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Introduction

When the Pima County Juvenile Justice Collaboration offered free bumper stickers asking "Have You Hugged Your Kid Today?," 6,000 Tucsonians grabbed up three printings and four other local agencies began promoting the same slogan.

But when the collaboration followed that success with a new sticker proclaiming "Runaway Children Don't Belong in Jail," there weren't enough takers to exhaust the first printing.

While adults presumably agree that their loving offspring rate affection, what to do with the angels when they thumb their noses, ditch school, run away or indulge their sex drives does not find easy consensus on a bumper sticker. That question is "the hottest issue going" in juvenile justice, in the words of one national authority.

The above misbehaviors are called "status offenses," acts forbidden only to children because of their tender status. Along with disobedience, leaving home without permission, truancy, curfew are a vague range of health and morals concerns designed to control everything from promiscuity to choice of companions.

Nationally, status offenders comprise about a third of juvenile court caseloads, with about 70 percent of the complaints filed by parents and relatives who can't control them.

At the center of the current storm is the distinction between these misbehaving children and legally declared juvenile "delinquents," children who have been convicted of robberies, burglaries, assaults, rapes, homicides and other public offenses that are crimes at any age.

For years, juvenile courts have treated them virtually the same under a theory that unchecked misbehavior will lead to serious delinquency. They have locked up status offenders side-by-side with delinquents in county jails and detention centers awaiting hearings, and have committed both to state reform schools and other secure institutions designed to correct their behavior and protect society.

Led by Senator Birch Bayh, Congress passed the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JDPA) in 1974. One of the major sections of the law, 223 (a)(12) requires that status offenders not be placed in detention centers but be served in the community where possible or in non-secure shelters if they need to be removed from their homes.

Because this law placed an initial financial burden on local governments while they changed from the former method of dealing with status offenders, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act carried with it some grant funds to be used by local areas as seed money for demonstration programs to facilitate the transition. The grants were called Deinstitutionalization of Status Offenders (DSO) Grants. The program is administered by the Justice Department under the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA).

One of the major forces behind the JDPA was a group of national non-profit service agencies interested in the treatment of children. Their members wrote to their congressional representatives; their leaders testified at hearings; they publicized the treatment of children in the system; they did research that showed the current treatment was much more detrimental to youth than no treatment at all. After the passage of the Act, 16 of these national organizations applied for one of the DSO Grants. They reasoned that if status offenders needed service in the community rather than in detention centers, then the non-profit service organizations should be changing some of their emphasis from serving only middle class "good kids" to including service and programs for status offenders and other children whose backgrounds suggest the potential for conflict with the law because of their juvenile status. Their rationale was:

1. Non-profit agencies can provide valuable services to status offenders. If status offenders are to be served in local communities, then local non-profit youth serving agencies should also be experimenting with ways to increase services to such youth.

2. Non-profit agencies can be valuable and powerful advocates for status offenders. If status offenders are to be served in local communities, then there must be a major effort to educate citizens, to change laws and to urge public service agencies to understand and accept status offenders in the community.

3. Services and advocacy provided by a collaborative effort are more effective than each agency providing a separate effort. Local services to youth are often fragmentary with a great deal of duplication in some areas and gaps in service in other areas. All local providers of service to a specific client group must work together to meet the needs of the clients in a more complete way. Police, probation, schools, social agencies,

4. This article is an adaptation of a portion of the CAUR Juvenile Justice Program Collaboration - Evaluation Report, which resulted from a 2-year evaluation project directed by Dr. Burch. Ms. Davis, a Masters candidate in the UNO School of Social Work, is a CAUR graduate assistant and has worked closely with the Juvenile Justice evaluation project.


2National organizations in the juvenile justice collaboration were American Red Cross, Association of Junior Leagues, Boys' Clubs of America, Boy Scouts of America, Camp Fire Girls, Girl Scouts of the USA, Girls Clubs of America, Jewish Welfare Board, National Council for Homemaker-Home Health Aid Services, National Council of Jewish Women, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers (temporary participant), Salvation Army, Travelers Aid of America, YWCA of the USA, and YMCA of the USA.
and public recreation must be aware of and supportive to each other's programs.

