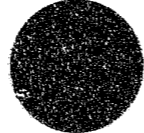


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PROGRAMS FOR RUNAWAY YOUTHS

Larry L. Dye

November, 1981

National Center for the Assessment of Alternatives
to Juvenile Justice Processing

The School of Social Service Administration
The University of Chicago

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning
to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me: I lift my
lamp beside the golden door.

Inscription on the Statue of Liberty

Historically, this country was founded by forefathers who were leaving their own homes at a very early age for the purposes of finding something new—a brave new land. In the 1600's and 1700's, the manifests of ships bound for the New World listed hundreds of children, attracted by excitement, fascination and adventure, many of whom were unescorted. Many were poor children who ran away from dreary, miserable, and often oppressive conditions in Europe, seeking work, if not fortunes, on the new frontier.¹

Traditionally, this country has had its share of youth who ventured out into the world at an early age for the purposes of making it on their own; however, the motivation for leaving their homes has differed as this country has matured. Our understanding of childhood and adolescence has also developed, enabling us to better define these motivations. In the 17th century, the concept of childhood was recognized. Childhood was followed by youth—that period when the youngster left home to learn a trade, and a person of 13 or 14 years of age was well on his or her way to adulthood, already a worker in a field or factory, an apprentice or scholar, perhaps, accorded the dignity and esteem, as well as the hardships of an adult. It wasn't until the beginning of the 20th century that adolescence came to be regarded as a separate stage in a young person's life—a time of biological maturity and social immaturity, and by this time the changes in the legal and social status of youth combined to create a situation in which the runaway ran afoul of a host of laws including those which made the very act itself illegal.

Running away was also a glorified part of American folk tradition. All through the centuries, from the Revolutionary War to World War II, many young men glamorized running away with a sense of patriotism and a challenge of danger. Aside from military conscription which legitimized running away, the western frontier and, later, variable economic conditions offered youth an opportunity to leave home and pursue jobs since at that time no laws existed which barred employment.

Historical Determinants

There were three significant changes regarding youth which took place around the turn of the 20th century. One was the passage of laws prohibiting child labor. The second was compulsory education which extended the time

frame of adolescence. And third was the creation of a separate juvenile justice system to deal with wayward, ignorant, or young people in need of supervision—meaning behavior which was tolerated or simply criticized in adults to be subject to legal scrutiny. With the passage of labor and education laws, young people were being asked to set aside more and more years to prepare for a life of work which was increasingly removed from their experiences at home or school. This change, coupled with the increasing urbanization and mobility of the nuclear family, resulted in the breakdown of the extended family and made it harder and harder for young people to understand and participate in the history and traditions from which their parents' beliefs and styles of life emanated.

The development of the juvenile justice system can be traced from the Child-Saving Movement of Charles Loring Brace. Brace's revolutionary notion that bad youths could be reformed brought about legal reforms, including the creation of reformatories, the juvenile courts and the passage of child welfare laws. It was, however, runaways and vagrants who were largely responsible for bringing attention to the problems of children and youth at that time.

There have been three great periods of running away in this century: the Great Depression, World War II, and the recent "flower-child" era. Studies of the youth during and between these periods indicate a recurrent theme: rupture of the nuclear family. If family pressure was the most common push encouraging a youth to leave home, there was also a strong pull enticing youth to leave home, and these pulls have varied during this century.

Up until the mid-40's the major reason for youth leaving their homes was economic. During the cycles of financial panic and recession of the Depression era of the 1930's, children took to the road—in this case the railroad—to relieve the financial strain on unemployed families—some looking for employment for the purpose of sending money home to help the family. During the 30's authorities estimated that a quarter of a million youth under the age of 21 were on the road regularly.² In those years the federal government set up transient camps to help cope with the movement of Depression victims.

By 1940, the era of education had dawned in America, and there were new influences on youth. In the mid-40's, compulsory education laws and the emphasis on extended education created employment problems for youth. There were ever-broadening restrictions and barriers to adolescents performing work for wages, quickly closing down the job market for youth, and moving youth into a prolonged sense of nonproductivity.

During the 50's and 60's, the prosperity which followed World War II pushed families to "get ahead"—economically, socially, and geographically—and changed the concept of the traditional family structure. This high mobility combined with the need for achievement and success undermined the stabilizing influences of the family, the extended family, and cohesive neighborhoods. This was the beginning of the "generation gap." Social issues such as the Civil Rights Movement, draft resistance, rock music

and drug experimentation converged to produce peace marches against unwanted wars and wide-spread campus revolts; other expressions of unrest ultimately caused confusion in adolescents who could not subscribe to or understand the values of their parents' society.

By the end of the 60's, there was a predominant youth culture in which millions of young people were leaving home each year in search of alternative life styles. They were coming from urban and rural communities into the streets of Haight-Ashbury in San Francisco, the French Quarter in New Orleans, the East Village in New York, to Dupont Circle in Washington, D.C., to Cambridge in Boston, to the beaches of Los Angeles and the glamour of Hollywood, and to other communities where drugs, religion, love, and life on the streets were major attractions. These youth were labelled the "flower children" of the 60's. However, the majority were adolescents discontented with home or school and on the run because it was the thing to do, or because they hoped a change of environment would lead them to a more satisfying way of life.

Not unlike the history of Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn during their first runaway episode, youth found themselves in need of food and shelter, without meaningful things to do, and constantly in fear of being apprehended or "found out." However, as the story goes, they also lived in fear of Injun Joe, whom they thought would murder Huck for witnessing the murder which Injun Joe had committed. The flower children of the 60's similarly found danger, disillusionment and degradation. Youth were on their own without food, money or shelter, and some turned to hustling and "pan-handling" to survive, while others were exposed to pornography, prostitution, theft, drug use, and other atrocities over which they had little control. Youth on the street at this time were generally frightened of the traditionally straight world, making a return trip to it exceedingly difficult.

Until the late 60's, the traditional response to runaway behavior was to bring the full sanction of the community to bear on the youth—first the family, then the social system around the youth such as the schools, friends, relatives and the social service system. These groups put the onus of responsibility on the young person for their action—"What is wrong with you?". The ultimate sanction, however, was the removal of the youth from the community and the placement of the youth into the social service and juvenile justice system. The traditional social agencies such as public welfare bureaus, community action programs, police, and the juvenile court, had access to, or provided the only services available. Young people generally saw these structures as being arbitrary in their policies, and inflexible in their procedures. They feared being returned to the environment from which they were fleeing—brought back only to experience another failure within the family structure, or worse, to be removed from the community and placed with the juvenile justice system.

In the 60's, running away came to be understood often as a desperate assertion of self-hood on the part of the young person—the undeniable protest of a self-directed youth against family constraints. By running away, the youth seeks to escape from the expectations, structure, and physical constraints imposed by the family and to defy the power which parents exercise over the young person. After a youth runs, the parents feel loss

and uncertainty, and often view the act as betrayal on the part of the youth. Some burden themselves with guilt, some just don't understand, others don't care, and a few are secretly pleased. Generally, parents—even those who may wish to wash their hands of their children—feel hopeless.

The legal power which parents may exercise over people who have not reached the age of majority is very complex and often destructive. It is very easy for parents to sign an "incorrigible, unmanageable or beyond control" petition against a youth, transferring domestic disagreements to the legal arena—an arena in which the youth, in effect, stands accused. In the juvenile justice system, often after only superficial investigation, a youth will often not be afforded the opportunity of appeal even though he or she may be incarcerated in a detention center, reform school or even jail, all under the rhetoric of "the best interest or protection of the child."

The Effects of Running Away

The first time Veronica Brunson was arrested she was 11-years old. The charge was prostitution. Before another year passed, the police, unaware of her real age arrested her 11 more times for prostitution.

At the age of 12 Veronica was dead—killed by a mysterious plunge last July from the 10th floor of a shabby midtown hotel frequented by pimps.

Veronica's death, which is being investigated as a possible murder, is just one more grim statistic to the police. But Veronica's life, and her encounters with the city's social service and criminal justice systems in the last year, illustrate the problems and dangers confronting thousands of runaway girls and boys who turn to prostitution to survive alone on the streets of New York.

New York Times, October 3, 1977

A comparable story, appearing in the Washington Post on November 12, 1978, vividly portrayed the possible consequences which a youth must face when he or she runs away. "A juvenile runaway was approached by prostitutes when she got off the bus, and was subsequently forced into a life of prostitution." In 1974, before Senator Birch Bayh's Juvenile Justice Subcommittee examined the problems of runaways, the testimony of a young lady was presented—a young lady "who stepped off a bus in New York City, was approached by juveniles, taken into custody by pimps, and forced into a life of addiction and prostitution on the streets of New York." In an interview of sixty female street prostitutes in San Francisco, 80 percent had been either victims of incest, sexual abuse, or rape prior to their involvement in prostitution, and 65 percent had been runaways. Similar

studies around the country have indicated that numerous young male and female runaways have, in fact, been picked up at railway stations, at bus stations, and on highways while hitch-hiking, and forced into lives of prostitution as a means of economic survival.

When youth are on the streets alone because they have left their homes—without shelter or without food—they are subject to numerous kinds of exploitation. After they have gotten beyond the immediate runaway situation and the emotions and the feelings of separation from their families and friends, they are forced to deal with the realities of living on the street; a majority of the youth who run do so with a minimum amount of resources. Running is often not a planned event, but rather an immediate response to a situation in the family, home or school; consequently, youth frequently find themselves on the street with the money they had in their pockets, the clothing on their backs, and subject to the problems that confront everyone who is on the street. In all of the major metropolitan areas—New York City, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Los Angeles—pimps and other purveyors of juvenile misery try to identify people coming off buses and trains arriving in the city, attempting to pick out those who can most easily be subject to persuasion and/or forced exploitation.

As witnessed from the murders in Houston, the John Wayne Gacey slayings in Chicago, the murders of the hillside strangler in Los Angeles, and the missing and slain children of Atlanta, there are individuals in communities looking to exploit and ruin young people's lives. It is the young people who show the wear and tear of living on the street. After two or three days, when the immediate episode of running away is over, they suddenly find themselves in want of food, in need of shelter, in need of clothing, and without anyone with whom to discuss their problems. All of these dynamics leave them prey to victimization by individuals who are systematically searching the community for potential victims.

The number of juveniles who leave and remain away from home without parental permission has increased to alarming proportions, creating a substantial law-enforcement problem for the communities inundated, and significantly endangering the young people who are without resources and live on the streets.

(Preamble, The Runaway Youth Act)

In 1974, Congress formally declared war on the runaway youth problem with the passage of the Runaway Youth Act, Title III of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (P.L. 93-415). During the hearings on the proposed legislation, Congress heard numerous experts testify about the problems of runaways, including a number of runaway children who were living in the streets without parental support or guidance. These runaways came from all walks of life. The problem crossed racial, sexual, and all traditional barriers which exist in our society.

The legislation, first introduced in 1971 by Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, was the result of dramatic testimony which pointed up the need for federal action to support and broaden a network of services for runaways. The first bill directed at runaways died in the House in 1971 and was not brought up again until the summer of 1973. During this summer, in a suburb of Houston, Texas, the graves of twenty-seven young boys who had been sexually molested, tortured, and eventually murdered, were discovered. A number of these youth who had fallen victim had proven to be runaways. Reintroduced in the next session of Congress, the Runaway Youth Act was incorporated into the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act as a separate title.

Prior to passage of a new categorical program, however, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) had allocated a significant number of research and demonstration funds for the initiation of programs and services for runaways. Additional support came from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), through the state criminal justice planning agencies.

National Statistical Survey

The first activity of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was to develop an intra-departmental committee to assess the state of knowledge regarding the scope and nature of the runaway youth problem; the committee concluded that knowledge was "fragmented and sketchy." The 1974 Runaway Youth Act mandated that the Secretary of HEW gather information and "carry out a comprehensive statistical survey defining the major characteristics of the runaway youth population determining the needs of the nation's youths who are most affected." The Department contracted with the Opinion Research Corporation to conduct a national statistical survey of runaway youth. This survey involved a nationwide screening of over 60,000 households regarding the runaway youth problem, and resulted in the first statistically valid national estimates of the incidence (approximately 1,310,000 in 1975) and the prevalence (approximately 1 out of 10 at some time in their lives) of youth, ages 10-17, who have run away from home.

For an operational definition of runaway behavior, the researchers took into account the age of the youth, the absence of parental permission, and the time the youth was gone from home. The formal definition which was presented was:

"A runaway is defined as a youth between the ages of 10 and 17, inclusive, who has been absent from home without parental/guardian permission for at least overnight."⁴

The National Statistical Survey states that approximately 1.7 percent of the youth population, age 10-17, would leave their homes overnight annually.

This could be as many as 635,000* youth. Of youth who reported incidences of running away and "who were gone for two hours or more," the runaway rate increases to 5.7 percent of the youth population or approximately 1,134,200 youth. The general age range was 15-17 years, and this age group accounted for approximately 4 out of 5 instances of runaway behavior. Slightly more than half of all runners, 53.2 percent, were males. Generally, it had been believed that more females ran than males. Also, 9 out of 10 of the runners ran away only once during 1975, dispelling the notion that there is only a small number of chronic or repeat runners. Approximately half of the runaways ran less than ten miles from home, dispelling the myth of the long-distance runners. Four out of ten youth were gone one day or less, and 7 in 10 returned in less than a week. There were no significant differences between whites and blacks, or between blue collar and white collar workers.

The reasons for leaving home were varied and complex. In most cases, there was general or specific dissatisfaction at home and some trivial incident triggered the running. In a majority of the cases, running away was not inspired by some incident which happened at school or between youth and/or friends. Approximately half of all running away was attributed to not getting along with parents, and approximately half of all runaway events were spontaneous, involving less than one day's planning. However, there were a number of runaways who tended to be more deliberate, sometimes planning the event for six months or more. Fewer than two out of three youth reported that they had any idea where they might go.

In most instances of running away, the youth reported that he/she slept at the home of a friend. Friends were also relied upon for providing food. In each runaway group, females were more likely than males to have run with a companion, and more often than not the companion was another female. Where transportation was concerned, many of the youth reported having walked from one place to another and having hitch-hiked in cars provided by friends and acquaintances. Although approximately half of the runaways reported that they had encountered no troubles while they were away from home, most complained of the lack of physical comforts, having no place to sleep or bathe, and being cold and hungry. In addition, many were constantly in fear of being picked up by police. Other problems involved getting into fights, being "taken advantage of," being beaten or raped, and the ever-present problems of being in the midst of the drug culture.

A majority of the parents surveyed had no idea where the youth had gone and, more importantly, a majority of the parents did not report the youth missing. Those who reported usually did so to the police. Two parents in three said they had discussed their problems with the youth with other people prior to the runaway event. Persons most often consulted were family, friends, school staff, relatives, and social service agencies. Relatives and school staff were regarded as the least helpful. Almost four in ten parents utilized the services of the police and this was mainly

*When this figure was adjusted for false negative reporting, which occurs when a respondent denies or fails to mention the incident, the number of youth leaving overnight is approximately 733,000.

in connection with the parents' desire to locate the missing children. Parents were not, however, as satisfied with the assistance received from the police as with the assistance received from friends, relatives and neighbors. In addition, the kinds of help runaway youth felt they needed were quite different from those perceived by their parents. The needs of runaways concentrated on the necessities which would sustain their run, in contrast to their parents' needs, which focused on locating the missing youth.

