community are not available. There are court officials who prefer doing nothing rather than detaining status offenders but they appear to be in the minority.

(6) Decisions are too infrequently monitored, so judges and court personnel often do not know what is going on.

(7) Detention practice has low visibility, except during moments of publicized scandals. In general, there is little evidence of public interest in detention, except for the efforts of a few ad hoc organizations concerned with services to children and youth.

The literature on alternatives to the use of secure detention for juveniles is sparse. Very little has been published about such programs. Most of the program evaluations are not readily available: typically they are in-house manuscripts obtained by request from the jurisdictions in which the programs are located.

Our review of this literature was encouraging at first. It appeared that some jurisdictions had established one or more of the following types of alternatives to the use of secure detention.

(1) Improved intake procedures including the use of written criteria governing the decision to detain or not, official recording of the reason(s) for the decision actually made, a daily or weekly administrative review of all decisions and early detention hearings for all youths securely detained. (Whitlatch, 1973; Kehoe and Mead, 1975; Hunstad, 1975.)

The alternative in question is the youth's own home. It is not a pure type. It is, more properly, the result of improved intake procedures and not a programmatic substitute for placement in secure detention. It does, however, address many of the reasons given for the misuse of secure detention. We include it here even though we did not visit any jurisdiction for the sole purpose of studying this type.

(2) Non-residential alternatives--programs organized around use of the youth's own home as a place of residence while awaiting court hearing. (Buchwalter, 1974; Cannon, 1975; Drummond, 1975; General Research Corporation, 1975; Keve and Zantek, 1972.)

These programs follow the "home detention" format first begun in St. Louis, Missouri. Youths are returned to their parents' recognizance to await their court hearings and are assigned to the caseload of a youth worker who is usually supervised by a member of the probation department.

(3) Residential alternatives--programs organized around use of a substitute residence for the youth (other than secure detention) while awaiting court hearings. (Cronin and Abram, 1975; Kaersvang, 1972; Long and Tumelson, 1975.)

These programs usually rely on either foster homes or one or more group homes in lieu of placement in secure detention. In some jurisdictions the group home format has been named "Attention Home" to differ-

entiate it and what it offers from detention. Other than having the group home format in common, however, these programs differ considerably from one another.

Although our review of the available literature on alternatives to detention was encouraging, as we have said, a closer reading suggested that establishing an alternative program could have unintended consequences. One was that the alternative might be used for youths who would simply have been sent home to await hearings, if the alternative program had not been available. (Keve and Zantek, 1972; Drummond, 1975.) Another was that youths placed in some alternative programs appeared to wait longer for adjudication than those placed in secure detention (Cannon, 1975; Cronin and Abram, 1975). It seemed possible that alternative programs could be used in lieu of child welfare or other services (not otherwise available) rather than in lieu of detention. This could subtract from their primary goal--that of providing an alternative for youths who would otherwise be placed in secure detention.

These considerations led us to adopt a process-flow model for assessment. That is, we chose to think of a jurisdiction with an alternative program as a series of decision points through which a flow of cases passed. Entrance to, exit from and continuation in the juvenile justice process could be understood in terms of a sequence of decision making--as could admission to secure detention, placement in an alternative and release to parents' recognizance pending court hearing.

Our research approach to individual jurisdictions was to diagram the structure of the decision points in use, determine the options available at each such point, investigate the criteria applied in selecting among the options and where possible determine the number and characteristics (including offenses and past record) of youths routed in various directions. In this way we attempted to understand why certain juveniles and not others ended up in secure detention, alternative programs, waiting at home without supervision or dismissed from court jurisdiction.

The model of a structure of decision points has had more general importance to our efforts than its detailed use during site visits. A view of the juvenile justice system from the perspective of the model has guided the entire effort to summarize existing research and other literature and integrate it with information obtained during site visits. It also influences the structure of this summary.

For the reasons just mentioned we present here a generalized Process Flow Diagram showing seven decision points. (See Figure 1.) Decision points are symbolized by diamond-shaped outlines numbered D1 through D7 that determine movement within the flow. They are presented here without reference to the options that may be used, the criteria employed and the selectivity that may result from their application,

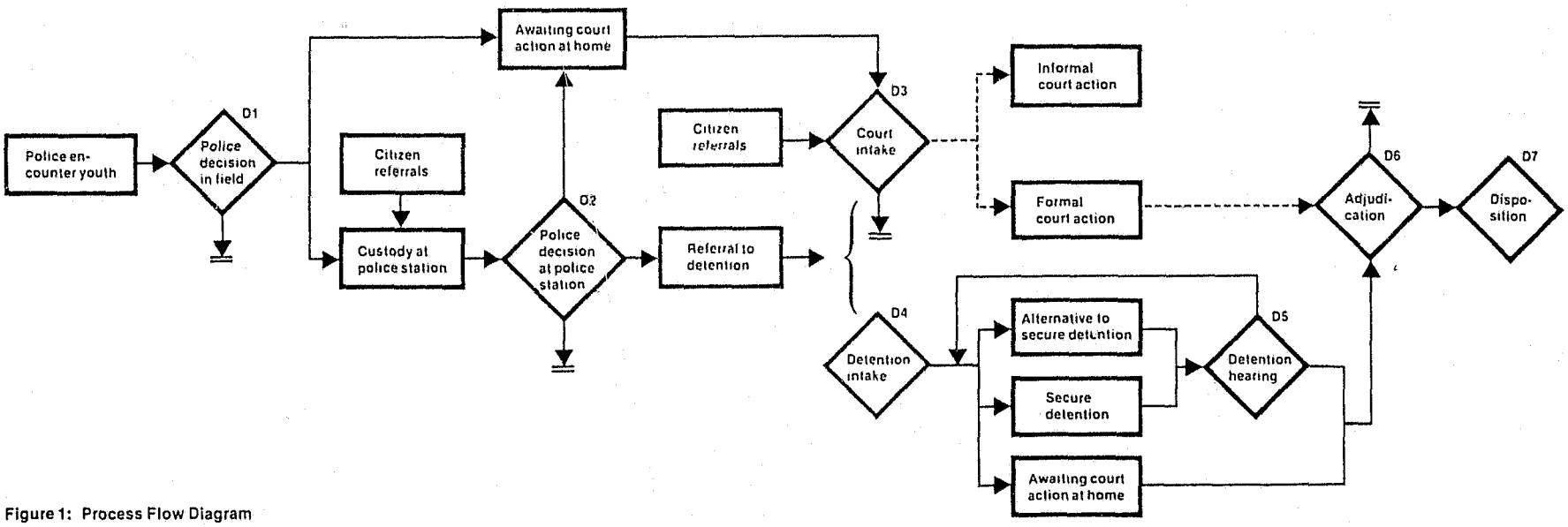

Figure 1: Process Flow Diagram

because those characteristics vary by jurisdiction. Still, the diagram does clarify the structure of decision-making as juveniles enter (or avoid) the flow of cases, usually at the point of an encounter with a policeman during which a decision is made (D1), some to be taken to a police station for a second decision (D2) which can point the youths toward decisions concerning court intake (D3) and detention intake (D4). (Also note on Figure 1 the competing entry point through citizen referral to court intake.) It is usually during the interrelated processes of court intake and detention intake that decisions are made to place juveniles in secure detention: decisions to use an alternative program instead may be made either at that same juncture or at a later detention hearing (D5). We will not focus on the adjudicatory hearing (D6) in full detail, but we have a special interest in what happens to juveniles beginning with decision points D3 and D4 ending with decision point D6. What happens to juveniles at disposition (D7), if they get that far, is not unrelated to what occurred earlier. We are dealing here with a structure of contingencies creating flows of cases in various directions toward different probabilities of later decisions. We will not be able to assign numbers to all the possibilities but we believe sufficient data are available to anticipate what a systematic quantitative research effort might find.

Variations in Decision Making at the Complaint and Intake Phases

The complaint phase of the juvenile justice process refers to those decisions made by police and others that lead to a referral to juvenile court (sometimes including detention) or to some other option instead. The intake phase includes both detention intake and court intake and refers to those decisions made by detention and court officials as to whether to detain or not (and how) and whether to proceed formally, informally or not at all.