4. Non-profit agencies can develop the capacity to work with status offenders. Status offenders have not been a traditional client group of most national voluntary service organizations. As Assembly agencies, however, non-profit agencies will be in the community long after LEA monies are gone. If these organizations have a commitment and enthusiasm for working with status offenders, then each other and with the local public agencies and have increased their ability to provide needed services, then the money is well spent.

Based on these assumptions, the 16 agencies (later 15) formed a task force to develop a proposal for a program:

... to develop the capacity of the national voluntary organizations and their local affiliates to work together more effectively and without duplication of effort to deinstitutionalize status offenders. The program to develop the common, cooperative effort called for the organizations to work together with mutual exchange of information and ideas, sharing of resources and expertise, respect for each other's efforts and programs and to develop needed services. A formal organization of these youth organizations would be formed and termed a collaboration.

A national collaboration to manage the program, work with the national organizations and assist in the development of local collaborations at 5 sites around the country. Each local collaboration would be a forum of a core of local affiliates of the national agencies involved, other public and private youth-serving agencies and public and private agencies.

The agencies were developed with the national collaboration. The separate organizations were to work together through the collaboration to develop needed services for status offenders in the community.

In October, 1975, LEAA funded the juvenile justice program collaboration for 2 years. The focal sites selected for collaborations were Oakland, Cali-fornia; Spartanburg, South Carolina; Spokane, Washington; Tucson, Arizona, and a Connecticut region encompassing Danbury, Torrington and Waterbury.

In September, 1976, the Center for Applied Urban Research received a contract from the national collaboration to evaluate the collaborations and their efforts to develop new ways to work with status offenders. The evaluation is now completed. This article is an interview with respondents in the evaluation: the non-profit agencies in the 5 test cities organized to serve status offenders.

The article is presented in 2 parts. The first presents some of the findings of the evaluation of the LEAA juvenile collaboration projects. The second part presents findings from the National study of status offenders in Nebraska and efforts of Omaha and Lincoln non-profit service organizations to initiate programs similar to those in the test cities.

How Non-Profit Agencies Organized to Serve Status Offenders and Other Children at Risk

The 5 local juvenile justice collaborations involved 02 local nonprofit agencies of national organizations. One of their major goals was to develop the capacity of these non-profit agencies to serve status offenders. Many of these organizations, such as the Boys' and Girls' Clubs, have traditionally been involved primarily with "good kids," and the focus was on programs for problem children was a fundamental change for many of these agencies.

In selecting indicators by which to evaluate this goal, there were 2 principal considerations. First, it was necessary to use measures which could be replicated in other local collaborations, especially non-profit agencies who had not only in the collaboration project itself. The use of indicators of organizational capacity which were independent of the collaboration project would allow for comparison between youth-serving organizations in the project sites and those without LEAA collaboration grants. It would also make it possible to obtain before and after measures to recognize any change over a period of time.

The second consideration was a question of definition. The capacity to serve was viewed not merely as the formal delivery of service to the client group. The delivery of service was seen as an end product requiring internal organizational change. To achieve this end, the service organization must first define status offenders and recognize them as a legitimate group to serve. The organization must then allocate the resources for meeting the needs of the new client group, such as board time, staff time, training, space and program materials. The organization must also develop mechanisms for providing counseling by status offenders or those making decisions for them as able to provide service, and b) be accessible to them geographically, politically and culturally. Finally, they must organize to deliver the service.

Ten indicators were used to measure the capacity of collaborating organizations to serve status offenders in Fall, 1976, and again in Fall, 1977.

1. Board attitudes toward the client group and their client
3. Goals established for board and members to serve status offenders.
4. Efforts to sensitize the larger membership to the needs of status offenders.
5. Allocation of funds, staff time or other resources for planning and implementation of programs/services for status offenders.
6. Initiation of programs to train board/staff/members to understand or work with status offenders and children at risk.
7. Extent of direct experiences in working with status offenders and children at risk.
8. Efforts to locate programs to be accessible to client population.
9. Extent of service to status offenders.
10. Extent of service to other children at risk of becoming status offenders.

The board attitudes were measured by administering an attitude scale to boards of directors of local youth serving organizations at a regular meeting of the board of directors. This scale was developed by the National Institute of Child Development. The attitude scale consisted of 23 items: personal/local distance attitudes about status offenders, goals, and general attitudes on the rights of children. Several general attitude items on status offenders and the offenses were also included. The attitude scale was administered at organizational board meetings by local researchers in Fall, 1976, and again in Fall, 1977, using standardized procedures.