The Runaway Phenomenon

Although there has been considerable literature on the runaway phenomenon and many attempts to explain its causes, there has been no single explanation of this phenomenon. At one extreme, for example, many have attributed the running away to severe emotional disturbance, while others have viewed running away as a natural step of growing into maturity and, therefore, a healthy response for some young people.

Part of the difficulty we have had confronting the problems of runaways results from disagreement about the definition of terms. The simplest definition of a runaway has been "a juvenile who has left home without parental permission." However, many states have different definitions of what constitutes a juvenile; further, many states have definitions which are based on the amount of time spent away from home without permission. Neither of these definitions acknowledges the youth who has been physically or psychologically abused at home, and who views leaving home as a relief from the torment which confronted them, or the youth who mutually agrees with his parents that he should strike out on his own and make a living, or "something of himself." Some states do not acknowledge the youth who is experiencing such extreme difficulties at home that parents tell him to leave the premises and never to return, or the youth who, like so many in the 1960's, is simply attracted to the counter-culture life which some streets offer.

Prior to the Runaway Youth Act, information in the field on the problem of runaways was largely limited to a variety of popular writings which provided little basis from which to generalize about the causes of the problem, and more importantly, from which to develop strategies to effectively alleviate and prevent the problem. The data which were available were frequently found to be inaccurate measures of runaway behavior. "Runaways," unfortunately, is not a clear category in anyone's record keeping. Runaways appear in the records of agencies concerned with child welfare, child abuse and neglect, and crime and delinquency. For example, in the juvenile justice arena, a runaway would be identified as a status offender, a category which can also include the problems of truancy, curfews, drinking, joy riding, incorrigibility, and other acts. Shelters that provide services to runaways may also serve other youths who have problems with alcoholism, drug abuse, sexuality, and health. As a result, it is often difficult to isolate information that pertains to runaways in particular.

There have been numerous theories of runaway behavior. For example, Hildebrand, a New York City Police Detective, based his conclusions of running away as a predictor of delinquency ("like the oak that grew from the acorn, the runaway is often the seed of the future felon")⁵ on the fact that 70 percent of all delinquents have run away at one time or another. Others have attributed running away to mental deficiency, among other factors. Armstrong concluded a half-century ago that home deserters are, "offspring of a low level of population...who, because of innate intellectual inferiority, cannot shoulder the burden of (their) scholastic and social environment."⁶ Shellow pointed out that the low grades in school are not entirely attributable to intelligence alone. Individual interests and involvement in classroom activities are of equal importance.

The second edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-II) describes the condition of runaways as follows:

Runaway reaction of childhood—individuals with this disorder characteristically escape from threatening situations by running away from home for a day or more without permission. Typically they are immature and timid, and feel rejected at home, inadequate and friendless. They often steal punitively.

This definition is illustrative of the psychopathological explanation of the act of running away.

In 1940, Rosenheim described a runaway reaction as one which arises out of the Oedipal predicament.⁸ Adolescent boys who experience this feeling are threatened and feeling guilty, and run away believing self-banishment will help them to cope with the situation. Riemer described the runaway as an individual of extremely negative character who suffers from a narcissistic character disorder.⁹ In the 50's and early 60's Leventhal stated, "in contrast with lay and even many professional notions concerning the seemingly benign nature of running away, the findings here suggest pathology. On the basis of the marked concern with loss of control and with ego surrender, and some degree of reality distortion, prepsychotic functioning is suggested."¹⁰ Chamberlin and Seller suggested that running away may be rooted in low esteem: "It can be understood how a youth might feel physically unattractive, be poorly dressed, exhibit low mental competence or motor coordination, be unaccepted by peers or adults, and therefore likely to attempt to resolve the situation by running."¹¹ English describes a group of runners as "split-ters"—"They are runners who find new status in their peer group and are regarded differently by adults because of their run."¹² They enjoy this new-found status and periodically reinforce it by running again. Beyer, et al, state that running away "may be motivated by immediate satisfactions and less restraints than their peers, and that need for immediate satisfaction interferes with good judgment and the maintenance of organized goal orientation."¹³

A number of theorists suggest that the etiology of running away can be found in situational factors. Goldmeier and Dean describe situational running as an adaptive response to situational pressures, the origins of which may stem from ordinary family conflicts or even general economic conditions.¹⁴

The home situation has been implicated in a number of reports as the major factor in leading to runaway events.¹⁵ These reports assert that the frustration of youth is rooted in family situations, that the family often fails to understand what it is their child really wanted. Scapegoating is still another phenomenon that may explain why youth run, where a youth is a victim of repeated punishment and where positive responses tend to be unjustly withheld.¹⁶ It is not only the parents who can mete out this treatment, but also siblings; in some cases, the extended family can become involved. Beyer and Shellow also suggest that broken homes caused by divorce, separation or death can result in the youth's running away.¹⁷ Balser and Liebertoff see running away as a natural outgrowth of certain predictable societal forces and may represent, for some adolescents, a healthy, self-activating and growth-producing activity; as such, running away may be viewed as a healthy response for many young people.¹⁸

Throwaway Children

Unlike runaways who may have had time to make plans, throwaways are usually forced out with no place to go. While some stay with friends or relatives, others must make their way on the streets and face rape, starvation, exposure, and exploitation by pimps. Kids who have no where to sleep but in cardboard boxes, unlocked cars, basements, garages, abandoned apartment buildings, and right on the Milwaukee lakefront.

("Not All Run Away, Some Are Throwaways,"
Parade Magazine, August 13, 1978).

The article from which this excerpt was taken pointed up a new category of youth which had emerged in the 70's—the push-out or throwaway youth. Although the concept of a throwaway child is not new, having originally been highlighted in Lisa Richette's book, Throwaway Children,¹⁹ it was essentially unrecognized as a category of youth with the same service needs as runaways until shelter programs began to encounter these youth who had not left home by choice. The terms "throwaways" and "push-outs" have been used for years to describe youth who have been encouraged to leave home by their parents. This encouragement can be overt as in the case of a youth being bodily thrown out of a household, or it can be more subtle in terms of rejection, hostility or unbridled hatred.

The National Statistical Survey dealt specifically with throwaway children, and found that an estimated 70,000 children were "thrown away" in 1975. The survey also found that throwaways were more likely than runaways to have been found delinquent before running away; in addition,²⁰ clearly a third of these youth had reportedly been abused physically. In a survey of homeless youth, the New York Select Committee on Children and Youth estimated that approximately "20,000 [homeless] youth are sleeping in doorways, cars, abandoned buildings or parking garages."²¹

Alternative Youth Service System

After a youth has left home, his or her attention must shift from the difficulties which promoted the run to the provision of the basic necessities of life. The youth must have food, shelter, some protection, health services and, especially, understanding. Youth are also concerned about fear—fear associated with the realization that the social and legal system, "the authorities," may now become aware of the youth. This fear often leads a youth to associate with other persons who reject or deviate from society's norms.

Traditional social services agencies have not dealt adequately with the problems of runaway youth. The majority do not work with youth that: are not placed within the formal child welfare system; that need immediate crisis as opposed to long-term care; or that come from the juvenile justice authorities. Although they are mandated and often espouse the laudatory goals of working with youth that are runaways, most social service agencies do not provide the necessary emergency shelter crisis intervention and care that runaway youth need.

Because of this gap, there emerged in the late 1960's a variety of alternative services offered by ministers, lay professionals, and other concerned individuals; free clinics, drug clinics, store-front drop-in centers, hotlines, and ultimately, shelter services for young people proliferated. These were euphemistically called "crash pads." The important components of these services were:

- They were readily and easily located, most of them being established in areas where young people were hanging out on the street;
- There were no conditions established for eligibility and no strings attached to a youth's participation;
- They provided anonymity and did not require person's name, age, or other identifying characteristics, and they pledged confidentiality from the police, parents, and other traditional social service agencies;
- There were no fees for the services that were being offered.

In 1967, in San Francisco, the first formal runaway shelter was established—a program called Huckleberry House.* It was organized under the

*Huckleberry House opened in the summer of 1967, operating out of a large victorian house on Broderick Street near the legendary Haight-Ashberry District of San Francisco. The staff were not professionals but, rather, young, sensitive people who had an ability and interest in relating to the youth. The immediate goal was to keep runaways off the street and out of danger. They provided shelter, food, emergency medical care, counseling and a place for retreating and recovery. For a more detailed description see - Beggs, Larry. Huckleberry's for Runaways (New York, Ballantine, 1969).

sponsorship of voluntary agencies federated with the Bay Area Planning Council and depended upon the work of several church groups and other San Francisco volunteers. Many other similar programs then emerged—all beginning as small concerned groups of volunteers, generally supported through local churches, YMCA's, the Travellers Aid Society, and the Salvation Army.

The alternative youth service system developed in a similar way to the Underground Railroad: A loose-knit organization of concerned individuals who were trying to provide for the immediate needs of youth. Staff of the new youth services wanted primarily to help the youth to cope with the fact that he or she had left home. They would ordinarily not try to persuade him/her to return home; instead, they would house and clothe the youth for a few days, and then pass them along to another "pad" like another station on the Underground Railroad. Over a period of time this became a reasonably sophisticated and coordinated system which shared knowledge, resources and youth.

Services changed significantly in the 70's. In some ways, crash pads were the stepchild of the new alternative services which grew during this era. These alternative agencies responded to a pressing need to provide direct services to youth who had nowhere to turn, and to the political or ideological philosophy of the new left and counter-culture. Community people who established the early shelters, networks, and clinics were looking for the most expedient way to translate their commitment into resources and care. However, this commitment was generally combined with an idealism about organizational structure which often resulted in services which suffered from a number of structural difficulties.

The young people who come to a runaway house today are granted their full "civil rights" within the house. The counselors are committed to respecting their ability to make decisions which affect their lives. Running away is not seen as evidence of psychopathology and potential criminality, but as a symptom of a family's decay and society in turmoil. The runaway shelter is a refuge and an alternative. There are a minimum numbers of rules to ensure the house's survival and no one is ordinarily compelled to contact his or her parents. However, participation in the program means dealing with the family program. Neither parents nor police are permitted in the house without the consent of the young person, or without a warrant.

Many of the programs and services now available to runaway youth were established following the enactment of the Runaway Youth Act in 1974. Because of the importance of this legislation, we will describe in some detail the intent and effects of this portion of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act.

Notes to Chapter I

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CHAPTER II

NATIONAL RUNAWAY YOUTH PROGRAM

On September 10, 1974, President Ford signed into law the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (P.L. 93-415). The Runaway Youth Act, Title III of this legislation, was enacted in response to "the wide-spread concerns over the alarming number of youth leaving home without parental permission and who, while away from home and living on the streets, are vulnerable and exposed to exploitation and other dangerous encounters." This legislation authorized the Secretary of the Department of Health Education and Welfare (HEW) to make grants to local non-profit, private agencies for the purposes of developing local facilities which would deal primarily with the immediate needs of runaway youth. Under the Act, the services offered must be developed in a manner which is outside of the formal law enforcement and juvenile justice system. The legislative goals of the national program are:

- To alleviate the problems of runaway youth;
- To reunite youth with their families and to encourage the resolution of intrafamily problems through counseling and other services;
- To strengthen the family relationships and to encourage stable living conditions for youth; and
- To help youth decide upon a future course of action.

The Youth Development Bureau, within the Administration for Children, Youth and Families of the Department of Health and Human Services (formerly HEW), has the administrative responsibility for the national Runaway Youth Program. The purpose of the Runaway Youth Program is to provide financial support to public and private non-profit agencies, or networks of these private agencies for the development and/or strengthening of community-based programs designed to address the immediate needs of runaway youth and their families. Leaving home without parental permission continues to be a major problem for youth in this country. On October 3, 1977, President Carter signed into law the Juvenile Justice Amendments (P.L. 95-115), which reauthorized and expanded the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974. In addition to the original findings presented in the "Statement of Purpose," Congress found that "there has been increasing evidence of large numbers of homeless, neglected and abused youth going unserved by traditional social service agencies." With this concern, Congress expanded the scope of the Runaway Youth legislation to incorporate otherwise homeless youth.

In 1980, Congressional Oversight Hearings reviewed the legislation, and in recognition of the effectiveness of the national Runaway Youth Program

and in response to the persistence and seriousness of the runaway youth problem, Congress extended the Runaway Youth legislation and changed the title to The Runaway and Otherwise Homeless Youth Act of 1980 (P.L. 96-504).

Through the implementation of the legislative goals, the national Runaway Youth Program has significantly affected the lives of many vulnerable runaways and other homeless youth and their families. In 1978, the program served 32,000 youth and their families, and in 1979, the services were extended to 43,000 young people and their families through their community-based programs. The Youth Development Bureau currently funds 166 community-based organizations which are providing these services. The average size of each grant award is approximately \$67,000. Seventy-six percent of the funded programs are located in urban areas, 17 percent in suburban areas, and 7 percent in rural areas. A national toll-free communication system provides a neutral channel of communication between youth and their parents and serves as a vehicle for reuniting youth with their families. The hotline served 135,000 youth in 1978, and approximately 140,000 youth in 1979.

To be eligible for assistance for program funds, a local community-based organization must (1) be located in an area which is reachable by runaways; (2) have the capacity to work with a maximum of 20 youth with a sufficient staff-youth ratio to ensure adequate supervision and treatment; (3) develop adequate plans for contacting the runaway parents or guardian for assuring the safe return of the youth according to the best interest of the youth; (4) develop an adequate plan for assuring a proper relationship with the law enforcement system, and for the return of runaways from correctional institutions; and (5) develop an adequate aftercare counseling program. Legislation stipulates that the federal government can contribute 90 percent of the cost of operating a Runaway Youth Program for any fiscal year, with priority given to applicants whose grant request to provide services is less than \$100,000, and priority to private organizations that demonstrate experience in dealing with runaway youth.

In a proposal for funding, a program must include: documentation of a need for federal support based on the number of runaways or otherwise homeless youth in the area in which the runaway youth project is located; documentation of the availability or lack of availability of services in that area; plans for meeting the best interests of the youth, involving, when possible, both the youth and the parent or legal guardian; provision for contact with the parent or legal guardian within 24 hours (contact must be made no more than 72 hours following the youth's admission into the program); for safe return home or to local government officials or law enforcement officials; assurances to provide alternative living arrangements where needed; and demonstrate the qualifications of personnel and the adequacy of facilities and resources for implementation of the program.*

*Other regulations that are consistent with the law were incorporated in public rules and regulation, Federal Register, Vol. 43, No. 229, November 28, 1978.

Other issues in the law and the regulations which have direct bearing on the program are policies regarding confidentiality of information, treatment, conflict of interest, and state protection:

- All names, addresses, photographs and records or evaluations of individuals served by the Runaway Youth Project shall be confidential and shall not be disclosed or transferred to any individual or to any public or private agency without the written consent of the youth and parent or legal guardian;
- Youth served by the program shall have the right to review their record; to correct their record or file a statement of disagreement; and to be appraised of the individuals who have reviewed their records;
- No youth shall be subject to medical, psychiatric or psychological treatment without the consent of the youth and parent or legal guardian unless otherwise permitted by state law; and,
- Policies concerning confidential information and experimentation in treatment shall not apply if the Department of Health and Human Services decides that state law is more protective of the right of runaways or otherwise homeless youth.

The programs also must adhere and conform to HHS regulations regarding non-discrimination, Affirmative Action, discrimination on the basis of a handicap, and the protection of human subjects. Finally, the programs must demonstrate that they will participate in activities conducted by HHS to improve the administration of the program's capacity to provide services. Such activities would include the requirement of grantees to accept and receive technical assistance and short-term training; to coordinate their activities with the national toll-free communications system; to submit statistical reports profiling the youths served; and complete the program performance standards annually.