Most cases of juvenile misconduct are brought to the attention of the police by private citizens. Only a very small number of juvenile law violations are observed directly by police on patrol (Pepinsky, 1972). Thus, what a police officer decides to do upon receiving a complaint constitutes the first critical decision of the complaint phase. These decisions involve the exercise of considerable discretion and are generally not bound by the statutory constraints applied to the handling of adult offenders (K. Davis, 1975; S. Davis, 1971; Ferster and Courtless, 1969).

Police officers in general have at least eight alternative courses of action when dealing with a youth: (1) release; (2) release with a "field interrogation" or an official report describing the encounter; (3) an official "reprimand" with release to parent or guardian; (4) referral, sometimes considered diversion, to other agencies; (5) release

following voluntary settlement of property damage; (6) "voluntary" police supervision; (7) summons to court and (8) referral to court for the possibility of detention (Ferster and Courtless, 1969). In practice, a single police department may use many fewer options, but the possible combinations are numerous and may vary considerably among several police departments all relating to a single juvenile court jurisdiction. The presence of juvenile officers in a given jurisdiction does not appear to change the range of options in any appreciable manner.

The broad discretion involved in police decision making can combine with different sets of available options to produce varying rates of referral to the nation's juvenile courts.

In the juvenile court jurisdictions that we visited and which related to two or more police departments we often were told that there was considerable variation in the proportion of police-juvenile encounters that resulted in referral to court. Although this was not the central focus of our site visits, one jurisdiction was able to provide us with referral statistics by police department jurisdiction. Referrals varied from 13.2 per one thousand youth 18 years of age and under to 168.2. Variation in the rate of referral between cities exists also and is reported in the literature (Ferster and Courtless, 1969).

In addition to the effect of police decision making on numbers, there may be an effect on the characteristics of youths referred to court. The results of police decision making for certain groups of interest (minorities, females, status offenders) have not been fully documented in the literature. A notable exception can be found in Thornberry's analysis of the Philadelphia birth cohort data (Thornberry, 1973; Wolfgang, et al., 1972). The data revealed that police decisions augmented the probability that black males would be referred to court (even when controlling for seriousness of offense and prior record). Similar biases may occur for females and status offenders. Although this was asserted by some officials interviewed during our site visits, we found no empirical evidence reported in the literature.

Our point is that police decisions at the complaint phase perform a "gate keeping" (Sundeen, 1974) function for the juvenile justice process. Collectively, these decisions determine the numbers and perhaps the characteristics of youths who may later be admitted to secure detention or an alternative program.

Not all children reach a juvenile court via police actions. Adults, such as parents or guardians, employees of boards of education, representatives of public and private agencies and ordinary citizens may complain to court personnel about certain children and youths. Court procedures in handling such complaints apparently vary widely. Unfortunately, the literature on how such complaints are processed is very inadequate. We are aware of jurisdictions that require that all complaints be made through police officers. We know of others that simply

accept most such complaints routinely, without much investigation.

The main study available on this issue was carried out in 1972 in New York and Rockland counties in the state of New York and was restricted to "persons in need of supervision" (PINS). (Andrews and Cohn, 1974.) In those jurisdictions parents or parental surrogates had brought 59 percent of the PINS petitions. In several of the jurisdictions we visited intake personnel told us that youths brought by their parents for status offense behavior were difficult cases to decide. The youth whose parents will not accept his return home, we were told repeatedly, is a youth who usually will not return home. The dilemma seen by intake personnel is the choice between use of secure detention for such cases or some other alternative, if one is available. This brings us to the intake phase of the process.

The decisions we have just described and the differing patterns of case flow they imply do not occur in isolation. They interact with another set of decisions at the point of court and detention intake. Court intake processes involve decisions as to whether there is probable cause to believe a youth has committed a statutorily illegal act and, if so, whether the court should assume jurisdiction formally or process the case informally. (We will return to the latter distinction.) During the process of court intake a complaint is heard and a petition may be drawn and later affirmed or denied, perhaps at an intake hearing.

Detention intake involves decisions about whether the youth is to be held pending a court hearing and, if so, where and with whom. A detention intake hearing may or may not be held. The detention and court intake processes may be so merged that they can hardly be seen, in practice, as separate.

It is at intake that the court through its own resources can take an organized view of the cases presented for decisions. Those cases may reflect the chaos of perhaps numerous police departments presenting for court consideration far too many youths that good practice indicates should have been handled without referral. If so, the court can organize procedures to apply clear, written rules to decisions. In this way the court can stand as an absolute barrier against improper referrals. On the other hand, the court itself can augment the chaos.

Our initial comment regarding the literature on the intake phase of the juvenile justice process must be that it is rather interesting but mortally deficient. The basic descriptive studies of the decision making processes have not been done. One notable exception is Helen Sumner's study of initial detention decisions in selected California counties. She reported that the decision to detain was more strongly associated with non-legal factors than legal factors. (Sumner, 1971.) Some sources urge juvenile courts to make regular use of written criteria for both court and detention intake decisions and to operate court intake

on a 24-hour basis. (Saleebey, 1975; John Howard Association, 1973.) The American Bar Association notes that "more than half of all juvenile cases presently referred to court are being handled non-judicially" and estimates that "improved intake services could substantially reduce the number of cases referred for adjudication." (American Bar Association, 1974: 93.)

Our visits to 14 jurisdictions provide limited information about the organizational context of the decision to detain juveniles prior to adjudication. The findings cannot be generalized widely, but they do illustrate differences in practices referred to in some literature.

In four jurisdictions admission to detention was automatic. In other words, a request for detention resulted in admission to detention. Thus, the intake decision may be interpreted as either having been delegated, at least initially, to the referring agency or as having been postponed for later determination. In the ten other jurisdictions court (or detention) personnel made the initial intake decision. In five of these, four options were available:

(a) release to parents and from the court's jurisdiction entirely,

(b) release to parents with youth placed on informal probation,

(c) release to parents with adjudicatory hearing to follow (i.e., petition filed) and

(d) admission to secure detention with adjudicatory hearing to follow.

The reader should note that at this point the court intake decision has been joined with the detention intake decision. Option (b) is a decision to proceed informally. Options (c) and (d) rest on acceptance of the case for formal processing.

Three of the remaining five jurisdictions did not have informal probation as an option but did have (in addition to the other three listed above) the option of placing the youth in a program used as an alternative to secure detention. The options at detention intake in the two other jurisdictions consisted only of release from jurisdiction, release to parents with adjudicatory hearing to follow or admission to secure detention pending a detention/arraignment hearing.

Another view of the information just presented is to note that at the point of initial contact with the court or secure detention facility, seven of the fourteen jurisdictions did not provide the possibility of placing juveniles in a program designed as an alternative to secure detention. This may seem puzzling since each jurisdiction was selected for a visit <u>because</u> it used such alternative programs. It is explained by the fact that seven jurisdictions select youths for alternative programs from those already placed in secure detention.

For present purposes, the points to be noted are: the intake phase is analogous to the complaint phase in combining broad discretion with a variety of options; the interaction of the two phases results in several paths of exit from or continuation in the process. We do not suggest that this is inherently bad--or good--practice. We can state, however, that no jurisdiction we visited maintained an information system that regularly produced data on the numbers and selected characteristics of youths taking various paths. For example, we notified each jurisdiction of our desire to gather data on the age, sex, race/ethnicity, offense, prior record and termination status for small samples (30) of youths awaiting court hearings in secure detention, in an alternative program or at home with their parents. (See options following D4 on Process Flow Diagram.) In some jurisdictions this information was simply not available in one location. In others our staff had to retrieve it from file card systems and case records--a time consuming process. Court administrators should receive this type of information on a regular basis. Without it, one can only guess at the effects of instituting new programs like alternatives to detention.

To some degree, similar observations can be made about detention hearings. (See D5 of Process Flow Diagram.) Twelve of the jurisdictions we visited held detention hearings presided over by either a judge or a court referree. In most of the jurisdictions the hearings produced decisions that often resulted in the removal of significant numbers of youths from secure detention. In some jurisdictions, however, the detention hearing served mainly as a confirmation of the initial detention decision with relatively few reversals. In eleven jurisdictions the detention hearing decision could result in a youth being placed in an alternative program as well. Regularly tabulated statistics describing the results of this point in the process were the exception rather than the rule.