The allocation of board time was determined through an item analysis of board minutes at the beginning of the study period and again with the collaboration year. In the local collaborative board minutes of member organizations of the national collaboration showed the great increase. The increase in the percentage of time devoted to discussion of status offenders was 10%.

Of the 8 national organizations which released board minutes for this report, only 1 showed an increase in discussion of status offenders. However the data indicated that all had increased in that general area, the percentage of time than less than that of the most best organizations who were able to consider and discuss programs concerning status offenders and children at risk. There was no new formal allocation of organizational resources for programs and services to status offenders reported by these agencies.

Some resources were allocated informally for work with status offenders. About 38% of the local affiliates were involved in implementing collaboration programs. Much of the implementation cost of building and staff were in-kind donations from the implementing organizations. The average reported cost of those programs was far greater than the actual cost of putting on the programs. Another informal indicator of allocation of resources was an enormous allocation of time by the staff to these efforts.

The training of staff, board and other leaders to work with status offenders was done primarily through local programs, such as "Teenage Sexuality," "Where Do Kids Go When They Run Away From Home?" "Status Offenders in Prostitution," and "Parent Programs," and tutoring programs were attended by about 500 staff, board
and other members of local agencies in the 5 cities.

Direct experience in working with status offenders was gained in implementing collaboration programs. The experience varied in both depth and variety. In Oakland the experience was limited to 2 direct service programs. In Spartanburg 67% of the collaboration affiliates were involved in implementation, but they were involved in only 2 programs, and Spokane collaboration members in only 1. Tucson collaboration affiliates gained the most experiences in a variety of ways: writing, program planning, implementation and evaluation. Six direct service programs were let by contract to affiliates in that site.

Data to measure change in location of program units were not easily accessible. These data were necessary to determine any change in the number of program units in high impact areas locally. Local organizations did not appear to keep records in this way. This indicated that the location of new units was not planned on the basis of where the need might be. Since the data were sketchy, the conclusions appeared to be that density of status offenders and other youth at risk was not an important consideration in placing program units.

Nationally, new units to serve status offenders and other children at risk had begun around the country in other than collaboration sites. Some groups, such as the Camp Fire Girls and the Girl Scouts, reported efforts to locate new program units in the inner city, in children’s institutions, and in ethnic neighborhoods. However, the record keeping procedures on numbers and locations did not indicate the extent to which this was a change from previous policy.

An important type of service to status offenders is through external advocacy to increase awareness of their needs. The change in advocacy was measured in 2 ways: The amount of regular communication to members on external societal change toward a more positive stance on status offenders and youth at risk, and introduction of any new advocacy program specifically related to external societal change.

The regular communication to members of local organizations showed practically no advocacy-related messages in either Fall, 1976, or Fall, 1977. The national organizations showed advocacy communications in both the base and current years. There was an increase in 10 national organizations and a decrease in 2 organizations. The latter included one of the most active and involved organizations.

No new advocacy activity was reported at collaboration sites by local affiliates from Fall, 1976 to Fall, 1977. Nationally, the Junior Leagues and the National Council of Jewish Women reported an increase in advocacy activity at other local sites around the country. There was little evidence of formal advocacy activity among national direct service organizations.

Much informal advocacy activity was reported by national organizations. Some of them, such as the YMCA, were active in getting youth-related legislation passed. The YWCA was actively seeking to get its locals involved in legislative concerns for systems change.

Several of the national organizations developed special programs in the recent past. The Junior Leagues produced a film which was shown on national television and is available for local information and education. The National Council of Jewish Women published a book reporting a national survey on the juvenile justice system and its detrimental impact on youth. The National Council on Crime and Delinquency sponsored an advertising campaign about status offenders. It also published a newsletter relating directly to legislation, research and other activity in the juvenile justice field.

While much of this activity preceded the juvenile justice program collaboration grant, the national organizations have continued to deepen their awareness and educate their locals. Our perception is that gradually they are taking status offenders as a legitimate, on-going concern.

For these reasons the numbers of status offenders and children at risk served in collaboration programs by local affiliates cannot be consistently reported here. Eight organizations in Tucson, whose program started several months early, served a total of 127 status offenders and children at risk in several different programs. Seven Spartanburg affiliates served 73 youth and 6 Oakland affiliates served 113 youth. In other sites, the affiliates were not involved in implementing direct service programs at the end of data collection.