These rules and regulations are the requirements that govern the administration of Runaway Youth Programs. The legislation and the regulations create an operational framework for all programs and articulate the goals of the Runaway Youth initiative, identify the range of services which must be provided, describe populations which must be served, assure compliance with sound management procedures and policies, and ensure confidentiality and the rights of the youth being served. While these guidelines guarantees certain common elements in the structure and operation of the programs, it is also sufficiently flexible in order to promote variation in programs that is necessary to ensure maximum responsiveness to community differences

and to the particular needs of each youth.* The analysis which follows will be limited primarily to services provided by programs funded under the Runaway Youth Act.

Services Provided

Since the passage of the legislation, the program has gone through a number of different growth stages. For example, in the early stages (1975-1977) the programs were funded on an individual basis without uniform criteria or a national picture of the problem and service needs of runaway youth. In 1975 there were 66 programs funded. By 1977, this number had grown to 129. In 1978, with the reauthorization of the legislation, the Bureau developed one competitive funding cycle which would continue throughout the three years for which the legislation was authorized. However, refunding of a program was contingent upon the program's successful performance and the number of youth served.** Since the inception of the program, the organizational form of these programs as well as their staffing and delivery systems have undergone substantial changes, with the majority becoming more complex, multi-service agencies. Organizationally, the programs are different in size, scope, structure and responsibility. Although the specific program models described are unique and different in scope and responsibility, they all are designed to meet the legislative goals and maintain the specific core services required of a runaway program. Basically, the programs can be placed into three categories:

A Multi-Service Youth Agency. The runaway services are but one component of a larger agency that provides a variety of services to a local community. Usually the multi-service agency model has an affiliation with a larger parent organization (YMCA, Boy Scouts, Salvation Army, United Way) which provides services to the local community. These services may include but are not limited to employment, education, health, recreation, and family and group counseling. Within this context, the runaway shelter becomes one component of a complex network of services in the community. Usually the parent organization has a very sophisticated outreach program and working linkages with other organizations or youth service networks which might include youth service bureaus, juvenile courts, juvenile delinquency preven-

*Although the Youth Development Bureau (YDB) has the responsibility for administering the national Runaway Youth Program, the projects that are funded under the Bureau do not encompass all of the programs that are providing services to runaway youth. There are programs in local communities that do not receive funds from YDB, but which receive funds from the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, the National Institute of Mental Health, or from local community, state or county funds for the operation of shelters.

**In 1978, there were 166 programs funded from approximately 350 applications. In 1981, the Youth Development Bureau will be conducting another competitive review cycle where all jurisdictions and programs are eligible to submit proposals for open competitive funding.

tion agencies, child welfare services and private organizations charged with the care and custody of youth.

Youth and Family Services. In this model, the runaway program may not be part of a larger parent organization, but it still provides multiple services to adolescents and families in the local community. The organization is a private entity which generates numerous resources for the total operation of its program, and the services to runaway youth are only a small component of the overall organizational structure. These centers are usually well coordinated with other service delivery systems within the local community. However, they are not direct providers of service such as health care, education, recreation or employment counseling. This program model usually serves a broader population of adolescents than just runaways or otherwise homeless youth.

The Runaway Youth Shelter. The third model is primarily a temporary shelter or home located in the community and is generally supported by Runaway Youth Act funds. This program model focuses primarily on youth and families in crisis, provides temporary shelter, conflict resolution and has limited referral and placement services. They are generally independent of other social service agencies and organizations and are limited in the breadth of services as well as in their delivery of services.

Despite this pattern of organizational growth, the service philosophy of the programs has remained constant. The shelter movement developed from a humanistic value base which regarded immediate accessibility, trust, non-judgmental attitudes and supportive interaction as the rights of youth. In the beginning stage of the alternative youth service movement these factors were the necessary ingredients of quality service delivery. Although much of the informality of the earlier shelter model has given way to more formal operating procedures, the values have remained consistent and a number of the earlier runaway shelters have been successful in transferring the values to new programs where they are being incorporated into the operational philosophy.

In its efforts to increase the effectiveness of programs, and to facilitate coordination among the programs, the Youth Development Bureau funds a national toll-free communications system. This system is designed to serve runaways or otherwise homeless youth and their families by opening up a channel of communication between the youth and their families. The system consists of the National Runaway Switchboard (NRS), which is a 24-hour toll-free referral service operated by Metro Health, Inc., located in Chicago. The switchboard operates seven days a week, 24 hours a day, and youth can access the services by dialing 1-800-621-4000. Through the switchboard, youth can receive information, referral, and immediate crisis counseling services at the time of initial contact regardless of their location. An extensive national file listing information on thousands of agencies which provide an array of services to assist young people is maintained at the switchboard. So the youth, regardless of the state, county or city they are calling from, can generally be referred to immediate services within that community. The switchboard also provides a neutral channel of communication between the runaways and their families. The NRS has the

capacity to re-establish contact with the youth's parents by arranging a conference call between the youth and his/her parents, or by conveying messages to the parents regarding the nature of the youth's problems. For example, if a youth has run away from Mississippi and is in Florida, the switchboard has the capacity to call the parents and assure them that the youth is okay and will be in touch with the parents at a later time. This service, although it does not answer the runaway problem, clearly helps the parents by informing them that the youth is safe and has not been abducted or seriously injured.

The other component of the National Toll-Free Communication System is a communications network to facilitate youth agencies to meet youth needs and problems. This component, called the Agency Information System (AIS) was designed to assist youth-serving agencies in delivering more effective services by allowing conference calls on specific youth cases. The AIS ensures continuity in the services in such areas as the processing of requests for parental consent, in facilitating discussions regarding mutual concerns, and the transfer of responsibilities from program to program or from state to state. For example, a program based in New York which is returning a youth to Pennsylvania can make arrangements for follow-up counseling, family counseling and other supportive services for the youth upon his or her return. This system has proven to be a tremendous resource because of the extensive number of youth who have run from out of state, or from out of their community. This service is available only to youth-serving agencies and can be accessed through an unpublished, toll-free number.

Organizational Development

The Youth Development Bureau has the responsibility to strengthen and improve the administrative and organizational capabilities of Runaway Youth Programs to plan and deliver services. In order to achieve this goal, the Bureau annually contracts with a national organization to provide technical assistance and training for the runaway youth shelters. In 1978 and 1979, Aurora Associates was the national Technical Assistance and Training contractor. Aurora conducted a needs assessment of all 166 shelters to identify the shelters' needs in the areas of organizational development; fiscal management; coordination of services; linkages with law enforcement, child welfare, juvenile justice agencies; and staff development. The contractor then organized a series of skill development workshops around specific needs to be conducted in each of the DHHS regions.

The training workshops for each of the respective regions were designed for skill development among line workers and staff. They generally encompass such areas as individual counseling, group counseling, family counseling and specialized counseling such as youth rights, drugs, and alcohol, legal issues and adolescent sexuality, including pregnancy, venereal disease and sexual acting out. There are also a number of skill workshops designed to increase the organizational capacity of the shelters. These focus on such areas as fiscal management, staff development, networking, youth advocacy,

outreach and public relations, and training for board members. Aurora also identified specific organizational needs at each shelter and provided individual consultation to facilitate the growth and development of a specific shelter's program.

Aurora Associates (in conjunction with YDB) developed a National Youth Services Institute (YSI). The National Youth Services Institute is conducted annually and brings together youth workers for a one-week, intensive core course on emerging youth concerns. The week-long training session is conducted at a major university and brings in nationally-known experts to intensively explore a specific youth/shelter concern. Participants are selected in each region based upon their leadership and ability to benefit from such training. The 1979 YSI covered fiscal and budgetary management, organizational staff development, and youth employment services. Manuals are developed for each institute which are later disseminated to all YDB-funded programs.

Program Performance Standards

Program performance standards are incorporated in a self-assessment and program monitoring instrument which is designed to ensure continuity of services and program development. This instrument was developed under contract with the California Youth Authority and is designed to assess service delivery and organizational issues in each program. There are eight (8) specific core services which programs are mandated to provide and five (5) administrative responsibilities which the programs are expected to fulfill. Specifically, the service areas are outreach, individual intake, temporary shelter, individual and group counseling, family counseling, service linkages, aftercare and case disposition. The five organizational areas are staffing and staff development, youth participation, confidentiality of individual youth files, ongoing project planning, and forming an advisory board or board of directors. (For a detailed discussion, see section III.) A self-assessment instrument is filled out by the program on an annual basis. The instrument is then forwarded to the YDB's regional office. Staff of YDB conduct a review of each program relative to the program performance standards. YDB staff spend approximately three days at the shelter reviewing the standards and the self-assessment form. This monitoring assures the provision of core services at all shelters as well as the individual program's organizational growth and development. If there are discrepancies between the self-assessment monitoring instrument and the validation site visit, they are taken up with the Board of Directors and the Director of the program and specific training needs are outlined to ensure service delivery.

The Youth Development Bureau also conducts evaluations of runaway youth programs and emerging youth issues. These evaluations provide insight into the capacities of the programs to deliver services and to develop policy information which will aid in the understanding of and planning for the problems confronting runaway youth. The research and evaluation efforts are conducted in numerous ways.

There are a number of national contracts funded by YDB which examine the characteristics and service needs of runaway and otherwise homeless youth. These national contracts target specific areas of study, conducted over a period of time, and provide useful information that can be translated into usable program models and disseminated among the runaway shelters. A major study funded by the Bureau assessed the effectiveness of Runaway Youth Programs including a comprehensive evaluation on the Runaway Youth Programs conducted by Berkeley Planning Associates. This evaluation was designed to obtain data on two separate but parallel dimensions: 1) to determine the extent to which a representative sample of the programs are operationalizing the four legislative goals; 2) to determine the impact of services provided to youth as measured against those goals.

This study also incorporated a cost analysis designed to profile the program's cost and expenditures, including the allocation of those resources to specific services and activities. Twenty programs were selected as evaluation sites and provided a testing ground for the evaluation.

There were three key variables involved in the selection of the twenty sites: location, affiliated or free-standing status, and length of time in operation. Using these criteria, evaluators identified different clusters of programs, and from these clusters selected twenty participants for the final evaluation. The sample included representation of programs that were located in the voluntary sector as well as public sector and programs that operated temporary shelters through a system of volunteer foster homes. There were a number of key findings:

- 1) The National Runaway Youth Program has successfully operationalized the goals of the Runaway Youth Act.

Overall, the projects have successfully operationalized the goals of the Runaway Youth Act and have implemented those services and service procedures identified as being essential to meeting the immediate needs of youth, resolving family problems, securing stable living arrangements for youth, and helping the youth decide upon a future course of action. The projects did not demonstrate any significant limitations in providing the full range of services most commonly required by the youth and families served. These services include individual counseling, family counseling, group counseling, legal assistance, medical assistance, placement services, and general advocacy and support services. In addition to providing services directly to their clients, the projects also demonstrated solid working relationships with a number of key service providers in their local communities, including welfare departments, juvenile justice agencies, schools, and police.

The majority of the projects in the evaluation sample were found to have developed a set of written policy procedures; to have conducted formal staff performance reviews; to have implemented careful and through case management practices; to have established an open communication system among all staff members; and to have provided opportunities for youth to be involved in the development of their own service plans. In addition, staff at the sample projects generally demonstrated a high level of morale,

with the projects experiencing limited degrees of unplanned staff turnover.

- 2) In addition to addressing the legislated goals, the project funded under the Runaway Youth Act have developed a number of additional goals.

Generally, these goals are perceived as being complementary to the goals mandated by the Act and have been developed by the projects in order to more adequately mold their services to the needs of their particular communities. The most frequently cited local goals include youth advocacy, prevention and outreach, and community resource building and network participation. Other goals included distributing information on education (sex, health, and youth rights), youth employment, youth participation, aftercare, drug prevention, diversion of status offenders and helping youth develop a positive role model and directing seriously disturbed families into longer-term care.

- 3) The projects funded under the Runaway Youth Act are extremely diverse both in terms of their structure and their client population.

Despite their common funding source and the implementation of a common set of legislated goals, the programs demonstrated considerable diversity in range; some were solely runaway youth shelters and some were multi-service youth agencies. The projects have developed an overall service effort that is designed to respond to the needs of the local youth population and to their communities. In addition, they have demonstrated considerable diversity in terms of the age range of their youth population, the length of time youth were provided shelter, the extent to which follow-up and aftercare were being provided, and the extent to which additional services other than individual counseling were being provided. While most of the programs spent well over half of their staff time providing services to youth in residence, five of the projects spent at least one-fourth of their staff resources serving non-housed youth.

- 4) A growing professionalism was found among the projects funded under the Runaway Youth Act.

In contrast to the initial runaway youth shelters which operated largely as informal volunteer "counter-culture" service programs, the current projects are professional, well functioning, alternative youth service centers which are becoming increasingly integrated into the local youth service networks. At the majority of the projects, staff were found to be well educated, with most having a B.A. and a substantial number having MSW or other graduate level degrees. Moreover, the majority of the staff had previous experience in youth services both within and outside of the public service system. The programs have also adopted a number of case management practices which have formalized their service delivery system. These include formal case reviews, ongoing counseling supervision, and regular staffings with other service providers working with the youth and the parents.

- 5) The most serious service limitations within the National Runaway Youth Program are the provision of follow-up and aftercare service.

The current staff resources as well as the general service structure at most of the projects are principally geared toward addressing the immediate needs of the youth and resolving those problems that can be addressed within one or two weeks of service. Although a few programs indicate that their service philosophy limits the emphasis they place on the provision of after-care services, most of the programs do not have the resources to establish and maintain an active aftercare service component.

- 6) The National Runaway Youth Program is serving a widely diversified youth population.

The youth served by the surveyed population included a sizable number of "pushouts," homeless youth, and youth seeking assistance for non-family-related problems. While the most common type of youth (44%) served by the projects continues to be runaways, 16 percent of the youth sampled reported that they had been pushed out of their homes, 20 percent were away from with the agreement of their parents, and another 19 percent were either contemplating running away or were at the project awaiting other long-term residential placements. Also, the programs were accepting a large percentage of their caseloads as referrals from other local public and private service providers.

- 7) The National Runaway Youth Program is achieving substantial positive impact.

In general, the projects funded under the Runaway Youth Act are successfully addressing the immediate needs of the youth they serve. The projects studied were successful in providing virtually all the youth (over 90 percent) required food, shelter, and counseling within the first few hours the youth arrived at the project. The programs showed a slightly less uniform rate of success in meeting the immediate needs for medical and legal assistance. However, these were usually met by the projects during the youth's stay in temporary shelter. The projects were perceived by almost two thirds of the youth and almost half of the parents they served as being helpful in resolving family problems. The projects also were fairly successful in placing youth; the majority of counselors, youth and parents (72%-79%) perceived the placement as being the "best place" for the youth, an indication that the project's attempt to locate those placements that would be acceptable to all parties involved. Almost half of the youth, however, indicated that they would still consider running away again if the problems they faced got bad for them in the future. Seventy-three percent of the youth indicated that, overall, they had a say in what happened to them while they were at the project; that they felt they were better able to make decisions about the future; and that they had learned how to use other service resources in their communities. The projects demonstrated a wide range of success in resolving a number of the youth's non-family-related problems, such as difficulty with school (48 percent success), problems with the law (78 percent success), problems in obtaining a job (30 percent success), and problems with deciding where to live (88 percent success).