We have repeatedly stressed that the structure of decision-making in the complaint and intake phases of the juvenile justice process influences both the numbers and characteristics of youths who are placed in secure detention, an alternative program or simply returned home to await court action. We have implied that the process can affect how secure detention and alternative programs are used--a central focus of our study. We have noted that these decision making processes are complex and that the quantitative studies needed to comprehend them are few. One legitimate question is whether a more thorough understanding of the processes is really necessary. At this point we can only respond with the findings of a recent study in Massachusetts. (Coates, Miller and Ohlin, 1975.) The findings in this study are that "Forty-seven percent of the youths detained in custodial settings were (subsequently) placed in secure programs compared to 18 percent of the youths detained in treatment facilities and nine percent detained in shelter care units." This might not be particularly surprising except for the fact that the study data also indicated: (1) that age (younger youths)

and proximity of a detention facility were the variables most strongly related to the decision to detain (versus release) in the first place; and (2) that decisions to detain in custodial, treatment or shelter care were most strongly related to the availability of alternatives to secure detention and to the youths' runaway histories.

This is a large and complex study. It is still in process and involves a relatively unique environment--the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services--in only one state. Although it is quite carefully done, generalization of the findings to other settings may not be warranted. Nevertheless, it does provide us with some good data on a phenomenon that many people concerned with the application of juvenile justice worry about. It raises the spectre of a "system" so inconsistent that it differentially handles a group of youths for the most part more similar than not. Moreover, the initial differences in where a youth is detained generate more serious dispositions later on at the hands of the same system.

Site Selection and Visit Methodology

In the autumn of 1975, we initiated a search for formally designated programs used as alternatives to secure detention for youths awaiting adjudication and from which most, if not all, youths return to court for adjudicatory hearings. With the generous help of staff of State Planning Agencies of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in all fifty states and using a computer printout of brief descriptions of projects funded through LEAA grants (both block and non-block), we assembled a list of about 200 programs. Fourteen programs were to be selected for visits.

The selection of sites was purposeful and not random. We wanted to visit programs from which we could learn something. We tried to include programs in large, middlesize and small cities; programs designated for status offenders or alleged delinquents or both; residential and non-residential programs. We also tried to achieve some geographic spread across the country.

The fourteen programs visited in January and February, 1976, and reported on here are listed below alphabetically by city.

Discovery House, Inc., Anaconda, Montana.
Community Detention, Baltimore, Maryland.
Holmes-Hargadine Attention Home, Boulder, Colorado.
Attention Home, Helena, Montana.
Transient Youth Center, Jacksonville, Florida.
Proctor Program, New Bedford, Massachusetts.
Outreach Detention Program, Newport News, Virginia.

Non-Secure Detention Program, Panama City, Florida.
Amicus House, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Home Detention, St. Joseph/Benton Harbor, Michigan.
Home Detention Program, St. Louis, Missouri.
Community Release Program, San Jose, California.
Center for the Study of Institutional Alternatives, Springfield, Massachusetts.
Home Detention Program, Washington, D.C.

Readers should note that there is no basis for considering these fourteen programs as representative of all alternative programs now operating in the United States. The list does include seven programs based upon the Home Detention model which has been adopted by jurisdictions in several areas of the country. It also includes three Attention Homes which have been adopted by jurisdictions in a few western and mountain states. But the programs listed were selected more for anticipated learning value than for representativeness. While they may not be representative of all such programs, we found visiting them an informative experience and we think almost any juvenile court jurisdiction will find the descriptions here useful in planning an alternative to secure detention.

Site visits were conducted over a two- or three-day period during which court and other officials were interviewed and statistical data were assembled. After our reports were written informants in each jurisdiction were given an opportunity to read them and comment on the accuracy of our assertions of fact. They were indeed helpful. The conclusions and judgments given here, of course, are our own.

Eight of the alternative programs are administered by public agencies and six by private organizations. Seven of them were non-residential in the sense that the juveniles remained in their own houses (in some a few were placed in surrogate homes). Five of the residential programs used group homes; the other two placed the youths in foster homes.

The programs are described in the following order. An initial section considers seven public, non-residential programs based on the Home Detention model as originally conceived for and carried out in St. Louis, Missouri. They are sufficiently similar to discuss as a group. The second section takes up, one at a time, three Attention Homes, including the original one in Boulder, Colorado, and two others modeled after it. Each of the three had its own features, so they are described separately. The third section presents information on two programs for runaways. One of them is in a state with a climate to which juveniles run. The other is in an area where runaways are mainly local. The fourth section contains descriptions of two foster home programs under private auspices. The first is for girls only. The second receives almost all cases awaiting adjudication in the region it serves.

Home Detention Programs

The seven Home Detention Programs are similar in format and can be thought of as a family of programs. All of them are administered by juvenile court probation departments. For the most part their staffs were made up of paraprofessional personnel variously referred to as outreach workers, community youth leaders or community release counselors. Usually a youth worker supervised five youths at any one time. In all programs youth workers were expected to keep the juveniles assigned to them trouble free and available to court. They achieved the essential surveillance through a minimum of one in-person contact with each youth per day and through daily telephone or personal contacts with the youths' school teachers, employers and parents. Youth workers worked out of their automobiles and homes rather than offices. Paperwork was kept to the minimum of travel vouchers and daily handwritten logs. In some programs the youth workers collaborated so that one could take over responsibility for the other when necessary. All programs authorized the workers to send a youth directly to secure detention when he or she did not fulfill program requirements--for example, daily contact with worker or school or job attendance. Typically, youths selected for the programs would have the rules of program participation explained to them in their parents' presence. These rules generally included attending school; observance of a specified curfew; notification of parents or worker as to whereabouts at all times when not at home, school or job; no use of drugs and avoidance of companions or places that might lead to trouble. Most of the programs allowed for the setting of additional rules arising out of discussions between the youth, the parents and the worker. Frequently, all of the rules would be written into a contract which all three parties would sign.

One key operating assumption of all of these programs is that the kind of supervision just described will generally keep juveniles trouble free and available to the court. Six of the seven programs rest on a second operating assumption as well. This assumption is that youths and their families need counseling or concrete services or both and that the worker can increase the probability that a juvenile will be successful in the program by making available the services of the court. The degree of emphasis on counseling and services varied. In some programs workers provide or refer to services only when requested. In others, the workers always try to achieve a type of "big brother" counseling relationship, sometimes combined with advocacy for the youths at school and counseling or referral of the youths' parents. In three programs workers organize weekly recreational or cultural activities for all juveniles on their caseloads.

Four of the programs in this category were said to have been started to relieve the overcrowding of a secure detention facility. Two began with explicit concern about the possibly harmful effects of secure detention. One began as an experiment to test the value of the program as an alternative to secure detention for status offenders; however, intake was not restricted to status offenders.

Youths Served

Only two of the seven programs had been designed for alleged delinquents only. The others accepted both alleged delinquents and status offenders. No program was used exclusively for the status offender. All but two were relatively small in absolute number of juveniles served--between 200 and 300 per year. The other two had accepted just over 1,000 youths each during the last fiscal year.

Of the non-status offenses, burglary is the delinquency alleged most often in each of the programs for which information was available. In general, the alleged delinquencies of program participants do not differ markedly from those encountered on the rosters of secure detention, with the exceptions of homicide, aggravated assault and rape which are few in number and rarely released. The delinquency charges that predominate in numbers are in the middle range of seriousness.

Rates of Success or Failure

All of the programs in this group themselves classify youths as program failures when they either run away and so do not appear for adjudication or when they are arrested for a new offense while participating in the programs. We have obtained data on youths by type of termination for six of the seven programs visited. It is presented along with other pertinent information about each program in Table 1. The tabular presentation risks implying a comparison between programs that is not truly possible. The data presented have not been gathered as part of a comparative evaluation research design. Other variables of importance, such as selectivity in referral to court, social characteristics of juveniles and their families, type of offense and length of prior record have not been controlled. The tabular presentation, however, does have the advantage of facilitating a discussion of success and failure for the programs in this category and it is for this purpose that we present it here.

If one combines what each of the programs views as program failures, it may be seen in Table 1, column (3), that the range of such failures is from 2.4 percent to 12.8 percent of all terminated juveniles. The combined failure rate for four programs falls between 2.4 percent and 7.5 percent, while the rate for one other is 10.1, a percentage that may not include runaways.