The implementation of the direct service programs by the affiliates required a great deal of input of the organization’s own resources. One executive reported a match of thousands of dollars. It was certainly true that expenditures for buildings, recreational equipment, and executive, financial, secretarial and other staff time were not reimbursed. The average cost per day of the service to each youth excluding salary to the youth was lower than cost per day services reported by DSO Grantees in several sites.

Many organizations reported a change in services to status offenders in their own programs over the year. This may have represented only a change in definition in the minds of respondents. However, at the very least, it represented an increase in sensitizing program people.

Many of the national organizations mentioned new programs around the country specifically related to status offenders. In the 5 local collaborations, new monies have been generated to serve status offenders. Tucson reported $96,000 from CETA and other new sources to support some of the collaboration programs. Spartanburg reported $4,650 in new money.

Nationally, several organizations received money from an LEAA prevention grant to continue the efforts by non-profit agencies toward developing alternatives to correctional institutions for young people convicted of status offenses and other children at risk. National organization data indicated other national programs under way. Some of the national organizations are making services for status offenders or children at risk a national priority. The National Council of Homemaker Health Aide Service has a new priority of family stability. Juvenile justice programs have become a high priority for the Girls Clubs. The Boys’ Clubs are giving emphasis to alcohol programs.

The growing involvement, continuing participation and deepening commitment was difficult to document consistently because of the limited time and funds allotted for this evaluation, the inconsistent record keeping of the organizations, and the organizational nature of the nationals. However, the indicators we had point to substantial growth in capacity of many local organizations to serve status offenders and youth at risk.

How Non-Profit Agencies in Omaha and Lincoln Serve Status Offenders and Other Children at Risk

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JDPA) of 1974 was passed as a model for state judicial systems in handling juvenile cases, but it did not impose restrictions on state court systems. Many of the JDPA policy changes would require extensive revisions of the court system, such as the stipulation that status offenders must be treated through some method other than institutionalization with other juvenile offenders. The State of Nebraska has thus far elected not to comply with the JDPA model. Consequently status offenders can still be detained along with juvenile delinquent and adult offenders.

A 1975 study by the Creighton Institute for Business, Law and Social Research reported 703 status offenders confined in secure detention in 1974. This figure represented 93% of all status offenders sentenced during that year. Patterns varied by county, however. Forty-eight (48) counties reported no status offenders detained and 21 counties reported 10 or more status offenders detained.5


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Center for Applied Urban Research
University of Nebraska at Omaha
Box 689
Omaha, Nebraska 68101

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Local efforts to serve status offenders. There are 11 affiliates of national organization members of the juvenile justice collaboration project in Omaha: the Boys' Scouts, Boys' Clubs, Camp Fire Girls, Girl Scouts, Girls Clubs, Junior League, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Salvation Army, YMCA and the YWCA. In Lincoln there are 7: the Boys' Scouts, Girl Scouts, Junior League, Red Cross, Salvation Army, YMCA and YWCA.

To determine whether these local agencies have taken steps to serve status offenders and other youth at risk, a telephone survey was conducted in the Omaha and Lincoln areas.

Each organization was asked (1) Do you have any juvenile justice or status offender projects at the present time? and (2) Do you serve problem youth in any specific programs?

Overall, the survey showed that these local non-profit organizations are involved in varying degrees in programs and services to status offenders. They are beginning to recognize status offenders as a legitimate client group and are attempting to increase services to them.

Several organizations mentioned programs specifically related to this client group. For example, the Junior League of Omaha is currently working with Operation Bridge on a program called Volunteers in Diversion and Advocacy (VIDA), which offers an alternative to going to Juvenile Court. Referrals are taken from various sources (county attorney, police, schools, etc.). The staff then does an intake and diagnosis of the apparent problem. This stage was followed by a decision based on that assessment which could range from help in finding a job to helping in getting back into school. Follow-up is also an important aspect of this program. Since the program was started in 1976 it has served nearly 450 clients.