(These figures represent percentages of youth interviewed at termination who felt their problems in these areas had been resolved or somewhat resolved as a result of the services.)

- 8) In general, the projects funded under the Runaway Youth Act achieved similar success with a wide variety of youth.

Youth characteristics such as age, prior runaway history, family composition or referral source did not dramatically influence the extent to which the project achieved positive impact. The analysis found that the projects did equally well with all types of youth, including those youth experiencing such complicated and serious problems as abuse, neglect, and repeated contact with the juvenile justice system.

- 9) The projects funded under the Runaway Youth Act are expanding their fiscal capacities by generating new funding sources and developing new volunteer programs.

With rare exceptions, the projects funded under the Runaway Youth Act are operating far more complex and diverse service programs than would be possible if they relied solely upon YDB funding. While the average grant was \$67,000, the average operating budget was \$146,000. The most common funding sources used by the project, in addition to YDB, included categorical grants or fees for service contracts obtained through LEAA, NIMH, Title XX and local, state and county agencies. The projects also drew heavily upon private funds from both local and national foundations. In addition to obtaining other direct funding, the projects also had been successful on expanding their total pool of available resources through the careful cultivation of volunteer staff and other forms of donated resources.

- 10) A variety of service, youth, and fiscal concerns are giving way to new service models within the area of runaway youth shelters.

The free-standing, non-affiliated runaway youth shelter project which once served as the primary service model may be a model that projects will find increasingly difficult to maintain. A cost analysis suggests that with continued inflation, the costs of a temporary shelter facility has increased almost three times the fixed cost (rent, utilities, etc.). Secondly, the youth impact analysis suggests that a large number of youth are provided shelter by the projects for longer than one or two weeks. Both the rising costs of maintaining shelter facilities and the increased average length of stay for youth are factors which might well influence the future structure of runaway youth programs. Some programs have developed alternative models, such as the volunteer foster family model. Others have sought to resolve the dilemma by expanding into multi-purpose youth service centers or by formally developing a series of service networks with other local service providers. It is not yet clear how these shifts in organizational form or service delivery will affect the future of the temporary shelter model. It is clear, however, that the free-standing, non-affiliated runaway youth project is becoming a rare sight in the area of youth services.

In summary, it would appear that on the average, the programs funded by the Youth Development Bureau are effectively addressing the intent and goals of the Runaway Youth Act. They have been able to do so, however, only by expanding their total resources with substantial volunteer staff time as well as with additional private, federal, state and local funding.

National Data

A number of important findings related to funded programs are also available from the National Statistical Survey conducted by the Opinion Research Corporation.

For overnight runaway incidence when all youth age 10 to 17 is considered, the following results were obtained:

- 1.7% of youth 10-17 years of age ran away at least overnight during 1975 (3.0% of youth households)
- Approximately 519,500-635,000 youth aged 10-17 ran away at least overnight during 1975

When less serious runaways, those absent at least two hours or longer, were included in the sample, the number of households increased dramatically:

- Approximately 5.7% of youth households experienced a runaway event of two hours or longer during 1975
- Between 985,400 and 1,134,200 youth households experienced a runaway event of two hours or longer during 1975

Household runaway incidence appears to be greatest in densely populated areas, which can include large cities and small towns. Rural areas contained the lowest proportion of runaways, and the next lowest runaway incidence was reported in suburbs (Table 1).

A relatively high rate of running away (5.1%) was found among single-parent households and among households consisting of eight or more persons (7.2%). In households containing a total of four persons, a 1.9 percent incidence of runaways was reported. The incidence rates obtained for white and black households were not significantly different from the national average; however, Hispanic households reported incidence rates of 4.6 percent, far above the national average (Table 2).

The lowest income households tended to have the highest rates of running away, but thereafter the relationship between income and rates of running away breaks down. Households in the lower middle range reported significantly lower incidence rates than households in the upper-middle range.

Table 1
Incidence of Overnight Runaway Events
by Community Characteristics

	<u>Number of Interviews</u>	<u>Overnight Runaway Events</u>
All youth households	13,942	3.0%
City	4,594	3.4%
Suburb	4,467	2.8%
Small town	2,543	3.4%
Rural area	2,153	2.4%

Table 2

Incidence of Overnight Runaway Events

	<u>Number of Interviews</u>	<u>Overnight Runaway Events</u>
All youth household	13,942	3.0%
Number of persons in household:		
Two	433	5.1%
Three	2,360	2.7%
Four	4,068	1.9%
Five	3,503	3.2%
Six	1,911	3.1%
Seven	896	3.8%
Eight or more	731	7.2%
White, not Hispanic	11,258	2.9%
Black, not Hispanic	1,527	3.2%
Hispanic	727	4.6%
Under \$7,000 family income	1,512	4.2%
\$7,000 - \$9,999	1,499	3.5%
\$10,000 - \$14,999	3,069	2.6%
\$15,000 - \$19,999	2,322	3.7%
\$20,000 or over	3,015	2.8%
Chief wage earner's occupation:		
White Collar	6,538	3.0%
Blue Collar	5,294	3.0%

Incidence rates for white collar and blue collar workers are identical, indicating that any relationship between runaway incidence and either education or income is not a simple one, but rather that other variables are probably associated with running away.

A profile of the runaway youth illustrates that the modal age is 16 and that almost four out of five runaways are in the 15 to 17 age range (Table 3). In addition, slightly more than half of all runaways are male. Metropolitan areas account for almost three times as many runaways as do non-metropolitan areas. The runaway incidence tends to be distributed across all family income levels, and almost half of the runaways (45.8%) come from a household in which the chief wage earner is a professional, manager, clerical workers or sales person. The lowest proportion of runaways are encountered among farmers. In profiles of the "Overnight Runaway Events," it was found that in more than half of all runaway events the youths traveled less than 10 miles from home, and on three out of five occasions, the youth returned in less than three days.

Parents reported that in three out of ten runaway instances, they talked with police about the matter. However, in 27.2 percent of the instances, they talked with no one about the runaway incidence. In almost half the cases (49.8%) the parents did not consider the action of the youth as running away.

The data presented in Table 4 differ somewhat from those presented in earlier tables. Table 4 describes runaway prevalence, defined as a portion of youth households having ever experienced a runaway event. An analysis of the data reveals that 8.3 percent of all youth households (1,450,200-1,636,200 households) reported having experienced a runaway event at some time; 5.6 percent of the youth households have experienced only one runaway event, whereas 1.3 percent have experienced two, and 1.4 percent have experienced three or more. Table 5 examines these data according to categories of household size, race, income, and occupation.

Management Information System

In 1977, the Youth Development Bureau implemented an automated management information system (MIS) to develop a comprehensive understanding of the nature of the runaway and otherwise homeless youth being served. This MIS System uses data provided by the information collection and research evaluation form (I CARE). This instrument was developed under contract with the California Youth Authority in an effort to develop a uniform statistical information procedure. After the initial form was developed, it was field-tested in a number of sites, and then implemented in July 1977. During the evaluation by Berkeley Planning Associates, the reliability and validity of the information gathering instrument were tested, modifications were made, and the "I CARE" form was distributed to all of the programs. During the intake process in all programs, data are collected for the purpose of filling out the "I CARE" form. One intake form is filled out for each youth who comes into service. These forms are gathered on a monthly basis

Table 3

Profiles of 1975 Overnight Runaway Youth

	<u>Overnight Runaway Youth</u>
Number of Interviews	674
10 years old	.2%
11	1.6
12	2.9
13	6.3
14	9.5
15	24.7
16	30.9
17	23.6
Refused	.2
Male	53.2%
Female	46.8
Ran Away once in past year	90.7%
More than once	9.3
City	32.3%
Suburb	24.8
Small town	25.4
Rural area	16.4
Other	.6
Refused	.2
Don't know	.3
Number of persons in household:	
Two	5.4%
Three	16.2
Four	20.4
Five	24.0
Six	13.0
Seven	8.7
Eight or more	11.6
Refused, not reported	0.6
White, not Hispanic	82.8%
Black, not Hispanic	8.7
Hispanic	6.1
Other	1.6
Refused, not reported	1.0

Table 3—Continued

Profiles of 1975 Overnight Runaway Youth

	<u>Overnight Runaway Youth</u>
Under \$7,000 family income	15.5%
\$7,000 - \$9,999	13.1
\$10,000 - \$14,999	18.7
\$15,000 - \$19,999	20.0
\$20,000 or over	19.9
Refused	11.6
Not reported	1.2
Chief wage earner's occupation:	
White collar	
Professional, managerial	30.9%
Clerical, sales	14.9
Blue collar	
Craftsman, operatives	28.9
Unskilled labor, service	8.8
Farmers	1.8
Unemployed	8.0
Student, retired	3.1
Not reported	3.6
Farthest place was less than one mile	21.1%
One up to ten miles	31.4
Ten up to 50 miles	12.3
50 miles or more	17.5
Don't know how far	1.4
Don't know farthest place	12.9
Refused	3.4
Youth was gone one day or less	41.7%
Up to three days	18.9
Three days up to one week	10.0
One up to two weeks	8.2
Two weeks up to one month	5.8
One month up to six months	6.8
Six months up to one year	1.9
Still gone	5.3
Refused	1.4

Table 3—Continued

Profiles of 1975 Overnight Runaway Youth

	<u>Overnight Runaway Youth</u>
Parents talked with:	
Police	31.2%
Relatives	15.9
Friends	25.8
Other	23.2
No one	27.2
Refused	1.3
Not reported	1.6
Parents considered it a running away event	46.6%
Did not	49.8
Refused	.8
Don't know	2.8

Table 4

Prevalance of Overnight Runaway Events Among Youth Households and Community Characteristics

	<u>Number of inter-views</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>One</u>	<u>Two</u>	<u>Three</u>	<u>Four</u>	<u>Five or more</u>	<u>Refused, not reported</u>
All youth households	13,942	91.2%	5.6	1.3	.5	.3	.6	.5
City	4,594	90.3	6.3	1.4	.5	.3	.7	.5
Suburb	4,467	91.2	5.7	1.3	.4	.3	.7	.4
Small town	2,543	91.3	5.7	1.3	.5	.3	.6	.3
Rural	2,153	92.7	4.8	1.0	.6	.3	.3	.3

Table 5
Prevalence of Overnight Runaway Events Among Youth Households
by Household Characteristics

	Number of inter- views	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five Refused, or more not reported	
All youth households	13,942	91.2%	5.6	1.3	.5	.3	.6	.5
Number of persons in household:								
Two	433	85.7	8.1	1.4	.9	.6	1.8	1.4
Three	2,360	90.5	5.9	1.4	.6	.2	1.0	.4
Four	4,068	93.9	3.7	.8	.3	.3	.4	.6
Five	3,503	91.6	5.8	1.0	.6	.2	.4	.4
Six	1,911	91.4	5.5	1.5	.6	.4	.4	.3
Seven	896	88.0	8.1	1.8	.7	.5	.7	.2
Eight or more	731	84.3	11.1	2.6	.0	.3	1.3	.3
White, not Hispanic	11,258	91.4	5.6	1.3	.5	.2	.6	.4
Black, not Hispanic	1,527	91.8	5.5	1.3	.2	.5	.6	.1
Hispanic	727	88.9	6.4	1.3	.8	1.1	.7	.8
Under \$7,000 family income	1,512	88.6	7.2	1.3	.9	.3	1.2	.5
\$7,000 - \$9,999	1,499	89.7	6.8	1.2	.6	.4	.8	.5
\$10,000 - 14,999	3,069	92.5	4.6	1.5	.5	.3	.3	.3
\$15,000 - 19,999	2,322	91.0	5.9	1.2	.4	.4	.9	.2
\$20,000 or over	3,015	90.7	6.4	1.3	.5	.3	.6	.2
Chief wage earner's occu- pation:								
White collar	6,538	91.2	5.7	1.3	.4	.3	.5	.6
Blue collar	5,294	91.4	5.7	1.2	.7	.3	.7	.2

and forwarded to YDB where they are edited, coded, and placed into the computer. The kinds of data gathered on the form include: demographic information (age, sex, race and school status, etc.); living situation (where the youth spent most of the time during the previous year, how close they live to the program, and the composition of the family setting); youth type (including the status of the youth when they came to the program, description of the current runaway episode and previous runaway episodes); referral source; presenting problems (the kinds of service needs the youth has and reason for running away); service summary (including services provided directly by the program or necessity of referral to another program); reasons for terminating services (reasons why the youth left the shelter, where they went after shelter, and services provided after they left); placement or living situation upon completion of the services (whether the youth returned home or went to a different residential setting). These are the general areas of information that are gathered at each facility on each individual youth in the program. The data base provides the YDB with the opportunity to ascertain exactly what kinds of youth the programs are serving, what kinds of services are being provided, and the success of the overall program.

The 1978 data base includes information on 28,589 youth served in 127 programs. During fiscal year 1978, there were 30,178 intake forms received by the YDB. Of those, 27,589 (94.7%) of the forms were processed by YDB's Management Information System and were incorporated into a master data bank. The other 1,589 (5.3%) were not computerized due to missing or incomplete data or because they were received too late to be included in the master data file. During 1979, there were a total of 43,013 "I CARE" forms received from 166 programs.

The data base does not include information on youth who came to the program on a one-time, drop-in basis, or youth who called a program's emergency telephone number. The data base for 1978 also does not include the 39 new programs which were funded during the 1978 funding cycle. (For the purposes of analysis this report will review the 1978 and 1979 data since the 1980 data are not available at this time.)

Consistent with the operational philosophy of being crisis oriented, open 24-hours a day, seven days a week, and seeking to meet the needs of young people, the shelters received many youth who were not runaways. All categories of the youth appear at the doors of shelters—some seeking immediate counseling services, some seeking referral to other programs, and others seeking residential care and long-term services. A number of shelters have had babies left on the door step during the night. Youth served are therefore varied and offer different problems when they come into the program. The YDB thus identified a number of categories of youth served. Specifically, these categories are:

- 1) The Runaway Youth. This youth is away from home without permission of the parents or legal guardian and is generally in need of shelter, counseling, and other services that are consistent with the Runaway Youth Act;

- 2) Potential Runaways. These are youth who have not made a decision to actually run away from home but are seeking advice and counsel prior to leaving home;
- 3) Youth Away From Home by Mutual Agreement With Parent or Legal Guardian. The departure occurs when youth and the parent or guardian have agreed that the young person can leave home and be at large in the community;
- 4) Youth Who Are Pushed Out or Rejected From Their Homes. These youth, for whatever reason, are rejected by parent, parent figures, or a legal guardian who prohibit the youth from returning to the house;
- 5) Non Runaway Related Crisis. These are youth who are seeking services for reasons not associated with a runaway event. Such services could be in the area of drug counseling, adolescent sexuality, youth employment, adolescent suicide, neglect and abuse, or school-related problems.

For the purpose of statistical reporting, data are gathered on all of the youth who receive services at a shelter. For the purposes of this report, data are presented in Table 6 only on the youth who are runaways, pushed out or ejected from their homes, away from home by mutual agreement, contemplating running away, or homeless. The following tables describe the youth's sex (Table 6), age (Table 7), age by runaway status (Table 8), referral source (Table 9), length of stay (Table 10), and sex by race (Table 11).