Reciprocally, column (6) presents the percentages of juveniles who had been kept trouble free and available to the courts--that is, had not been accused of committing a new offense and had not fled jurisdiction. The smallest percentage was 87.2 for program B. The largest was 97.5, at program C.

In the remaining programs, the percentages were 95.7, 94.8, 89.8

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGES OF YOUTHS, BY TYPE OF TERMINATION FROM SIX HOME DETENTION PROGRAMS

Program	Percent						
	(1) New Offenses	(2) Running Away	(3) Runaways Plus New Offenses	(4) Returned to Secure Detention	(5) Completed Without Incident	(6) Trouble-Free and Available to Court	(7) Total[a] (3) and (6)
A: N=200. Delinquents Only.	4.5	3.0	7.5	12.0	80.5	92.5	100.0
B: N=274. Delinquents and Status Offenders.	4.4	8.4	12.8	16.4	70.8	87.2	100.0
C: N=246. Delinquents and Status Offenders.	2.4	0.0	2.4	8.1	89.4	94.5	99.9
D: N=252. Delinquents and Status Offenders.	5.2	0.0	5.2	21.0	73.8	94.8	100.0
E: N=206. Delinquents and Status Offenders.	2.4	1.9	4.3	24.8	70.9	95.7	100.0
F: N=276. Delinquents Only.	...[b]	...[b]	10.1[b]	13.3	76.4	89.8	99.9

[a]Totals may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.
[b]Information obtained from interview and may not include runaways.

and 92.5. It is tempting to declare these "percentages of success." But are they?

Another view of the data at hand may be seen in a comparison of columns (1) and (2), where for five programs statistics are given separately for new offenses and running away. The data are not very enlightening, except to note that alleged new offenses exceeded running away in every instance except one (program B). We have no information that explains why no youths ran away from programs C and D.

A complication is the use of secure detention for certain program participants. We have already reported that all of these programs authorized their youth workers, for cause, to return juveniles to secure detention. In all programs they did so, as may be seen in column (4) of Table 1. Further, the percentages so returned in every instance exceeded the percentage of juveniles in the same program who had committed a new offense or who had run away while being supervised.

Is use of secure detention to be considered a program failure in this context? The youths for whom it was used did appear in court. If they are to be considered something less than successful in the programs then the statistics in column (5)--percentages of youths completing the programs without incident--should be considered. The smallest was 70.8 percent; the largest was 89.4 percent. Still, it seems a bit unfair to consider use of a preventative procedure planned from the start as a program weakness: the youths did get to court.

Conclusions

The Home Detention Programs appear to work well for the middle range of serious delinquents who are often detained securely. Status offenders, however, are often difficult to deal with in this type of program unless substitute living arrangements are made available for juveniles who have run away repeatedly or who have been presented to the court as incorrigible (or uncontrollable) by their parents or departments of child welfare. Both categories of youths are seen as by-products of a breakdown in general family stability and specifically in parental functioning. An already fractured home situation is, after all, a difficult base upon which to predicate "home detention." This has led programs of this kind to add substitute care components such as foster homes, group homes, a non-secure shelter or even specialized facilities such as a "youth in crisis" group home for out-of-state runaways.

The problems that certain Home Detention Programs have experienced such as excessive proportions of youths running away or committing new offenses while awaiting court hearing appear to be related not to deficiencies in the design of the programs per se but, rather, to their misuse or maladministration by judges and court officials. It must be remem-

bered that all of these home detention programs are operated by juvenile court probation departments. Excessive delays in adjudication, caused either by crowded court dockets or by deliberate use of home detention to "test out" how youths might behave on probation, is associated with augmented rates of failure.

Attention Homes

The Attention Home concept originated in Boulder, Colorado.

> The term attention as distinct from detention, signifies an environment which accentuates the positive aspects of community interaction with young offenders. The homes are structured enough for necessary control of juveniles, but far less restrictive and less punishing than jail. In fact, the atmosphere is made as homelike as possible--to give youngsters exactly what the term describes--attention. (Kaersvang, 1972:3.)

This quotation reflects the philosophy guiding the operation not only of the home we visited in Boulder but of the Attention Homes visited in Helena and Anaconda, Montana, as well. We had expected to treat the three homes as a family of programs. However, each had adapted itself to unique circumstances in such a way that generalizations tended to obscure important differences. The Attention Home in Boulder is closely attached to court process and functions almost exclusively as an alternative to secure detention. Other Attention Homes have been developed in that jurisdiction to assist with probation and other post-dispositional problems.

The Attention Home in Helena is multi-function. It serves a mixture of court cases and other kinds of agency referrals as well. It in fact functions as a resource for other agencies as well as a resource for juveniles in pre-adjudicatory status.

The Attention Home in Anaconda, as in Boulder, is tied closely to court process. However, it places a great emphasis on treatment through purchase of services and has taken on an important diversionary function. For these and other reasons the programs have been described separately. We will return to their similarities and differences later in a brief summary.

Boulder, Colorado

The Holmes-Hargadine Attention Home, the first of its kind, opened in Boulder in 1966 as an alternative to jail. In 1975, approximately 150 youths were admitted, two-thirds of them boys. About three-fourths were alleged delinquents; the rest were referred for status offenses. Most youths charged with more serious offenses are not referred to the

home but, rather, are transferred to a regional detention center opened since the Attention Home was established.

The intake unit of the Boulder Juvenile Court refers youths to the home. The houseparents make the admission decisions, but they seldom reject referrals. They try to create as homelike an atmosphere as they can, spending time and talking with each of the youths. Some youths continue to attend their schools, but most work in a county sponsored program which pays two dollars an hour. In the afternoons, evenings and weekends volunteers (students from a nearby university) organize activities both in the home and elsewhere.

Systematic statistics were not available, but we estimate, based on what were told, that the rate of those who ran away and those returned to secure detention was 2.6 percent each (there were no new offenses), producing a success rate of 94.8 or up to 97.4 percent depending upon how one believes returns to secure detention should be interpreted. There is no unusual aspect to the operation of the Attention Home with which rates of success can be linked, unless it is a felt "quality" that is difficult to define. It is not a fancy program, but it is a program to which the judge, the probation department and the houseparents are deeply committed.

Helena, Montana

The residential program of the Helena Attention Home is much like the one in Boulder. It differs, however, in the type of youths for whom it is used and in the kinds of agencies using it.

The home was a response to the needs of four youth-serving agencies in the city: the Probation Department of the Juvenile Court; the State Department of Institutions, Aftercare Division (responsible for youths discharged from mental hospitals and for youths released on parole from juvenile correctional institutions); the State Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services (welfare) and the Casey Family Foundation (a private social work agency providing specialized foster care homes and an independent living program for youths referred from the three other agencies, as well as other sources). All of these agencies had identified in their caseloads troubled youths who either were running away from or were unwelcome in their own homes or foster homes. Frequently they ended up in Helena's county jail, as did many other youths.

Thus, juveniles awaiting adjudicatory hearings at the home are a minority of the residents, but it is the only non-secure program for them in the jurisdiction.

It is difficult to say what measures of success or failure should be applied to this program. Only rarely do youths run away from it, we were told. Even when they do, they usually return on their own within twenty-four hours. And only twice in 1975 did a youth have to be transferred from the home to jail.

Anaconda, Montana

The Attention Home in Anaconda is also an alternative to jail. Most referrals to Discovery House, as it is called, are from the court probation department. Youths excluded from referral are those charged with serious offenses against persons or those who have failed previously at the home due to aggressive behavior. Two-thirds of the admissions (47 in all) in 1975 were alleged status offenders.

Discovery House receives juveniles who differ greatly in the problems they present. At one extreme are youths who stay for short periods, an average of 3.3 days and no more than two weeks. At the other are a small number of youths with complicated personal problems for which it is difficult to find solutions. These adolescents may remain in residence for long periods--two to five months.

Because of the seriousness of the problems of certain youths and because of the commitment of the director of Discovery House to provide treatment, when needed, the program invests heavily in professional services. They are purchased with contractual monies; there are no professional personnel on the program's staff.

The court, in view of the treatment services provided by Discovery House, quashes the petitions on about three-quarters of the youths while they are in the program. Thus, many of the juveniles referred to the program as an alternative to jail end by being diverted from court jurisdiction.