The Boys' Clubs reported having a Youth Employment Skills and Services program which is designed to be a total youth development program. Since January, 1978, nearly 190 children have been in the program, approximately 40% of whom were referred by the police. The program is primarily funded by LEAA. The Omaha Boys' Club is one of 9 field testing sites throughout the United States which received LEAA grants to develop delinquency prevention programs. The program is quite involved, encompassing many aspects of service. Overall, it is designed to improve the self-esteem of these youths, both male and female, by involving them with other people who have genuine needs of their own. Referrals are from many sources. Upon being referred each individual makes the choice whether or not to be involved in the program. Further decision-making opportunities are available in terms of determining for themselves what segments of the program they want to work in. For example, they may enter a training program to help younger children, the elderly or the handicapped, as preparation for Parenthood or a Youth Effectiveness Program.

The Girls Club of Omaha reported receiving a Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Grant from LEAA this year. It was used to open a new site, the Omaha Girl's Club, in February, 1978. It is a 2 year pilot program after which time other sources of funding must be found.

In summary, the Omaha Girls Club offers a Career Awareness Program which encompasses status offenders and children at risk along with other youth. The program was started in 1976 with local LEAA funds. Involvement of 70% of the clients was status offenders or had had contact with the courts. Presently, it is funded by the Department of Labor. Now about 20% of those going through the program are status offenders. The main focus of the program is girls aged 16 to 19 whose backgrounds suggest potential problems. Through the program they learn employment skills and socialization techniques. Their career interests are explored and they are placed according to their career interests. The importance of a job for a future and for long-term employment becomes more important.

Some groups such as the Girl Scouts of Omaha reported efforts to locate programs in the inner city. Their extension program is designed with the idea of helping those youth with potential for problems although they do not label the youths as such. They also reported serving those youth referred to them by the juvenile court in their camping programs. Again, they do not label these youth status offenders and so have no statistics on numbers served.

The National Council of Jewish Women has established a high priority on developing services for status offenders. They have recently launched a campaign to establish the needs in this area and their programs are in early developmental stages.

The Omaha YMCA reported several outreach programs designed for youths with potential problems. Some of their clients are also referred by the Juvenile Court. Some of their projects include an Independent Living-In Program which teaches coping and independent living skills. The Free Drop-In Program provides recreational activities for young people aged 7 to 14. This program offers youths referred by the courts the opportunity to earn membership to the YMCA. Health education and counseling programs also provide services to children at risk.

The Boys’ Scouts of Omaha and Lincoln both have court referred clients. They do not conduct programs specifically for this client group because such youth are incorporated into their regular programming so as not to single them out or label them. Boy Scout troop leaders, however, receive special training to work with problem youth in a program called Woodbadge. Personal Growth Agreement Conferences are utilized on the unit levels as a means to help the youths.

The Salvation Army also reported that they have no programs designed specifically for status offenders as distinguished from other youth.

The Red Cross and the YWCA in the Lincoln area are both involved in serving status offenders. The Red Cross reported working with a Juvenile Court tutoring program for junior high age youths. The YWCA has received referrals from the Juvenile Court. These youths are then served through Y-Groups or youth groups with other youth in the regular program.

Summary

Organizational changes, especially in local areas, is a slow process and cannot be expected to show immediate results. The growth of youth-serving agencies in this 5 project sites are becoming more aware of status offenders and the need to serve them in the community rather than in detention centers. They have initiated training for dealing with status offenders, and they are beginning to sensitize their boards of directors and their members to the special problems of children in conflict with the law because of their status as minors.

Organizations which have had unrecognized children at risk in their programs in the past are more aware and better able to work with them. For some, this awareness will be translated into more and better direct services for children at risk. Only another measure at a future time will determine the long-term impact on the organizations.

The national organizations have been collaborating for a longer period. Some of them have been involved with status offenders since the early 1970's. The high quality of their programs and program materials indicate this continuing commitment. Some of the national organizations have become more involved in the area of status offenders as a result of the juvenile justice collaboration. Others have refined their programs or added new emphasis as a direct result of their participation in the collaboration project.

Non-profit youth serving organizations in Omaha and Lincoln have not had the benefit of an LEAA collaborative project. Opportunities and services for Nebraska youths have not been committed to treating status offenders differently from juveniles convicted of other crimes. Despite these shortages, a majority of the local affiliates of the national organizations involved in the collaboration project have offered many services to children at risk of conflict with the law as well as to the children they have traditionally served.