Table 6
National Profile of Youth Types by Sex

	1978 (28,589)			1979 (43,013)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Away from home without permission of legal guardian or parents	4,285	8,651	12,936	6,250	11,888	18,138
	36.9%	51.0%	45.2%	34.7%	47.5%	42.2%
Contemplating running away	275	708	983	555	1,254	1,809
	2.4%	4.2%	3.4%	3.1%	5.0%	4.2%
Pushed out/ejected from home	1,843	1,627	3,470	2,700	2,398	5,098
	15.9%	9.6%	12.1%	15.0%	9.6%	11.9%
Away from home by mutual agreement of parents or legal guardian and youth	1,883	2,557	4,440	3,079	3,768	6,847
	16.2%	15.1%	15.5%	17.1%	15.1%	15.9%
Nonrunaway related reason(s)	2,705	2,804	5,509	4,152	4,361	8,513
	23.3%	16.5%	19.3%	23.1%	17.4%	19.8%
Other*	621	630	1,251	1,244	1,364	2,608
	5.3%	3.7%	4.4%	6.9%	5.4%	6.1%
TOTAL	11,612	16,977	28,589	17,980	25,033	43,013
	40.6%	59.4%		41.8%	58.2%	

*Would/did not specify or no response

Table 7
National Profile by Age

Youth Age	1978 (28,589)		1979 (43,013)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
10 and younger	236	0.8%	504	1.2%
11	225	0.8%	382	0.9%
12	897	3.1%	1,326	3.1%
13	2,535	8.9%	3,737	8.7%
14	5,209	18.2%	7,509	17.5%
15	6,778	23.7%	10,358	24.1%
16	7,158	25.0%	10,314	24.0%
17	4,899	17.1%	7,650	17.8%
18 and older	652	2.3%	1,233	2.8%

Table 8
Profile of Youth Types by Age

Age	Runaways	Contemplating Running Away
	1979	1979
10 and younger	61 .3%	13 .7%
11	114 .6%	8 .4%
12	547 3.0%	56 3.1%
13	1,726 9.5%	188 10.4%
14	3,678 20.3%	358 19.8%
15	4,884 26.9%	490 27.1%
16	4,395 24.2%	429 23.7%
17	2,589 14.3%	247 13.7%
18 and older	144 .8%	20 1.1%
Total	18,138 42.2%	1,809 4.2%
	Pushouts	Mutual Agreement
10 and younger	32 .6%	49 .7%
11	19 .4%	34 .5%
12	100 2.0%	183 2.7%
13	278 5.5%	553 8.1%
14	604 11.8%	1,100 16.1%
15	1,035 20.3%	1,664 24.3%
16	1,378 27.0%	1,613 23.6%
17	1,395 27.4%	1,413 20.6%
18 and older	257 5.0%	238 3.5%
Total	5,098 11.9%	6,847 15.9%

Table 9

National Profile by Referral Source1979
(43,013)

Referral Source	Number	Percent
Individual	17,319	41.6%
Project	1,811	4.4%
Public Agency	9,602	23.1%
Juvenile Justice	10,847	26.1%
Private Agency or Organization	2,007	4.8%
No Response/ Don't Know	1,427	3.3%

Table 10

National Profile of Length of Stay1978
(28,589)

Sheltered	Number	Percent
Less than 24 hours	1,288	5.6%
1 day	5,690	24.5%
2 days	2,440	10.5%
3 days	1,831	7.9%
4 days	1,393	6.0%
5 days	1,228	5.3%
6 days	1,000	4.3%
1 week	971	4.2%
2 weeks	3,641	15.7%
30 days	2,440	10.5%
Over 30 days	1,260	5.4%
Total	23,182	81.0%
Nonsheltered	5,407	19.0%

CHAPTER III

SHELTER SERVICE DELIVERY

Table 11

National Profile
Sex by Race

<u>Race</u>	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
White	8,260 (39.0)	12,945 (61.0)	21,205 (75.3)
Black	2,063 (46.6)	2,365 (53.4)	4,428 (15.7)
Hispanic	814 (7.0)	916 (5.4)	1,730 (6.1)
Other*	286 (2.5)	510 (3.0)	796 (2.8)
Total*	11,612 (40.6)	16,977 (59.4)	28,589 (100.0)

*Includes: American Indian/Alaskan/Asian/Pacific Islander

**No response, I don't know = 430

The federal response to the runaway youth problem is carried out by the Youth Development Bureau located in the Department of Health and Human Services. The Youth Development Bureau (YDB), in addition to providing the planning for and development of an integrated program of research, demonstration, and evaluation of shelter programs, acts as an advocate for youth with federal agencies whose programs have a direct bearing on youth and their needs. YDB therefore provides not only programmatic information which is beneficial to the delivery of service through the network of community-based programs which serve runaways and their families, but information on youth needs, problems, and program approaches to these problems.

The Runaway Youth Act was reauthorized in 1977 and again in 1980, in recognition of the effectiveness of the National Runaway Youth Program and in response to a problem which still requires attention through a joint federal and state/local effort. The 1980 reauthorization changed the title of the legislation to the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act to incorporate those homeless youth which the programs have been serving. The legislation provides for financial support to public and private nonprofit agencies, or networks of these agencies, for the development and strengthening of community-based programs which address the needs of runaway youth and their families.

The Youth Development Bureau, in its effort to increase organizational development and the provision of services by runaway programs, has developed a series of program performance standards which each program must attempt to meet. The instrument is a self-administered evaluation in which the program documents the core components of its operation and its ability to live up to the standards on an annual basis. As each program develops its plan to implement the standards, each also identifies the technical assistance and training needs necessary to increase their capacity to provide services. These technical assistance needs are addressed by a national technical assistance and training contractor funded through the Youth Development Bureau. The programs are reviewed against the standards by the funding source once every three years. This integration of services, organizational growth and development, national technical assistance and training, monitoring of the services provided, and organization structure, has helped runaway shelters to grow considerably over the last decade.

The standards that are outlined here are not being implemented in all runaway shelters; however, the Youth Development Bureau requires the standards to be implemented at all shelters which are receiving Runaway Youth Act funds, nor is one standard implemented the same way in different programs. Although the standards are implemented in different ways, the important fact is that there are standards on service delivery and organizational structure and that standards are being utilized by the shelter and monitored by the funding source.

The program performance standards address the methods and procedures by which the needs of runaway and otherwise homeless youth are being met and were developed through an analysis of the services and administrative components of runaway programs and revised after comments from the field were received. (The standards relate to basic program elements enumerated in Section 315 of the Runaway Youth Act.) The Youth Development Bureau provides a technical performance operation manual to its grantees for the purpose of developing specific program components in line with the program performance.

Program Accessibility and Services

Runaway youth programs have traditionally been distinguished by their openness and accessibility. The willingness and ability of the program to provide immediate access to free services and to accept self-referrals from youth have played an important role in the establishment of runaway projects. This accessibility is also an expression of the basic values and style of the runaway service movement, a willingness to "be there" for young people when most needed, and to drop the formality and alienating control inherent in most highly regimented and bureaucratized programs.

The heart of any program working with runaways resides in its ability to provide direct services to young people and their families. Because of the nature of the work—crisis oriented—the program must be available to youth twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, and must have the capacity to respond to immediate crises as presented by the young person. This is the primary reason that young people come to the door of runaway shelters.

Although the nature of working with runaways is crisis oriented, there are a number of service components which nearly every program needs to contain: These services are the essential elements of effective services to runaways. All runaway programs must have sound program administration, planning, organizational structure, and community involvement. This structure is what distinguishes runaway shelters from the "crash pad" of the sixties, which were concerned primarily with the survival needs of kids on the street.

The service capacities that have been identified include, but are not limited to: outreach services, temporary shelter, individual intake, individual and group counseling, family counseling, service linkages, after-care, and case disposition.

Organizationally, there are a number of tasks that must also be addressed by each program. These include, but are not limited to arranging for: a board of directors or advisory board, staffing and staff development plans, youth participation, individual youth files, and ongoing project planning activities. This chapter will take each of these services and organizational tasks and describe how a program implements those services, providing some examples from runaway programs.

Outreach

A well-functioning runaway shelter must be known and trusted within the community it wishes to serve. Outreach is a process of informing youth and family populations of the existence of the program services. It involves public relations, community education, community service, and organizing regarding critical youth issues. This is a means of building stronger community support, recruiting volunteers, developing linkages with other service agencies, developing resources for the program, and keeping the program in tune with the realities of life for young people outside the runaway shelter. Outreach is an effort to make a program's services well known, easily accessible, and acceptable to youth and their families. Outreach activities can be generally categorized in two broad areas. One aspect implements activities designed to provide visibility for and awareness of services provided by the project. This is generally known as a public relations community-education effort and consists of making the community aware of services being provided by the program and how to access them. The second aspect of outreach is the provision of direct services through outreach activities. These could include street workers program, life skill centers, and drug education programs at schools or neighborhood centers.

Steve Leiberman, describing his initial efforts of outreach at Huckleberry's for runaways, states, "In June of 1967, Huckleberry's for runaways opened in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco. The program hoped to serve runaway adolescents who came to the area for the 'summer of love.' Our first need was that of being accepted by the community. When the community realized that we were not busting kids, they were willing to try and work with us. We kept in close contact with the storekeepers, with human service agencies, and the community; however, we received local and national press in October of 1967 for two reasons: one, national attention was focused on the hippie movement in the Haight-Ashbury district, and two, Huckleberry's was busted. The result of this press coverage made the program well known throughout the San Francisco Bay Area, and the rest of the nation."

Since that time, Huckleberry's has been involved with circulating printed posters throughout the city of San Francisco, recruiting and training street people as their representatives in starting a street work program in the community of Haight-Ashbury, developing a hot line, and establishing a community service sheet—a flyer listing all the services available in the community—that is passed out by the street workers. As staff expanded their outreach activities, they moved into some of the surrounding rural communities and the affluent bedroom suburbs of Marin County. The Marin Youth Advocates developed a mobile outreach component called the County Circuit Riders (CC Riders). The services were delivered by the program throughout the county in a twenty-six foot mobile van. The CC Riders travelled throughout the county providing information about the program and its services to the residents. Due to the visibility of the van, approximately 80 percent of the adolescents in the community knew about the CC Riders within the first six months of program operation. The information given out by the CC Riders also encouraged youth to seek services prior to crisis situations in their lives.

In Boston, Massachusetts, the Bridge over Troubled Waters group also developed an innovative outreach program. The Bridge developed a free medical van as a hookup for runaway youth too frightened to seek help for personal problems. The program assumes that health care is not a luxury item but is essential to well-being. Runaways did not fit into the established health care system as they were too fearful of being returned to approach local health care services. The Bridge's free medical van is the medical outreach component of their network and is staffed by twenty volunteer doctors and forty nurses from approximately twenty medical institutions. These medical volunteers include specialists in adolescent medicine, psychiatry, cardiology, neurology, and pediatrics, and they have logged over 3,000 service hours a year. The objectives of the van are to provide outreach medical treatment for runaways and street youth without fee, complicated intake procedures, or intimidation; to provide health education and medical counseling; to provide referrals to food and social counseling; to provide patient advocacy through street work staff; and to recruit volunteer doctors and nurses sensitive to the needs and fears of this population.

Most programs have developed strategies for community education which include a brochure or fact sheet describing the types of services provided by the program, criteria for acceptance, and the names of contact people. They also encourage or arrange for newspaper articles and public service announcements on the radio or television stations regarding family problems, the stress of adolescence, and descriptions of the program's services. One program has a weekly newspaper column which responds to questions from parents and teenagers. Many of the programs develop colorful eye-catching posters or tee shirts and place them in schools, at local youth hangouts, on buses, in train and bus stations, and in other places where youth might congregate. Most of the programs make numerous presentations at PTAs, Lions Clubs, churches, and other various community gatherings. The purpose is to educate the public about youth and family concerns and to describe the program and its services. Outreach has been defined generally as an action-oriented strategy to help link youth with the appropriate resources, to educate the community as to the availability of various services being provided, and to facilitate the development of new services for youth in those communities.

Most of the projects have developed twenty-four-hour-a-day emergency telephone services. These services are advertised throughout the local community for the purpose of being able to identify and provide immediate referral for young people at any time. Crisis counseling over the telephone is a critical ingredient to all runaway shelters.

Temporary Shelter

Temporary shelter is the core of all the runaway youth programs. Generally, each program is in compliance with the minimum state and local licensing requirements for operating temporary shelter facilities. Usually, they have no more than twenty youth at any given time, and the shelter itself provides housing from two weeks to approximately thirty days in duration. Each facility provides a minimum of two meals per day, as well

as snacks and other foods which are served in a family-type environment; there is adult supervision at the facility at all times.

Temporary housing is usually based on one of two models: (1) the group facility or runaway house model which provides services to youth in a group-living situation; and (2) the individual family home or foster home which provides shelter and meals by using volunteers or paid foster families under contract with the program for the provision of shelter within their own home. The group facility model typically utilizes a standard set of house rules which are presented to the youth at intake and which vary according to the degree of freedom allowed a resident. Virtually all programs include a "no sex, no drugs or alcohol, no weapons or violence" clause and a curfew and sign-out process. There is a daily house meeting or group meeting which is common to the programs. This activity facilitates communication on continuing concerns and issues of the staff and also allows the participants to deal with communal living problems of the house. Virtually all programs require the involvement of the resident in daily chores, in meal preparation or cleanup, in making decisions about rules and structures, and in general house management. The philosophy is that youth need to earn responsibility for their own lives, which means setting some restrictions on time use, thus allowing youth to experiment and make decisions about how to use their time.

Shelter agency programs also include an effort towards bringing the youth back in contact with their family. The Youth Development Bureau programs generally have a twenty-four-hour, but not more than a seventy-two-hour, grace period before the program has to notify the youth's parents as to the youth's safety and security, though this does not necessarily mean the youth will be returned home. Programs encourage the youth to make contact with their families, solely for the purpose of alleviating the anxieties of the family members while the youth is in a runaway episode. The programs also have organized recreational programs, and some have an in-home teacher who provides daily tutoring; others require the youth to attend their own school while in residence. Organized activities are optional because during this period of personal and family crisis young people usually need time for reflection and discussion and, therefore, may not be willing to participate in school and recreational programs. Generally, the programs utilize nonpunitive parenting techniques in working with youth. These methods include negotiating consequences for breaking rules, involving the peer group in feedback to an "out of line" youth, using individualized or general contracts to spell out the consequences for deviating from house rules in addition to including the grounds for termination from the program.

In the individual family home or foster home model, the key is the successful recruitment and selection, training, and supervision of foster parents who are working with youth in crisis. The evaluation of a potential home usually takes place through the program and includes the local welfare licensing processes. Virtually all projects using foster homes provide training and support services to the foster parents. This training includes an original orientation to agency history, procedures, and parenting or communication skills, followed by regular discussions or training meetings. Most of the programs use experienced foster families to try

to build a support network among the newer foster families. Foster family support groups share information, insights, and help to train other foster parents.

The placement of a youth with the foster parents generally follows initial intake and assessment procedures. The staff member, having contacted the foster home, often arranges for a trial placement and provides the foster family with information on the young person. In the course of this placement, arrangements for daily counseling, transportation, school, and a tentative length of stay are also established with the foster family and the youth. All foster home programs provide twenty-four-hour, on-call availability for the foster parents. The foster family agreement, or contract, is a crucial aspect of the foster home model. This agreement outlines the responsibilities of the foster home family, the provision of services for the youth, and assurances that an adult will be in the home whenever the youth is on the premises.