Only rarely are youths asked to leave Discovery House or returned to jail. Those who run away from the program generally return on their own. The home's policy is to take them back.

Conclusions

The Attention Home format, based on the limited data available, appears to be successful for populations of alleged delinquents and status offenders as well. Status offenders, we were told at all fourteen sites, are difficult to manage in both secure detention and in alternative programs. Either their own behavior or their home environments (or both) frequently defeat individual techniques or program approaches that work reasonably well with many alleged delinquents.

The Attention Home also is adaptable to the varying needs of small communities. (We have no information about their use in large cities.) Its potential for mixed use may make them the practical choice for small jurisdictions where a variety of alternative programs is not feasible.

Programs for Runaways

We selected for visits two programs designed for runaways, a category of status offenders considered very troublesome to deal with. One program mainly handled juveniles running away locally. The other had been started to return out-of-state runaways to their homes.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Amicus House had been in operation since 1970. Only recently has it begun to accept referrals from the Allegheny County Juvenile Court. From the beginning the program provided a residence for runaway youths, using individual counseling, group treatment and family casework in an attempt to reconcile youths with their parents. The target population has always been runaways from the local area, and it is this group of youths that is now sent to Amicus House following detention hearings.

The program's operating assumptions are that the runaway youths referred to them are experiencing fairly serious emotional or family problems. Intensive treatment interventions of a problem-solving nature are required for the youth and the parents if the family situation is to be stabilized. The agency does not try to provide long-term treatment. Its goal is to make a successful referral if such help is needed. Its staff includes the program's director, an administrative assistant, ten counselors, a cook and two program coordinators who also supervise the counselors. Counselors are responsible for maintaining the house in addition to working with the juveniles and their parents.

A youth is restricted to the house without telephone privileges for 48 hours after arrival. He is told that he is there to think: to identify and begin working on whatever problems led to his running away. The juvenile's personal participation in the process is what is emphasized, the counselors being available to help him. If after 48 hours he is working to define his problem, a counselor may contact his parents and set an evening appointment for a family session. These may last two and one-half hours and are repeated regularly while the youth is in the program. Daily group meetings of all youths in residence are held after dinner in the evenings with guided group interaction techniques used to encourage and support problem-solving efforts. Programming that might distract juveniles from their problems is avoided.

If, as sometimes happens, a youth's parents refuse to cooperate, Amicus House petitions the court for custody of the youth and authorization to provide counseling. The petitions almost always are granted. Most parents then decide to cooperate, but if they do not Amicus House approaches the court to petition that the youth be declared "deprived" and thus eligible for foster placement. The practice of bringing petitions to court on behalf of youths whose parents are reluctant or unwilling to participate in the program is an important one to note. Too often juvenile courts have allowed themselves to become disciplinary

agents for angry parents rather than using court authority to change the behavior of the parents.

For youths referred from court, the average length of stay is two to three weeks, varying with how rapidly the court docket is moving. Most of the youths terminate from the program by returning home; program officials reported that 8 percent of the youths admitted since July, 1975, ran away from the program, but the statistics were not specific to court referrals only. On occasion disruptive youths are asked to leave--but this is rare. The staff's principal response to disruptive behavior is to encourage ventilation of feelings.

Jacksonville, Florida

The Transient Youth Center was designed for out-of-state runaway youths. The Child Services Division of Jacksonville's Human Resources Department operates the Center which has residential capacity for 12 youths (both boys and girls) and accepted 560 youths in its first ten months of operation.

Local law enforcement agencies and court intake officials agreed to bring runaways directly from the police station or court intake to the center, thus avoiding secure detention altogether.

The principal objective for out-of-state juveniles is to return them to their families. The operating assumption is that provision of food, shelter and positive human contact of a crisis intervention kind will help youths decide to contact their parents and return home. To carry out this program, counselors are available 24 hours a day. A youth arriving at the center is fed, assigned a bed and given an opportunity to talk with a counselor. Daily staffings assess the youth's willingness to work out the details of contacting his parents and returning home. For most out-of-state youths this process takes one to three days. The center's close working relationship with Traveler's Aid appears to be a major factor in expediting return.

Although the Transient Youth Center was designed for juveniles running away to Florida, 40 percent of its clientele is now from Jacksonville and other parts of Florida. The local youths have presented needs and problems different from youths from other states. They need concrete services and an opportunity to talk, but often they present serious personal and family problems as well. The staff attempts to engage such youths and their families with the local social agencies for longer-term service. On the average, Florida youths stay at the Transient Youth Center a few days longer than do those from out-of-state.

Conclusions

For jurisdictions considering what to do about runaways, we think there is much to be learned from both programs. The striking facts

are that few of the runaways admitted to Amicus House (7.8 percent) and to the Transient Youth Center (4.1 percent) run from them. These are remarkable accomplishments, given the reputed difficulties of controlling runaways.

Private Residential Foster Home Programs

The two private, residential foster home programs have little in common except that both are located geographically in the state of Massachusetts. This may not be a coincidence.

In Massachusetts, the Department of Youth Services (DYS) is the state agency responsible for juvenile corrections. In that state this responsibility includes the operation and provision of pre-trial detention facilities and services for juveniles. During the early 1970s both the structure and organization of DYS was altered dramatically under the administration of its Commissioner, Dr. Jerome G. Miller. He closed most of the state's juvenile training schools and encouraged community-based programs to take their places. He organizationally divided DYS into seven semi-autonomous administrative regions and encouraged each region to develop non-secure community-based alternatives to incarceration for youths in their care. This, of course, included alternatives to detention for juveniles awaiting court.

New Bedford, Massachusetts

The New Bedford Child and Family Service, a private social work agency, operates the Proctor Program under contract with DYS Region 7. Region 7 has no secure detention for girls. Girls remanded by courts to DYS Region 7 for detention are placed in either the Proctor Program or in shelters, group homes or other foster homes.

The New Bedford Child and Family Service (NBCFS) Proctor Program assigns girls received from DYS to a "proctor" who provides 24-hour care and supervision for the girl and works with the NBCFS professional staff to develop a treatment plan for rehabilitation. Twelve proctors are paid about $9,600 each per year for 32 child-care weeks. Each makes her own home or apartment available to one girl at a time. The proctors are single women between the ages of 20 and 30 who live alone and are willing to devote all their time to the girls assigned to them.

The idea for this program grew out of NBCFS's previous experience with female juvenile offenders and their families. The agency had observed that foster home care and other substitute care arrangements often seemed to make troublesome girls' behaviors worse but that a positive one-to-one relationship with a female caseworker seemed to cause improvement. The Proctor Program began with the operating assumption that many adolescent girls referred to court lacked a positive relation-

ship while growing up and that the one-to-one Proctor format would provide such a relationship. This, in turn, would lead to short-term behavioral stability assuring appearance in court and the beginning of the rehabilitative work viewed as necessary for growth and development in the longer run. The immediate objective is to see that the girl appears in court at the appointed time. The long-term goal is to help the girl begin a course of rehabilitation by providing a type of care that will eventually improve her relationship with her parents. To accomplish these goals, the counseling and other resources of NBCFS are brought to bear in addition to the personal help of the proctor.

One hundred and sixteen girls were placed with proctors during 1975. About three-fourths were status offenders, petitioned for incorrigibility or running away. About 10 percent ran away while in the program.

The Proctor Program cannot be compared with any of the other programs visited. It is a specialized program for a particular (and particularly difficult) population of youths who often are referred to juvenile court when all other resources have failed. In many other jurisdictions they are admitted to secure detention even though intake and court officials know that the court's resources are not adequate to deal with the range of complex problems they present. The Proctor Program maintains close working relationships with both the Bristol County Juvenile Court in New Bedford and the regional office of DYS. It may be that the Proctor Program is one of the kinds of alternative programs needed to provide effective care for youths who are most inappropriately placed in secure detention.

Springfield, Massachusetts

The Center for the Study of Institutional Alternatives (CSIA) is located in Springfield, Massachusetts, and serves the four western counties that make up Region 1 of the State Department of Youth Services (DYS). It is a private, non-profit corporation that operates two alternative programs under contract with Region 1. Each program accepts both boys and girls and together they provide 95 percent of all detention services in the region. DYS operates a nine-bed regional secure detention facility in Westfield, Massachusetts.