Individual Intake Process

The intake process represents the critical first step in the provision of services to runaway youth. Aside from meeting the immediate needs of the youth such as food, shelter, cleanliness, and clothing, it can set the tone for the provision of appropriate services. Intake is a process by which emergency needs of the young people are identified and addressed through the provision of appropriate services. Intake usually represents an informal dialogue in which the project staff describe to the young person the kinds of services available, as well as the house rules and procedures; the youth then decides whether or not he/she will participate. After the decision to participate, the intake process also requires the development of data or basic background information on each person admitted to the program—information which can provide much of the initial information for the design of a service plan or agreement and contract between the person seeking services and the project. Generally, the intake process consists of five distinct but interrelated activities. They are:

1. The Identification of Emergency Service Needs

The concept of immediate access and attention to emergency needs constitutes the hallmark of a responsive community-based agency. The experience of having to wait for hours or even days before receiving assistance, or having to offer up seemingly endless bits of personal and family data to a worker prior to being admitted to services, generally turns scared and apprehensive youth off. At the runaway shelter, and during the intake process, no appointment is necessary for assistance, and crisis needs take precedence over "process" concerns. The identification of emergency service needs, and the ability to provide direct service or referral, is done at runaway shelters as a matter of course during the first substantial contact with the youth. Generally, immediate needs are found in the area of medical, legal, and emotional concerns of the youth. Most of the staff during intake are extremely sensitive to the needs related to drugs and drug abuse, alcohol and alcohol abuse, physical and sexual abuse, and many other presenting problems of the youth.

During intake, crisis medical considerations must be identified. For example, the intake worker should identify whether or not the youth has been physically or sexually abused, has venereal disease, or is dependent on alcohol or drugs. The worker must also ascertain whether or not the youth needs any form of medication or if the youth requires prescription medication. If prescription medication is in the possession of the youth, it must be turned in to the program and kept in an appropriate, locked place.

2. Services and Voluntary Commitment

During intake, the person seeking services must decide, at least initially, whether to continue with the project or not. After learning of the available services of the rules and regulations, the youth is free to make a choice of whether to stay or to leave. During this informal process, staff members inform the youth of the kinds of services available through the program along with the rules and requirements for participation. This would include the basic rules regarding curfew, chores, and involvement in counseling sessions, as well as the restrictions on violence, theft, drugs, alcohol, and sex within the residence. It is also during this process that the staff member must decide whether the person should be admitted to the program. The commitment to actively and voluntarily participate in the project is a central part of the contract entered into by the youth and the staff member. The youth's willingness to comply with the house rules and requirements are taken into account in the admission process, as well as the appropriateness or the legality of the admission, and other issues such as resources and space availability. Most of the programs maintain written procedures for informing young people of services and requirements prior to admission and for securing voluntary commitment from these youth. In most programs, this voluntary commitment is a written contract signed by both the youth and the staff and is included as part of the youth's file.

3. Recording of Service Needs

During the intake process, a counselor must begin the establishment of a confidential file for each youth willing to participate in the program. The counselor will explain the purposes of these procedures, as well as the limits and safeguards to privacy which surround the record. The collection of this background information will assist in identifying special or crisis service needs which the young person brings, as well as allow for an opportunity to attend to the emergency needs of the youth. Generally, the information is gathered in an informal way; however, it is then transferred to a more formal data collection instrument. The Youth Development Bureau mandates completion of Intake and Service Summary Forms by all of its programs. This form collects background information on the youth along with the demographic characteristics, the service needs, presenting problems of youth, and the final disposition of the case. In a number of programs, the youth is introduced to some of the existing residents, given a tour of the house, and shown a copy of a model contract.

At this time, the youth and the counselor may go into a private room and sit and talk through the situation, spending a majority of the initial time just listening and gathering information about the youth and his/her feelings.

4. Assignment to a Primary Care Worker

Once the youth has agreed to admission to the program, and the program has agreed to admit the youth, a primary counselor is assigned to the young person. That counselor has the responsibility of coordinating services for the youth. In the coordination of those services, the counselor must document the various services the youth needs as well as the activities undertaken on behalf of the youth. This one-to-one relationships is a key ingredient to the program; however, the young people are encouraged to talk through their problems with counselors and/or volunteers who are available. The counselor is also responsible for individual counseling sessions with the youth.

5. Contact with Parents

Most of the projects must provide a strategy for contacting the parents or legal guardians of every youth who receives temporary shelter. This contact must occur within time periods specified by state law or, in the absence of state requirements, must occur within seventy-two hours following the young person's admission into the project. Generally, this is a written procedure, part of the contract with the youth. Furthermore, the counselor is required to note within the file the fact that contact with the parents or guardian took place, who was contacted, and the date and time of that contact. The contact itself can be through a counselor or by the young person, who is ordinarily encouraged to contact the parents personally. If a young person refuses to allow the call, he or she will be asked to leave the program. In the initial contact, the counselor will establish certain basic information with the parents, usually requesting their permission for the youth's participation in the services, trying to elicit at the same time the parents' view of why the young person left home. It is also generally the policy that once the young person has made contact with the family and then leaves the house, the program will contact the parent or legal guardian to inform them of the young person's leaving. All of this information is placed in a contact log, and usually placed in the youth's file. Before contact is made, the youth spend a significant amount of time with their primary counselor, working out tentative plans as to what they wish to accomplish at the house, what kinds of involvement or commitment they need from their parents, and what they need to say during that initial telephone conversation.

Intake is essentially the most critical component of a total service delivery system. It is a time of making first impressions and establishing rapport, of information gathering, exchange, decision making, of crisis intervention and management, of dealing with emergency needs and planning for subsequent services, and of establishing contact with the family.

Counseling Services

Counseling services, both individual and group, are available on a daily basis in most runaway youth shelters. However, the kind of counseling and the various counseling techniques are as diverse as the population of youth seen at the shelters. The specific counseling techniques employed by programs are drawn from a variety of humanistic therapies including Rogerian, reality therapy, Adlerian, Gestalt, and Transactional Analysis. In addition, many of the concepts and techniques of crisis intervention as developed in the mental health field are utilized. Skills and techniques have also been borrowed from the "human potential movement," sensitivity training, and value clarification training courses. No program uses one particular approach, and in most cases the techniques will also vary from staff member to staff member.

Group counseling sessions are also an important and valuable component of a total program of services; however, the groups range again from explicit encounter groups through ongoing "here and now" sessions, to very innovative techniques such as early morning "dream" rap sessions and art counseling groups. Role playing techniques have been very helpful, especially when they are enhanced by audiovisual equipment for taping the sessions for immediate feedback. Communication skills training has been taught along with parenting workshops, and parent effectiveness techniques are used in a number of programs.

Services are provided to a young person so that the youth can change or reach goals while participating in the program. Most of the counseling sessions are oriented towards short-term goals which can be readily attained by the young person. Within the context of goal decision making, many of the programs have the following counseling functions: providing information, clarifying choices, weighing consequences, and facilitating decisions. Facilitating self- and interpersonal awareness, particularly in relationship to the family and the youth's present status, is especially important. Preparing the youth for contact with other social service agencies or organizations is also an important aspect of counseling, whether the youth is being referred for drug or alcohol abuse services, adolescent sexuality counseling, or some other problem.

Most program staff agree that informal counseling is as important as the formal sessions. It is generally believed that some of the most valuable counseling can take place while the youth is doing chores, on a field trip, or involved in any common daily activity that lends itself to highly interpersonal contact.

Counseling techniques are also used in general house management and organization. Peer group support as well as teamwork are used for maintaining house order, discipline, rules, and daily accountability to contracts. Advocacy counseling is also a new term that has been introduced into the field of youth work. Programs are helping youth by having them look at their own situation, become aware of the alternatives available to them, and then assisting them in the implementation of their decisions. If needed, programs help youth create new and desired alternatives. In this sense the counselor is helping the youth achieve self-determined goals.

Other counseling techniques are used by various programs, sometimes through purchase-of-service agreements with other social service agencies. For example, psychiatric consultation is available through contracts with local community mental health centers or by referring youth to private practitioners for intensive counseling. Informal group rap sessions are a common occurrence in almost all of the runaway shelters. Counselors and residents will get together to "rap" about living together and the problems that are occurring in the house.

Most programs use outside resources for specialized counseling in such areas as serious drug abuse, mental illness or episodic behavior disorders, sexually assaulted youngsters, physically or emotionally abused youngsters, or for those who clearly need long-term support from established community organizations. Homosexuality, suicide, and Pregnancy counseling needs are also specialized service needs and frequently necessitate outside resources.

Family Counseling

Over the last decade, as programs have become more sophisticated, they have demonstrated an increasing commitment to the families of the young people they serve. The primary focus is working with the runaway youth and the immediate crisis needs of those youth; however, there is a recognition that running away is usually a symptom of family and social ills. Therefore, a common approach has been to identify the whole family as being in need of service; thus, the family counseling program often constitutes a major mode of service. It is also readily recognized by most programs, however, that some families may refuse counseling and that in certain circumstances it may be inappropriate to provide family counseling.

Typically, family counseling is provided at the request of the youth and his or her parents or legal guardian and is undertaken at the suggestion of the staff of the program. Again, the means of providing the family counseling are as diverse as the groups themselves. Some programs will provide group counseling for parents; others will provide individual family counseling; and some will use conjoint family counseling, treating the entire family as a system. Other models include family seminars in which general education services are provided in an environment to help family members understand issues relating to their youth. The programs have contact sheets which record the visitation of family members. If family members arrive at the facility to talk with their youth, or if there is a session concerning the transfer of the youth back to the family, all of this interaction is recorded on regular family contact sheets. This recording process is more of a management tool, but it is a useful tool of family counseling.

Referral to other support services is also a standard model used at runaway shelters. For example, abusing families or families with drug or alcohol problems may need referral to other social services or to appropriate community mental health centers. Marriage counseling might necessitate an additional referral, and family mediation might be needed.

Service Linkages

Runaway programs have established and attempt to maintain linkages with community agencies and individuals for the provision of services which are required by youth and their families but which the program itself does not have the capacity to provide. Linkages are generally viewed as a method of expanding the resources available to the agency's youth without creating unnecessary duplication which would result in the agency developing and providing services that are already available in the community. The kind of interaction that takes place between other social service agencies and the runaway programs ranges from simple linkages, such as an agreement to exchange referrals and make referrals to services, to very sophisticated community-wide coordinated services and planning, as well as developing working relationships with law enforcement, mental health, juvenile justice, and other community agencies.

A number of runaway youth programs have initiated projects which are surveys of local community services for young people. The outcome of the surveys are handbooks of service availability for young people and lists of services that are available, their intake procedures and requirements, the kinds of signatures, fees, and eligibility requirements. This information is also very useful both in terms of referring youth to programs and for being able to distribute that information about the programs to other agencies.

One of the most sensitive areas for runaway service providers has been the relationship between runaway service agencies and law enforcement agencies. Since a number of the shelter staff came out of the "counter-culture" movement, they often view law enforcement both philosophically and organizationally as antagonistic to the goals they have for youth. However, over the last few years these agencies have developed strong working linkages with the juvenile court or youth divisions of local police departments. The programs will usually start with an informal process of getting to know local juvenile court judges, youth authorities or youth bureau staff, and law enforcement personnel concerned with runaway youth. The establishment of a relationship with law enforcement personnel allows activities of the shelter to be discussed. Police are often invited to the project. This informal visit allows the police to understand the organizational structure of the shelter and has the added bonus of allowing the youth to view police in a more positive way.

Some other linkages are with mental health agencies, health service agencies, medical services, and dental services. Further, child protective services may be necessary whenever a youth has been abused or neglected. Youth employment programs in the local community are necessary for the purpose of referring youth for job opportunities and options. Local Boys and Girls Clubs, YMCAs, YWCAs, the Salvation Army, the Urban League, and United Way agencies all provide valued linkages and citizen participation. Educational linkages are also important so that the youth may continue in school or receive education services. Legal service linkages may be necessary, and many firms offer aid on a "pro bono" basis.

Multiple resources located in the community are necessary for more effective service delivery. Collaboration invites other agencies to share in the responsibility for youth—a sharing that is especially important since the youth will ordinarily be at the runaway shelter for only a short time. This shared responsibility helps stabilize the youth in the community and shifts the responsibility for the youth and the family back to local community agencies. A number of the projects have developed working relationships with the state departments of social welfare, county departments of social welfare, and other public agencies. Training sessions are held among these groups to focus on strategies for meeting the needs of youth in the community.

Aftercare

The stage of aftercare represents a formal, distinct service component, reasonably new to most runaway programs. Many projects initially resisted the notion of aftercare, believing that their support of a youth's self-determination also meant that the project should not involve itself in the youth's life beyond the point of delivering the requested services. Staff also felt that the projects purposely sought to maintain themselves solely as short-term crisis intervention services and that the provision of aftercare as a service would dilute their mission. As the projects have evolved, aftercare has become an established and integrated service.

A recent Youth Development Bureau Task Force on Runaway Youth characterized aftercare as follows: "A variety of services designed to facilitate the youth's transition from the runaway house back into the home or alternative living arrangement, and to prevent a recurrence of the runaway episode. Many runaways and their families require additional services in order to generate meaningful behavioral changes necessary to prevent further running."

Different programs have different models for the provision of aftercare services. In the case of aftercare for the young people who are out-of-state runners, programs generally try to link up or make aftercare provision with a program that is within accessibility of the out-of-state youth. This linkage is facilitated through the national toll-free communication center and the Agency Information Service previously cited.

Case Disposition

Case disposition refers to the final phases of the service delivery process; the review of choices and options available to the youth, followed by decision making relative to a planned course of action. To the extent feasible, programs actively involve the youth, the parents or legal guardian, and the staff of the facility in determining what living arrangement would be in the best interest of each youth. After the plan of action has been determined, the programs provide for the safe transportation and arrival of each youth to his or her home or alternative living arrangement. Then the program verifies the arrival of each youth who is not accompanied to his home or alternative living arrangement; this is done within twelve hours after the scheduled arrival. Generally the programs include a

termination interview with the youth and, if possible, the family, in order to review progress made in the program and to gather feedback from the youth regarding his experience with the program. This follow-up procedure helps ensure a smooth termination for the youth, and it can also serve to monitor the timeliness and adequacy of the program's planning.

The next set of standards deals with the organizational structure of runaway youth shelters. These standards are an integral part of the overall service delivery program of a runaway shelter. Therefore, they have to be considered in the context of the services that are being provided by the shelter and must all interrelate and function in a cohesive manner.

Board of Directors/Advisory Board

Most programs operate with a project board of directors or advisory board composed of a representative cross-section of the community, including youth, parents, and agency representatives. Citizen boards compose one of the society's most important groups, especially in the voluntary sector. These boards determine the policies that govern the services which will be provided to the community in which the members of the board reside. Boards are a powerful means of securing community support, of interpreting the project to the community, and of assessing the community's needs for new services. The board of directors or advisory board also reviews and approves the overall goals, objectives, and activities of the program. The boards also advocate for new services and are often instrumental in obtaining funding for these services as well as support for their use.

Staffing and Staff Development

Runaway programs operate under an affirmative action plan which entails a written staff plan and a written job description for each paid and volunteer position, describing both the major task to be performed and the qualifications for the job. Evaluation of the performance of each paid and volunteer staff member occurs on a regular basis, and the agency provides training and staff development to all paid and volunteer staff, both in the procedures employed by the program and in specific skill areas. This commitment to staff is a marked departure from the past and highlights the evolution of the runaway shelters. At one point, the shelters tended to utilize anyone and everyone who cared about youth. Now they have evolved to the point where they make clear and conscious decisions to involve people, but in clearly specified roles, tapping the strength of each individual providing services for them.