The Intensive Detention Program (IDP) was designed for juveniles charged with more serious offenses or who, regardless of charge, are more difficult to manage behaviorally. It consists of a Receiving Unit Home (four beds), two Group Home units (five beds each) and two foster homes (two beds each). Thus, space is available for a maximum of 18 juveniles at any one time. The doors and windows of the Receiving Home Unit can be locked with keys, but that is the maximum degree of mechanical security possible in this network.

The Detained Youths Advocate Program (DYAP) consists of seventeen two-bed foster homes and was designed for youths charged with less serious offenses or who, regardless of charge, are behaviorally less difficult to manage. The combined capacity of these programs at any one time is 52 youths, although it could expand by recruiting additional DYAP foster homes.

The operating assumptions of the CSIA programs are that decent, humane care provided by people who can develop relationships with youths awaiting court action will keep most such youths free of trouble and assure their appearances in court at the appointed times. The IDP is staffed with a director, a receiving home unit supervisor and an assistant, two full-time and two part-time counselors and three office personnel who often double as resource personnel. Group and foster home parents are carefully screened and selected. As the main program thrust is relationship building, program staff and houseparents work closely together in attempting to match each youth with an adult (staff or houseparent) that the youth can relate to and trust. This person, who tries to help the youth understand the legal process ahead of him, is prepared to be an advocate on the youth's behalf when he or she appears in court. Counselors frequently involve the youths' families, schools and other concerned persons in planning for the future.

The DYAP is less labor intensive and relies for the most part on the program director and the foster parents, who are frequently young couples, some with children of their own. The operating assumptions and program activities are the same as those of the IDP.

The two CSIA programs combined accepted 650 youths during fiscal year 1975. Two-thirds were males and all were petitioned either as alleged delinquents or Children in Need of Services (CHINS). During the first six months of that year, 475 youths were placed in the CSIA programs, of whom six (1.2 percent) committed new offenses while in the program and 32 (6.8 percent) ran away, for a combined failure rate of 8 percent. The rest appeared in court as scheduled. Our own randomly selected sample of all youths terminating from a CSIA program between July 1 and December 31, 1975, showed that the average length of stay for youths in both programs was 20 days.

In relative terms, the CSIA network of group and foster homes is the most extensive we encountered. During the last six months of 1975 the nine-bed detention facility in Westfield had been occupied mostly by older boys being bound over for trial as adults. Thus, only a few beds were available to the Region for secure detention of youths awaiting hearings in juvenile court. We know of no other part of the United States in which is located a city the size of Springfield where so few youths are detained securely prior to adjudication.

Program Comparisons

Fair evaluation of an alternative program requires information on outcomes which can be related to program goals. Comparative evaluation of two or more such programs requires the existence of comparable program goals as well as comparable outcome measures. The goals of the fourteen programs described above vary considerably as we have noted at several points. Several programs held in common two primary goals: keeping their youths trouble free and available to the court. Secondary goals ranged from providing short term counseling and referral services to youths and their families to providing rehabilitative services over a longer period. Other programs named rehabilitative services as their primary goals. Sometimes keeping youths trouble free and available to the court were named as secondary goals but not always. Thus, we do not have comparable goals for all programs. Nor do we have statistical information on the effectiveness of counseling, referral and rehabilitative efforts; they are seldom available.

For most of the programs, however, we do have information on the percentages of youths running away or allegedly committing a new offense while in the alternative program awaiting adjudication. Negative information of these kinds cannot do justice to program efforts and have in themselves problems of comparability. Nevertheless, they do provide us with an opportunity to compare programs collectively in a limited way and to illustrate what can be accomplished.

Across the 12 programs for which information was available the percentages of participants running away or allegedly committing new offenses while awaiting adjudication ranged from 2.4 percent to 12.8 percent (see Table 2). It is of interest that both of the programs reporting these percentages had the same format: they were Home Detention Programs. In other words, similar programs can produce different results when carried out by different organizations in different jurisdictions, possibly working with different kinds of juveniles.

The reader probably will focus first on the two extreme figures--among the Home Detention Programs--Program B and Program F.

Program B was begun in order to reduce overcrowding in secure detention and in the hope of avoiding the cost of constructing an additional wing to the secure facility. Judges and intake personnel began to misuse the new program by placing status offenders and allegedly delinquent youths--who would not otherwise have been placed in secure detention--in it. The percentages of youths who ran away or were alleged to have committed new offenses while in the program rose with this originally unintended development. We cannot demonstrate that the misuse caused the increase in failure rates but we suspect it may have been a contributing factor. The secure detention facility in this jurisdiction remains at or above capacity. Officials there did not hesitate to attribute this consequence to the misuse of the alternative program.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGES OF YOUTHS WHO RAN AWAY OR ALLEGEDLY COMMITTED NEW OFFENSES, FOR 14 ALTERNATIVE PROGRAMS

Type of Program	Percent		
	Interim Offenses	Running Away	Total
Home Detention Programs:			
Program A	4.5	3.0	7.5
Program B	4.4	8.4	12.8
Program C	2.4	0.0	2.4
Program D	5.2	0.0	5.2
Program E	2.4	1.9	4.3
Program F	10.1[ab]	...[ab]	10.1[ab]
Program G	5.5	0.0	5.5
Attention Homes:			
Anaconda	NA	NA	NA
Boulder	2.6[a]	2.6[a]	5.2[a]
Helena	NA	NA	NA
Programs for Runaways:			
Jacksonville	...[c]	4.1	4.1
Pittsburgh	0.0[ad]	7.8[d]	7.8[ad]
Private Residential Foster Homes:			
New Bedford	0.0	10.0	10.0
Springfield	1.2	6.8	8.0

[a] Information based on interview only.
[b] Runaways may not be included.
[c] Not applicable.
[d] Includes youths not within court jurisdiction.
NA Information not available.

Program F reported a combined "failure rate" of 10.1 percent. In that jurisdiction judges were using the alternative program as a means of testing the ability of allegedly delinquent youths to remain in the community under probation-like supervision. Placement in the program occurs prior to adjudication. This misuse of the program as a preadjudicatory testing ground apparently contributed to delays in scheduling court hearings for youths in the program; the average length of stay was 90 days. Whether it also contributed to the higher than average failure rate is unknown. It is clear, however, that such extended lengths of stay are both unnecessary and unfair.

In general the program failure percentages for Home Detention Programs tend to be interim new offenses rather than runaways. In only one instance (Program B) does the percentage running away exceed that for alleged new offenses. Furthermore, two jurisdictions reported no runaways during their reporting year. Of course, jurisdictions differ in the ways runaways are classified. Some do not count instances where the youths who ran away returned voluntarily or through the efforts of staff prior to adjudication; others do. Even so, the low percentages of running from these programs may be of interest.

The percentages for the publicly and privately operated residential group home programs for runaways reflect their purposes. What they have been able to accomplish, with local and interstate runaways, should be of considerable importance to the many jurisdictions that have found such youths especially difficult to contain suitably.

The Attention Homes in Boulder, Anaconda and Helena serve diverse groups of juveniles with considerable success.

The two private residential foster home programs are both located in the State of Massachusetts and were developed partly in response to the progressive act of that state in closing its juvenile correctional institutions. The New Bedford program for girls experienced no allegations of new offenses during the reporting year, although 10 percent ran away. The program serves many girls referred for running away or incorrigibility, although it serves alleged delinquents as well. The Springfield statistics may be of the greatest importance of any in Table 2. Almost no juveniles are securely detained in this jurisdiction, so juveniles who are difficult to supervise as well as easier ones are referred to the program. The 8.0 percent total for "failure" is quite an achievement, especially as it includes few alleged new offenses. In fact, excluding programs only for runaways, the 1.2 percent of interim offenses is the smallest of any program.

When these statistics are viewed collectively for the 12 programs that provided them, we can see that the interim offense rates ranged from 1.2 percent to 10.1 percent of all youths placed in the programs during one year. Similarly, the runaway rates ranged from 0.0 percent

to 10.0 percent and the combined totals from 2.4 percent to 12.8 percent. The small spread on these measures when combined with our knowledge of how different the programs are--both in terms of what they do and the types of youths they receive--seems to support at least two conclusions. One is that programs used as alternatives to secure detention can be used for many youths who would otherwise be placed in secure detention and with a relatively small risk of failure. A second is that the type of program used does not appear as critical as how it is used by the jurisdiction. These conclusions are based on data from only 12 programs and so must be considered tentative. They do, nevertheless, provide some encouragement for jurisdictions that are dissatisfied with the traditional use of secure detention.

Program Costs

Costs of the alternative programs are in Table 3, together with the costs of secure detention in the same jurisdictions.

We have hesitated even to approach this topic. The usual computation of these costs is to divide some definition of expenditures by the number of days of child care provided, thus producing a cost per youth per day. Administrative expenses, when the program is operated by a social agency carrying out additional functions, are not always allocated to program costs in the same way; nor are expenses of renting or purchasing office and juvenile residential facilities.

Furthermore, the juxtaposition of the two sets of figures risks the implication that a saving is taking place. That may not be true. Certain costs of operating and maintaining a secure facility are incurred even if fewer youths are detained there, and the cost per youth per day may rise as more youths are removed to an alternative program. An important exception may be the jurisdiction where an alternative had been established in lieu of enlarging an existing secure facility or building a new one. Such savings are not expressed in budgets and are not often enough taken into account.

The costs of alternative programs, expressed in youth-care days, are inflated by underuse of many of them. Unlike many secure facilities, most of the alternative programs we visited had never operated at maximum capacity. Actual operating capacity for these programs generally fell between 40 and 60 percent of maximum, and costs per youth per day vary with this fluctuation.

Certain of the programs are used for large numbers of juveniles. Others are for very small numbers. Thus, a small program that appears expensive on a case basis may represent a very small part of the expenditure of its jurisdiction for holding youths for adjudication.

Finally, certain programs are in geographical areas where personnel and other costs are greater, relative to other areas.

TABLE 3

COSTS PER YOUTH PER DAY
OF 14 ALTERNATIVE PROGRAMS AND OF SECURE DETENTION FACILITIES
IN THE SAME JURISDICTIONS

Jurisdiction	Cost	
	Alternative Program	Secure Detention
Home Detention Programs:		
Program A	$ 6.03[a]	$36.25[a]
Program B	11.42[a]	29.60[a]
Program C	24.22[ab]	35.69[a]
Program D	4.85[c]	17.54[c]
Program E	10.34	27.00
Program F	.....[d]	.....[d]
Program G	.....[d]	.....
Attention Homes:		
Anaconda	$15.00	$.....[e]
Boulder	13.67	22.83
Helena	22.00	.....[e]
Programs for Runaways:		
Jacksonville	$18.00	$18.00
Pittsburgh	85.00	35.00
Private Residential Foster Homes:		
New Bedford	$63.87	$.....[e]
Springfield		
Intensive Detention Program	32.28	.....[d]
Detained Youths Advocate Program	14.30	.....[d]

[a]Expressed in 1974 or 1975 dollars.
[b]Includes costs of a contract for program evaluation of about $3.00 per youth per day.
[c]Expressed in 1972 dollars.
[d]Not available.
[e]No secure detention facility.

Having said all that, the costs per day per youth displayed in Table 3 should be thought of only as indicating something about the range of expenses that might be incurred--little else.

Conclusions About Alternative Programs

In concluding this document we set forth certain generalizations about programs currently in use as alternatives to secure detention for youths awaiting adjudication in juvenile courts. The reader should remember that we visited only 14 such programs and that selection of programs in different jurisdictions might have resulted in other generalizations. Still, we will summarize conclusions that we believe to be of immediate importance to individuals and organizations that may be considering the development of alternatives in their jurisdictions.

1. The various program formats--residential and non-residential--appear to be about equal in their ability to keep those youths for whom the programs were designed trouble free and available to court. That is not to say that any group of juveniles may be placed successfully in any type of program. It refers, instead, to the fact that in most programs only a small proportion of juveniles had committed new offenses or run away while awaiting adjudication.

2. Similar program formats can produce different rates of failure--measured in terms of youths running away or committing new offenses. The higher rates of failure appear to be due to factors outside the control of the programs' employees--e.g., excessive lengths of stay due to slow processing of court dockets or judicial misuse of the programs for pre-adjudicatory testing of youths' behavior under supervision.

3. Any program format can be adapted to some degree to program goals in addition to those of keeping youths trouble free and available to the court--for example, the goals of providing treatment or concrete services. Residential programs seem the most adaptable in that they are able to serve youths whose parents will not receive them or those who will not return home--often the same juveniles.

4. Residential programs--group homes and foster homes--are being used successfully both for alleged delinquents and status offenders.

5. Home De' 'ntion Programs are successful with delinquents and with some status offenders. However, a residential component is required for certain juveniles whose problems or conflicts

are with their own families. Substitute care in foster homes and group homes and supervision within a Home Detention format have been combined successfully.

6. The Attention Home format seems very adaptable to the needs of less populated jurisdictions, where separate programs for several special groups may not be feasible. The Attention Home format has been used for youth populations made up of (a) alleged delinquents only, (b) alleged delinquents and status offenders and (c) alleged delinquents, status offenders and juveniles with other kinds of problems as well.

7. Thoughtfully conceived non-secure residential programs can retain, temporarily, youths who have run away from their homes. Longer term help is believed to be essential for some runaways, so programs used as alternatives to detention for these youths require the cooperation of other social agencies to which such juveniles can be referred.

8. Certain courts are unnecessarily timid in defining the kinds of youths (i.e., severity of alleged offense, past record) they are willing to refer to alternative programs. Even when alternative programs are available, many youths are being held in secure detention (or jail) who could be kept trouble free and available to court in alternative programs, judging by the experiences of jurisdictions that have tried.

9. Secure holding arrangements are essential for a small proportion of alleged delinquents who constitute a danger to others.

10. The costs per day per youth of alternative programs can be very misleading. A larger cost can result from more services and resources being made available to program participants. It also can result from geographical variation in costs of personnel and services, differences in what administrative and office or residence expenses are included and underutilization of the program.

11. A range of types of alternative programs should probably be made available in jurisdictions other than the smallest ones. No one format is suited to every youth, and a variety of options among which to choose probably will increase rates of success in each.

12. Appropriate use of both secure detention and of alternative programs can be jeopardized by poor administrative practices. Intake decisions should be guided by clear, written criteria. Judges and court personnel should monitor the intake decisions frequently to be certain they conform to criteria.

13. Since overuse of secure detention continues in many parts of the country, the main alternative to secure detention should not be another program. A large proportion of youths should simply be released to their parents or other responsible adults to await court action.

Prerequisites for Successful Programming

In presenting the descriptions of the alternative programs we tried to summarize descriptive findings as succinctly as possible, emphasizing those facets of programs that might interest those who may be considering use of alternative programs in their own jurisdictions. We mentioned only briefly some of the problems we saw in the way programs were used in certain jurisdictions. The problems to which we referred are not unique to one jurisdiction and it would be misleading to discuss them as if they were. We nevertheless need to discuss them here in a general way, because the recommendations we make here will be understood only if the problems are acknowledged.

During each site visit we asked about the reasons for the use of secure detention and specific alternative programs in the jurisdiction. We handed informants a list of reasons we had found in the literature and asked: Which reasons apply here? The responses are combined in Table 4.

The reasons given for use of secure detention were predictable. It was being used in all jurisdictions (a) to assure appearance for court adjudication; (b) to prevent youths from committing a delinquent act while waiting for the adjudicatory hearing; (c) to prevent youths from engaging in incorrigible behavior while awaiting an adjudicatory hearing; (d) to protect youths against themselves--that is, keep youths from injuring or harming themselves; and (e) to protect youths against others--perhaps other youths or adults, and even their families--in the community. Lesser numbers reported that juveniles in their jurisdictions were being securely detained to provide them with a place to stay while awaiting an adjudicatory hearing, because there was no other alternative.

The directors of alternative programs gave answers that parallel the ones just listed. Their programs were being used for those reasons, too.