Youth Participation

Youth participation is the involvement of youth in responsible, challenging activities that meet genuine needs, with opportunities for planning and/or decision making. Youth participation has been a key, central theme

for all runaway youth programs. Youth are involved in the ongoing planning efforts conducted by the project, as well as in the delivery of services by the program. The overriding philosophy is that youth must be viewed as being a resource for the project.

Individual Youth Files

Individual youth files are maintained and include information from the intake process, the counseling process, and information on services provided both directly and through referrals to community agencies and individuals. Information related to disposition, follow-up, and aftercare are also part of the file. Each file is maintained in a secure place and is not disclosed without the written permission of the youth and parents or legal guardian, except to the project staff or to a court involved in the disposition of criminal charges against the youth. All Youth Development Bureau funded programs collect uniform data on the I CARE form. This data collection form is also maintained in the youth's file. Generally, youth have access to all the information that is kept in their files and have the opportunity to correct information that is inaccurate.

Project Planning and Development

The programs develop an annual written plan which includes: a review of crisis counseling, temporary shelter, and aftercare needs of youth in the area, as well as the existing services which are available to meet those needs; an ongoing evaluation of the impact of the program services on youth and the families it serves; program goals, objectives, and activities; and a process for obtaining input from paid and volunteer staff, youth, and members of the board of directors and/or advisory board. Planning and being responsive to the community's needs are critical components of runaway shelters. Planning is an effective tool in assisting staff in the understanding of overall goal directions and the growth of the agency on an annual basis. The planning process facilitates both the organizational maintenance of the agency, the delivery of services by the agency, and the involvement of the youth, parents, volunteers, paid staff, and directors of the agency in the future of the agency.

Advocacy

Youth advocacy has long been considered a hallmark of alternative programs for runaways. Adolescent runaways in America, and indeed teenagers in general, are basically powerless within the major institutions of courts, families, schools, and human service organizations. Youth advocacy is a process of working with the young person to address this imbalance of power, to alter the politics of the family in America. It involves activities such as assisting youth as they navigate through the tangled bureaucratic web of institutions, providing legal assistance, working to change and "humanize" existing institutions, and organizing to bring about change in local, state, and national organizations which set policies affecting youth.

We have expanded the role of the school to occupy young people during the years before our society is able to absorb them into the job market. The effect, unfortunately, has been to isolate adolescents and to delay their learning of adult work habits, roles, and skills. Young people need to know about language, mathematics, history, and science in order to function. However, they must also learn responsibility, decision making, cooperation with other people, and self-management. These skills are often neglected in our educational process. Since the traditional educational systems are limited in the ways that they can prepare youth for adulthood, many of the most important needs of adolescents go unaddressed. Youth do not have the opportunity to explore adult roles and attitudes in relatively protected settings where failure can be a source of insight and not despair. They need to feel the responsibility and satisfaction of being needed by other people in order to develop the confidence that comes with achieving self-established challenges and goals. Youth are a vital national resource which is not being utilized to its full human potential. In order to realize this potential, advocacy for youth is extremely important.

CHAPTER IV

PERSISTENT ISSUES

As one examines the question of service delivery to young people who run away, one initially confronts several laws which, although intended as "protective" in nature, have served to complicate the provision of services to runaways. State statutes differ, and the legislative jurisdiction over runaways, truants, and status offenders varies from state to state. A wide variety of laws affect a variety of aspects of youths' lives, often at cross-purposes.

Compulsory Education Laws

All states except Mississippi have compulsory school attendance laws. Compulsory attendance ages range from fourteen in Puerto Rico to eighteen in five other states. Compulsory education statutes generally impose an obligation upon the youth's parents or guardian to see to it that the youth is in school. Youth in violation of compulsory education statutes are generally labelled "truant" or "chronic absentees," and are subject to juvenile justice sanctions under the status offense category.

Compulsory education is a critical and persistent issue when dealing with runaway youth—first, because the youth must attend school; and second, because many jurisdictions require that attendance in public school be limited to residents of that jurisdiction. Therefore, if a youth runs to a point outside his family's educational jurisdiction, or is seeking residency with a friend, relative, or other person outside his family's jurisdiction, he may not be eligible for public education without tuition.

Beaser's 1975 study illustrates the magnitude of the impact of compulsory education laws.¹ Of the fifty-four jurisdictions studied, Beaser found that thirty-nine imposed state residency requirements for school attendance, and seven jurisdictions imposed local residency requirements where no state residency requirements were set out. These residency requirements seriously limit the potential for working with a runaway in terms of a full service plan, because the youth is not eligible without identification, established residence, and possible reimbursement, for educational services.

Coupled with compulsory education statutes are those statutes which make it a crime not to send a youth to school. In all but two jurisdictions studied by Beaser such a law was in effect, such that a fine or jail sentence could be imposed on the individual(s) providing support for a runaway youth not attending an educational institution.

Compulsory education is also intertwined with youth employment opportunities. In general, a youth must obtain a work permit which will allow a potential employer to hire him. This work permit dictates the kind of employment opportunities available for a youth. Youth not in school are

ineligible for a permit, and an employer cannot consider employment without the permit; otherwise the employer can be subject to legal repercussions.

Child Labor Laws

Laws which were designed to protect the health, safety, and welfare of children by prohibiting their gainful employment until a certain age, or under certain conditions (as in the case of migrant workers), are interlocked with compulsory school attendance laws. The child labor laws were implemented to serve a dual purpose. First, they protected the child from being exploited by unscrupulous employers who might give the child tasks which could endanger his/her health, safety, or welfare. Second, they buttress the compulsory school attendance laws by prohibiting employers from hiring minors of certain ages, with the exception of those bearing a work permit obtainable through the schools.

The child labor laws seriously restrict the individual youth from seeking gainful employment which would be useful in self-supportive activities in the community. Therefore, the youth who is on runaway status, without a work permit, is severely limited in employment opportunities. In order to employ himself, even illegally, a youth may lie about age or residency when filling out a work application form.

Medical Services

In seventeen of the fifty-four jurisdictions studied by Beaser in 1975, there were no specific statutes addressing the question of whether a minor could consent to the provision of general medical care without parental consent. Presumably in these jurisdictions the common law would prevail. Under the common law rule, the consent of the parent or guardian is considered necessary before a physician can treat a minor: "Physical contact with a minor by a physician without parental consent could constitute assault and battery and malpractice, and make the physician liable for damages in a civil suit."

Unquestionably, the requirement of parental consent for medical treatment deters large numbers of minors from seeking and obtaining medical attention when needed. Moreover, the medical profession is aware of the rule, and in order to avoid litigation, doctors often refuse to accept minors as patients without parental consent. Statutory elimination or modification of the common law rule is necessary in order for youth to seek medical care and for doctors to provide necessary health services.

Many states have enacted statutes which give minors the right to consent to medical care without parental consent in situations which involve, for example, pregnancy, venereal disease, or a request for contraceptive services. Six jurisdictions have also adopted the "mature minor" doctrine, as codified by New Hampshire, which states: "Nothing contained herein shall be construed to mean that any minor of sound mind (12 years of age or older) is legally incapable of consenting to medical treatment, provided

that such minor is of sufficient maturity to understand the nature of such treatment and the consequences thereof."

Contributing, Harboring, and/or Interfering with a Minor

Statutory criminal law provides criminal sanctions against those who would contribute to the delinquency of a minor, or who would harbor a minor contrary to the rights of the child's parents to the care, custody, and control of the minor, or against those who would interfere with the proper care, custody, or control of a minor. Statutes in all jurisdictions studied by Beaser had provisions governing contributing to the delinquency of a minor, harboring a minor, or interfering with the rights of a parent to the care, custody, and control of the minor. This statute, though well-intentioned, seriously limits the ability of a runaway youth to obtain services from individuals such as neighbors, friends, and local community officials who may be aware of the youth's problems and who share concern for the youth's welfare. Although interested in helping, they could conceivably face the sanctions of the law, and irate parents may feel the need to retaliate against a person or program that provides shelter for their child in a time of crisis.

Recognizing that problems may arise under both the criminal and civil law, the Runaway Youth Act specifically required that shelters make efforts to contact parents or relatives of the children and youth they serve. Regulations promulgated by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and published at 45 CFS § 1351.14(1), 1979, require the shelter to contact the youth's parents, legal guardian, or relatives, preferably within twenty-four hours (but necessarily within seventy-two hours) following the time of the youth's admission to the runaway shelter. If applicable state laws require more immediate notification, they take precedence over HEW regulations.

Where state statute requires parental consent for the provision of temporary housing, shelters must refuse the admission of minors when permission cannot be obtained. In order to avoid difficulties, many programs have formed alliances with local juvenile courts and/or police departments. A sample agreement setting forth the steps that are to be taken when a youth enters the shelter illustrates the adherence to state statutory provisions relating to consent:

The following is a summary of guidelines for holding runaways, which has been agreed upon by this Court and Board for the House. The parents of runaways who come to the House will be contacted and advised of their child's whereabouts within 24 hours of the runaway arriving at the House. Permission for the child to stay will be requested for those cases where an immediate return home is not workable. When permission is given, no legal question arises.

When parental permission is denied, the legal issues will be resolved in the following manner:

1. If the incident occurs during the hours of 8:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m., the House worker will call the intake office of the Court and set up an immediate appointment. The intake worker will hear all sides of the case and will decide whether the Court favors return home or a brief stay at the House. If deemed necessary, a detention order for the child to stay at the House may be issued. If the child is to stay at the House and the parents wish to appeal the counselor's decision, the parents will be notified that they may file a petition the next working day, and a hearing will be held before a judge.
2. If the incident occurs when court is closed, the House has Court approval to keep the runaway without parental permission, and will do the following:
 - a. immediately notify the parents that they may file a petition the next working day, and a hearing will be held before a judge;
 - b. immediately notify the police that the runaway is at the House with the permission of the Court;
 - c. the next working day, notify the intake office of the Court by 9:00 a.m. that the runaway is at the House and arrange for an appointment.

If the runaway has already been determined to be in the purview of the Juvenile Court, the House will do the following:

1. If the incident occurs during the hours of 8:00 a.m. and 12:00 p.m. on a working day, the probation counselor, investigator, or intake officer will be called and notified of the child's whereabouts. The court worker will make the determination as to whether or not the child is to stay at the House.
2. If the incident occurs when Court is closed, the House will notify the assigned probation counselor, investigator, or intake officer as soon as possible, but definitely by 9 a.m. the next working day, of the child's whereabouts. Until a determination is made by the court worker, the House may keep the runaway at the House.

Law Enforcement and Runaways

Once youths run away, they are likely to be drawn into the juvenile justice system. They are likely to be detained, sometimes in jails, and will usually make an appearance in the juvenile and family court. The

trip through these institutions can have profoundly negative effects on the youth. The primary burden of dealing with the runaway falls on the police. All states have statutes which allow police and other state law enforcement officials to take into temporary custody any child they have reasonable grounds to believe is a runaway. In twenty-four of the fifty-four jurisdictions studied by Beaser (1975), police officers, peace officers, or probation officers are given authority by the statutes to take into custody and to detain juveniles suspected of being runaways. In some jurisdictions, the statute delineating the jurisdiction of the juvenile court does not specify that the court has jurisdiction over juveniles who have run away and does not make clear the exact nature of the complaint under which the juvenile can be brought before the juvenile court.

Even though law enforcement agencies have neither the time nor the resources necessary to respond effectively to the problems presented by the runaway, they generally are the first official contact with the juvenile as the youth enters the juvenile justice system. FBI statistics indicate that runaways occupy significant proportions of police time and are the seventh most frequent reason for arrest in a list of twenty-one categories, even though the runaway category is the only one which applies exclusively to people under eighteen.

The 1979 Uniform Crime Reports of the United States Department of Justice indicate that the given number of arrests of youngsters under eighteen is as follows: 152,866 runaways and 78,147 curfew violators or loiterers. Although this is a low estimate compared to the numbers of youth who run away, it is an accurate indicator of the number of youth who come into contact with the police department and the police have to arrest, detain/divert, and/or prosecute. Even this limited contact costs a great deal of money and manpower. It has been estimated by the San Diego Police Department, for example, that "the arrest, detention, and disposition of 707 runaways through the Probation Department cost them approximately \$128,000." This figure does not include counseling or court costs, but only pick up, "cold storage," and delivery. Moreover, the police simply cannot cope with the large numbers of runaways. After the Houston mass murders in 1973, the Houston police were criticized for their failure to investigate the disappearance of so many young people. The police quickly pointed out, however, that over 5,000 young people run away from homes in the Houston area a year and that the department was simply "overwhelmed by the sheer number of runaways."

Runaways and Jails

The problem of responsibility for runaways is further exacerbated when the police, who have responded and identified a runaway, have to decide whether to jail or detain the juvenile. Law enforcement officials and juvenile justice staff often regret jailing children but justify their actions in the belief that "juvenile detention facilities are unavailable, overcrowded, or inappropriate." However, children are terrified of jails as they associate them with physical, sexual, or other abuse by guards and other prisoners.

Jailing children can hurt them in a variety of ways. The most widely known harm is that of physical and sexual assault by adults. The following description highlights the dangers of being a juvenile in an adult jail:

Most of the children in these jails have done nothing, yet they are subjected to the cruelest of abuses. They are confined in overcrowded facilities, forced to perform brutal exercise routines, punished by beatings by staff and peers, put in isolation, and whipped. They have had their heads held under water in toilets. They were raped by both staff and peers, gassed in their cells, and sometimes stomped or beaten to death by adult prisoners. A number of youths not killed by others end up killing themselves.

The jailing of children has long been criticized because of the dangers and problems inherent in the jail environment. Jails have perhaps become the most inhumane institution in our society. A description of our jails found in American Jails, a publication of the Centennial Congress of Corrections, outlines the quality of these institutions:

The majority of county and city jails are more or less independent units, each having a certain autonomy. The grounds, buildings, and equipment, are owned by the respective counties and cities. In a majority of cases, the buildings are old, badly designed, poorly equipped, and in most instances, in need of urgent repairs. They are not properly heated, ventilated nor lighted; they do not have the necessary facilities for the preparation and service of food; proper and adequate provision for bathing and laundering are missing; sanitary arrangements are, for the most part, primitive and in bad state of repair; only in rare instances are there proper hospital facilities or means for caring for the sick and infirm; religious services are infrequent; educational activities are almost completely unknown, recreation is restricted to card playing, and, in general, complete idleness is the order of the day. Filth, vermine, homosexuality and degeneracy are rampant, and are the rule rather than the exception. Of these, there is no more pressing nor delicate problem among the many confronting jail administrators today, than the ever-present and increasing problem of homosexual behavior among those incarcerated in jails all over the nation.

Confinement of youths in such environments provides a constant threat to their physical and mental well-being. It is little wonder that runaways are fearful of turning themselves into law enforcement or other authorities.

Although the juvenile court, according to Judge Julian Mack, was founded under the concept that "a child who broke the law was to be dealt with by the state as a wise parent would deal with the child," the acknowledged and intended function of the juvenile court is usually phrased in the statutes as securing "for each child within its jurisdiction, such care, custody, and treatment as should have been provided by the child's natural parents, it is not to punish, but to help children in trouble to do what is in the best interest of the child and the state to 'rehabilitate.'" In a review of the literature related to the juvenile court, one finds that it has been marked with persistent confusion, controversy, and contradiction in both theory and practice. Although the intent of the system was sound—"children are often more sinned against than sinning"—in reality the original goals and ideals set for the juvenile justice system have not been reached.