Use of secure detention and alternative programs differed in important ways, however. Secure detention was used in only one jurisdiction to reduce the likelihood that youths would commit a delinquent act in the long run--that is, after release by the court or other juvenile

TABLE 4

USES MADE OF SECURE DETENTION AND OF ALTERNATIVE PROGRAMS, AS REPORTED BY OFFICIALS IN THE JURISDICTIONS

Reasons for Use	Secure Detention (N=8)	Alternative Program (N=11)
1. Protect the youth against himself or herself—that is, keep the youth from injuring or harming himself	8	6
2. Provide the youth with a place to stay while awaiting adjudicatory hearing, because there is no other alternative except detention	6	10
3. Prevent the youth from committing a delinquent act while awaiting the adjudicatory hearing	8	10
4. Prevent the youth from engaging in incorrigible behavior while awaiting adjudicatory hearing	8	10
5. Reduce the likelihood that the youth will commit a delinquent act in the long(er) run—that is, after release by the court or other juvenile authorities	1	10
6. Reduce the likelihood that the youth will engage in incorrigible behavior in the long(er) run—that is, after release by the court or other juvenile authorities	0	10
7. Assure appearance for court adjudication	8	10
8. Make sure that the youth is available for interviewing, observation or testing needed by the court or court employees	2	10
9. Begin rehabilitative treatment	2	10
10. Give the youth a mild but noticeable "jolt" so that he/she will recognize the seriousness of the behavior	3	9
11. Protect the youth from others—perhaps other youths or adults, and even his/her family—in the community	8	8

authorities. In no jurisdiction was it reported that secure detention was used to reduce the likelihood of youths engaging in incorrigible behavior in the long run. Yet in all jurisdictions except one, alternative programs were used for these reasons.

In only two jurisdictions was secure detention being used to make sure that youths were available for interviewing, observation or testing needed by the court or court employees. In three it was being used to give some youths a mild but noticeable "jolt" so that he or she would recognize the seriousness of the behavior. Two jurisdictions reported that among the reasons for placing youths in secure detention was to begin rehabilitative treatment. Again, in all jurisdictions but one the alternative program was being used to make sure that youths were available for interviewing, observation or testing. In all but two it was being used to give youths a mild "jolt." The alternative program in every jurisdiction but one also was being used to begin rehabilitation.

Thus in eleven of the jurisdictions visited alternative programs listed among their functions administrative convenience, immediate punishment, long-run deterrence and rehabilitation. The reader will recognize these "reasons" as the ones that have historically caused so much misuse of secure detention throughout the United States.

Interviews provided additional information on uses of alternative programs. Youths in certain programs would simply have been sent home to await hearings, if the alternative program had not been available. Juveniles in alternative programs tend to wait longer for adjudication than those in secure detention. A few programs were used as a form of informal probation to provide a testing period prior to adjudication (in one city a program was scornfully referred to as an "alternative to disposition"). But most of all, in addition to holding juveniles who might commit new offenses or run away, alternative programs were being used as a treatment resource for youths who were unlikely to do either. In jurisdiction after jurisdiction we were told that the program was being used to provide needed treatment services, because such services were not otherwise available.

As a result the symptoms of overreach through alternative programs may be appearing in certain jurisdictions. Juveniles can be accepted into the juvenile justice process who would not have been previously, just because new programs are available. This appears in some instances to be accompanied by transfer of one of the abuses of secure detention to the newer alternative programs. Historically, secure detention has been utilized for the control of juveniles in need of child welfare services that have not been available. As alternative programs increasingly become resources for juvenile courts to use there is a real danger that (1) the programs will be turned away from their main task of protecting communities and juveniles in the period prior to adjudication and that (2) an increasing number of youths who need social services

will be labelled alleged delinquents or status offenders in order to receive them.

For the above reasons we offer five recommendations to juvenile courts that may be considering the introduction of alternative programs of whatever kind.

(1) Criteria for selecting juveniles for secure detention, for alternative programs and for release on the recognizance of a parent or guardian while awaiting court adjudication should be in writing.

Comments: The emphasis here is that consistency in decision making requires clearly written criteria by which all intake and referral decision makers may be guided. We do not specify what the criteria should be, but we have included in the bibliography references to the criteria published by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency and the report prepared by Daniel J. Freed, Timothy P. Terrell and J. Lawrence Schultz for the American Bar Association's Juvenile Justice Standards Project. Here we wish to bring a less well known statement to the attention of readers.

A recent study in California asked its statewide advisory committee to formulate criteria that would be clear and unambiguous for use in that state. Members of the advisory committee included a commander from a police department juvenile division, a deputy chief of another police department, four juvenile court judges, four chief probation officers, two juvenile court referees and one detention center superintendent. Their criteria are the clearest we have seen and they are applicable to any jurisdiction in other states. For these reasons we present here the three criteria relevant to this discussion.

(a) To guarantee minor's appearance: No minor shall be detained to ensure his court appearance unless he has previously failed to appear, and there is no parent, guardian or responsible adult willing and able to assume responsibility for the minor's presence.

(b) For protection of others: Pretrial detention of minors whose detention is a matter of immediate and urgent necessity for the protection of the persons or property of another shall be limited to those charged with an offense which could be a felony if committed by an adult and the circumstances surrounding the offense charged involved physical harm or substantial threat of physical harm to another.

Exactly half of the committee formulating these criteria felt that an additional category of youths should be eligible for pretrial detention on the basis of "dangerousness," reflecting the widespread disagreement about what is dangerous. These committee members favored adoption of the following criterion which would be added to (b) above: "...and to

those charged with substantial damage to, or theft of, property when the minor's juvenile court record revealed a pattern of behavior that had resulted in frequent or substantial damage to, or loss of, property and where previous control measures had failed." (Saleebey, 1975: 59-63.)

It is possible that the mere presence of written criteria so clearly expressed would provide intake officials with some support in refusing to detain youths inappropriately brought before them.

(2) The decision as to whether youths are to be placed in secure detention or an alternative program should be guided, so far as possible, by written agreements between the responsible administrative officials. These agreements should specify the criteria governing selection of youths for the programs.

Comments: Some readers will find the manner in which this recommendation is worded obscure. The wording has been carefully chosen so as to be applicable to the use of secure detention under various organizational arrangements and to the use of alternative programs under a variety of organizational arrangements. For example, directors of secure detention facilities sometimes do not have the authority to refuse admission even when the facility is overcrowded and underbudgeted. Written agreements concerning numbers and criteria would provide such a director with leverage to protect the well-being of youths held in his care and also serve as a check against inappropriate referrals. Similarly, alternative programs that may be administered by private organizations need to know with reasonable predictability the numbers and kinds of youths they will serve. Also, the availability of public monies for alternative programs may tempt certain agencies to utilize traditional service technologies and "skim" referrals most suited to them. Written agreements should keep alternative programs available to the juveniles who need them.

(3) The decision to use alternative programs should be made at initial intake where the options of refusing to accept the referral, release on the recognizance of a parent or guardian to await adjudication and use of secure detention are also available. It should not be necessary for a youth to be detained securely initially before referral to an alternative program is made.

Comments: We have found that in some jurisdictions alternative programs are not considered as resources until after juveniles have been confined in secure detention to await detention hearings. This is an unnecessary use of secure detention, as jurisdictions that have organized themselves to make such decisions at the time of initial referral have shown. The danger of overreach is greatest at this initial decision point, another reason for consistent selection based on clearly written criteria.

(4) An information system should be created so that (a) use of secure detention, alternative programs and release on parents' recognizance can be cross-tabulated at least by type of alleged offense, prior record, age, sex, race/ethnicity and family composition and (b) terminations by types of placements from secure detention, alternative programs and release on parents' recognizance status can be cross-tabulated with variables such as type of new offense, length of stay and disposition as well as the variables listed in (a) above.

Comments: Court and program records are often so dispersed, if not in total disarray, that no one can find out what is going on. Facts cannot be assembled for simple reports. Administrators cannot evaluate and control operations without regular access to the kinds of information listed.

(5) Courts should adjudicate cases of youths waiting in alternative programs in the same period of time applicable to those in secure detention.

Comments: The practice of extending the waiting period for youths in alternative programs appears to reflect a belief that those in alternative programs are living under less harsh conditions. Even if that is true, the youths in alternative programs prior to adjudication are experiencing the coercion of the court and should be relieved of it by prompt findings.

Implementation of the above recommendations should precede the use of alternative programs because the measures to which they refer are prerequisite to the proper use of alternatives and of secure detention as well.

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