Justice Fortas's analysis of the juvenile justice system as cited in the Supreme Court decision of Kent vs. the United States articulately sums up the contradiction: "There may be grounds for concern that the child receives the worst of both worlds: that he gets neither the protection accorded to adults, nor the solicitous care and regenerative treatment postulated for children."

To protect children from themselves or from a dangerous home environment is a major rationale for jailing juveniles. A Children's Defense Fund's study reveals that "in the name of protecting children, we found many youngsters in the filthiest, most neglected and understaffed institutions in the entire correctional system. One child was in jail because her father was suspected of raping her. Since the incest could not be proven, the adult was not held. The child, however, was put in jail for protective custody."

In "Children in Jails: Legal Strategies and Materials," the National Juvenile Law Center reported that "a recent National Council on Crime and Delinquency study conducted in upper New York state revealed that 43% of the children in local jails were alleged PINS (persons in need of supervision), none of whom were charged with any crime." A Montana survey found that dependent/neglected children were routinely held in jails, and at over half of the jails, children were confined as a deterrent, even absent formal charges against them. In 1971, the National Jail Census conducted a comprehensive snapshot of the numbers of juveniles held in jail. On March 15, 1970, 7,800 juveniles were living in 4,037 jails. A comparable census in 1974 estimated that the number had grown to 12,744 youths. The census also reported that two-thirds of all juveniles in jails were awaiting trial. A recent study funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention reports that the number of juveniles admitted annually to adult jails during the mid-1970s was approximately 120,000. This number does not include municipal lockups. Recent surveys indicate that this figure ranges up to 500,000. The Children's Defense Fund states that even the half-million figure is grossly understated, and that there is an appalling lack of information regarding the number of children in jails. In addition, their survey of nine states reveals that "18% of the juveniles in jails have not been charged with an act which would be considered a crime if committed by an adult."

As of 1977, all but four states continued to allow the practice of placing juveniles in adult jails under some circumstances. The Senate hearings on the subject revealed that "Regardless of the reasons that might be brought forth to justify jailing juveniles, the practice is destructive for the child who is incarcerated, and dangerous for the community that permits youth to be handled in harmful ways."

The detention of juveniles in adult jails and lockups has long been an issue characterized by sporadic public concern. Virtually every national organization concerned with law enforcement and the judicial process, including the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, the American Bar Association, the Institute for Judicial Administration, the National Advisory Commission on Law Enforcement, and the National Sheriff's Association, has recommended or mandated standards which prohibit the jailing of children. The National Coalition for Jail Reform, incorporating twenty-eight of these organizations, endorses the goal that no child should be held in an adult jail.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice in 1967 recommended that the possibility of removing nondelinquent and status juvenile offenses from the jurisdiction of the juvenile court should be seriously considered. It was believed by many that the responsibility for status offenders should be placed in social rehabilitation agencies. Such a strategy would require the full participation of the community—youth, parents, police, and community groups. In the last decade, states have reclassified running away as a status offense—an act which would not be a crime if committed by an adult. Youths who commit status offenses are often labeled children in need of supervision (CHINS), persons in need of supervision (PINS), minors in need of supervision (MINS), or juveniles in need of supervision (JINS). These acts generally incorporate such offenses as being ungovernable, beyond control, incorrigible, wayward, truant, and runaway.

It is feasible that if jurisdiction over runaways and other status offenders were taken away from the juvenile courts, the legislatures and the communities might be forced to address their needs more conscientiously. Judge Bazelon has expressed how the mandate of responsibility has come to reside with the juvenile court in his address to the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges:

The argument for retaining beyond control and truancy jurisdiction is that juvenile courts have to act in such cases because, "if we don't act, no one else will." I submit that precisely the opposite is the case—because you act, no one else does. Schools and public agencies refer their problem cases to you because you have jurisdiction, because you exercise it, and because you hold out promises that you can provide solutions.

Juvenile Justice Reform

The major catalyst for change, which addresses the removal of juveniles from adult jails, has been the passage of the 1974 Juvenile Justice

and Delinquency Prevention Act. President Carter, in signing the reauthorization of the act in 1980, stressed that "In many communities of our country two kinds of crimes, the serious and the one not very serious, are treated the same, and young people have been incarcerated for long periods of time for committed offenses which would not even be a crime at all if they were adults. This act very wisely draws a sharp distinction between these two kinds of crime. It also encourages local administrators, states and local governments, to deinstitutionalize those young people who have not committed serious crimes."

The separation requirement for juveniles in adult jails and lockups is embodied in Section 223(a)(13) of the act (P.L. 96-509), and provides

that juveniles alleged to be, or found to be delinquent within the purview of paragraph (12), shall not be detained or confined in any institution in which they have regular contact with adult persons incarcerated because they have been convicted of a crime, or are awaiting trial on criminal charges.

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act is unique in a number of ways. It was the first federal program to mandate care for children and youth in the least restrictive, community-based facilities, in close proximity to the child's home. It also provided a "laundry list" of services to be provided by programs, such as medical, educational, vocational, social and psychological guidance, special education, training, counseling, alcoholism treatment, drug treatment, and other rehabilitative services. The act also called for a concentration of federal effort through joint funding projects. However, the heart of the act is the separation and deinstitutionalization mandates of Section 223—a mandate which caused a number of states to rethink their juvenile codes.

In June of 1976, two years after initial passage of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, Legis-50, a center for legislative improvement, conducted an analysis of juvenile justice policymaking through a review of four states: New Mexico, Florida, Michigan, and Alabama. The analysis concluded that, although these four states were working for common goals, i.e., the development of juvenile justice policy consistent with the 1974 mandates of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, each state had developed a different approach to achieving these goals. In New Mexico, for example, a citizen's group joined with professional workers from the criminal justice system and pushed for the passage of a new juvenile code. In Florida, it was the legislature which took the active role in developing new juvenile policy. In Michigan, the legislative debate included the agencies primarily concerned with the responsibility of administering the act, along with outside interest groups. And in Alabama, the judiciary led the debate and developed an innovative model of judicial organization and reform.

In the review of these legislative initiatives for policymaking in juvenile justice, it is apparent that there is sometimes confusion in the attempts to operationalize the concepts of the 1974 act. In some instances good legislative recommendations were made; however, they were not followed

through with appropriations or the necessary professional commitments necessary to implement the law. In other areas where there were strong administrative procedures, there was questionable judiciary or legislative support.

The state legislative bodies, which appear to have had full working committees and professional staff researching the issues, clearly have attempted to develop statutes supporting the concepts of the act based upon substantive information. However, even with substantive background and study of the juvenile justice system, there is no assurance that the ideal legislation can be implemented. For example, in 1975 a proposal significantly altering the procedures to be followed in apprehending a runaway was introduced into the California Assembly. Bill 1819 of the California Assembly required the notification of a runaway who is detained that he may return to his parent or go to a runaway house where he would receive counseling and help in attempting to reconcile with his parents. There was no requirement that the youth be taken before any representative of the court, but rather that the police would immediately transport the juvenile to his destination after a decision was made. Unfortunately, this progressive piece of legislation, which placed significant power for self-determination in the hands of the youth, failed to obtain the necessary votes for passage. However, it could be considered a model piece of legislation for dealing with the problem of runaway youths.

During the runaway crisis, both the family and the child are most receptive to outside help, since most people are willing to seek help when they are hurting, and much can be accomplished during this crisis situation. The event offers the opportunity for assisting the family when it is most receptive and most in need. Unfortunately, many of our laws which were passed for the purposes of protecting children, and many of our practices which are carried out in the spirit of protection, complicate and sometimes discourage an appropriate response to the runaway. It is critical and imperative that the agencies responsible for dealing with runaways be responsive to the immediate crisis needs, be able to respond to longer-term problems presented by the runaway, and have the capacity to do so in a noncoercive manner, allowing the youth the opportunity to make decisions with his family regarding the future.

Note to Chapter IV

1. Herbert Beaser, The Legal Status of Runaway Children (Washington, D.C.: Educational Systems Corporation, 1975).

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The children of these disillusioned colored parents, pioneers, inherit the total lot of their parents—the disappointment, the anger. To add to their misery, they have little hope of deliverance. But where does one run to when he is already in the promised land?

(Claude Brown, Manchild in the Promised Land)

The whole ethic of pioneer America was based upon an open society—the right to move on and begin anew. There was an ever pervasive attitude that life can be better on the other side of the street—in another city or community, in a different job, or in another relationship. Youths have also, in this well-established tradition, been leaving home in greater numbers.

Traditionally, running away has played a significant role in the development of the history and folklore of this country. It wasn't until the turn of the century, with a more industrialized society developing, that we started to prolong the period of adolescence in our society, keeping youth in the educational system for longer periods of time, and limiting their ability to become gainfully employed in the market place. As society moved away from a traditionally farm oriented, agrarian culture to a more industrialized urban culture, the makeup of the family changed. Families have traditionally been an important asset, and youth were important to the family structure. Youths were viewed with a protective and economical eye—they worked the fields and ensured the capacity for expansion of the farmer's role in society. In a more urbanized and industrialized society, however, the traditional concept of a family support system has broken down. This breakdown has led to increasing conflicts among the family unit. Historically, youths had other members of the family system to relate to during stress; however, because of a changing society, other members of the extended nuclear family—grandparents, aunts, uncles, and other members of the youth's immediate family, have been frequently lost.

Although the contemporary literature has documented that most running away is best interpreted as an adaptive response to situational pressures, the origins of which may lie in ordinary family conflicts or in general economic conditions, running away has traditionally been handled as a legal problem. The youth who runs away is often viewed first and foremost as a lawbreaker.

The history of the law as it relates to children has its evolution in the English common law which recognized that between parents and their children exist certain reciprocal legal rights and duties. The legal principles governing parent-child relationships bestowed a right on the parent to:

- . maintain the physical care, custody and control of their child;
- . provide and supervise the education, religion, general upbringing of the child, including the discipline of the child; and,
- . retain the services and earnings of the child—a matter of considerable financial importance.

The parents, in turn, had certain specific legal obligations with respect to the child for the provision of food, clothing, shelter, education, medical care, and other necessities of life. These reciprocal rights and duties continued until the child attained the age of majority.

In the case of the runaway phenomenon, the various attempts at legal solutions to societal ills serve only to exacerbate an already confused situation. Not only is the legal approach harsh and unfair in its treatment, it often does nothing to contribute to the resolution of the runaway's problem. Although running away may be impulsive, the reasons for leaving are complex and varied. If there is any unifying factor in the backgrounds of those who run away, it has been the breakdown of communications, and the subsequent lack of understanding between the parent and the youth. The portrait that emerges for the majority of the runaways is not that of a juvenile delinquent and/or sick youth, but instead, a confused, sometimes desperate adolescent reacting to a situation that he finds unbearable.

Finding themselves without the needed resources to survive, usually because the act is poorly planned (most youths leave with little or no money, food, or clothing), the experience of running away can have a brutalizing effect on the inexperienced youth. Once exposed to the streets, they are vulnerable to the pressures of the street, and are likely to be forced into associating themselves with devious and dangerous conduct.

In the streets there are always individuals looking to prey upon the uninitiated. The streetwise person can quickly spot a youth or group of youths on the street who are runaways. This identification, coupled with the threat of legal action, makes the youth more vulnerable to manipulation due to the threat of being turned in. Certainly the runaway youth runs a greater risk of becoming involved in criminal conduct—shoplifting, drug-dealing, and prostitution—common experiences living in the streets. Youths often do not turn to the authorities for help because the laws that exist today generally are not of much assistance to youths and, specifically, they frequently work to the disadvantage of the runaway youth. In fact, it can be safely said that the law is more of a hinderance than an aid to the majority of issues confronting youths.

While on the run, a number of laws function to force the runaway into even worse circumstances. Concerned citizens cannot provide assistance to the juvenile without running the risk of violating the law for contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Employment opportunities are limited, and generally withheld from the young. And running away itself usually compounds lawbreaking because the youth is truant and in violation of compulsory education laws. To avoid the authorities, youths will often try

to survive on their own, and with the job market closed to them, this sometimes requires conduct they would normally consider wrong.

As identified by Berkeley Planning Associates, the youths who are running away, approximately 733,000 annually, come from all walks of life, and from all social and economic strata. Young people are often in pain. This pain is exhibited through running away, drug addiction, acting out in the local community, suicide, and other self-destructive behaviors.

The runaway shelters developed under the Runaway Youth Act have become way-stations—places for youths who are experiencing pain to find security and help. The shelters have become multi-dimensional programs, starting primarily as runaway shelters working with the needs of the youth who has run away from home, and eventually branching out to community-based, multi-service agencies, providing support services to all youths who are experiencing conflict in the community. Many have been confronted with the problems of adolescent pregnancy, drug addiction, prostitution, child abuse and neglect, rape, incest, and suicide. In an evaluation of the overall effectiveness of the programs, aside from the services they provide, there is a tremendous cost-savings in having small community-based programs working with young people, assisting in the resolution of community conflict so that youths can reside in their own homes.

There are 166 programs which serve over 43,000 young people in the course of a year, at a cost of less than \$10 million annually. The fiscal costs can easily be calculated, and the fiscal savings, while readily discernible, are only one component of the true savings. Perhaps the most important benefit is an emotional one. The services offered by the 166 programs directly contribute to the development of an emotionally mature outlook on life. In short, the services help meet the ten needs identified by the National Association for Mental Health as paramount in the growth of a child:

1. Love - every child needs to feel that his parents love, want, and enjoy him; that he matters very much to someone; that there are people near him who care what happens to him.
2. Acceptance - every child needs to believe that his parents like him for himself just the way he is, that they like him all the time and not only when he acts according to their ideas of the way a child should act, that they always accept him even though often they may not approve of the things he does, and that they will let him grow and develop in his own way.
3. Security - every child needs to know that his home is a good safe place that he can feel sure about, that his parents will always be on hand, especially in times of crisis when he needs them most, that he belongs to a family or group, that there is a place where he fits in.
4. Protection - every child needs to feel that his parents will keep him safe from harm, that they will help him when he must face strange, unknown, and frightening situations.

5. Independence - every child needs to know that his parents want him to grow up, and that they encourage him to try new things, that they have confidence in him and in his ability to do things for himself and by himself.
6. Faith - every child needs to have a set of moral standards to live by, a belief in honest values: kindness, courage, honesty, generosity, and justice.
7. Guidance - every child needs to have friendly help in learning how to behave towards persons and things, and grown ups around him who show him by example how to get along with others.
8. Control - every child needs to know that there are limits to what he is permitted to do, and that his parents will hold him to these limits, that though it is all right to feel jealous and angry, he will not be allowed to hurt himself or others when he has these feelings.
9. Praise - every child needs approval; children like adults need a pat on the back for something good they have accomplished; it is small but important to the child.
10. Recognition - every child needs to be recognized for what he is inside and outside the home; consider him in planning a new home, buying furniture, a new car, or going on a vacation.

Children whose basic needs are satisfied have a better chance to grow up in good mental health, and to become mentally healthy adults—people who are good parents, good mates, good workers, good neighbors, and good citizens.

If one believes the notion that youth are our most valuable resource, then one cannot argue the need for young people to have security, relief from pain, a sense of understanding about their world, friends and other social support systems, a sense of usefulness, a sense of confidence, and a need for some hope and excitement. These components of a program help instill the rights and enfranchisement of young people who participate in our society. These elements are necessary to help young people value themselves and others, and to ultimately give young people a stake in our society.

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