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"With all the innovations and improvements (that may be made), an institution still remains, of course, an institution -- isolated from the community where its inmates must eventually make their way."

President's Commission on Law Enforcement
and Administration of Justice

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Juvenile Court Act of California provides that the primary emphasis of the Juvenile court should be on working with the minor in his own home: "to preserve and strengthen his family ties wherever possible, and to remove him from the custody of his parents only when his welfare or safety and protection of the public cannot be adequately safeguarded without such removal". Whenever the minor is removed from his own family, the court has the responsibility to secure for him custody, care and discipline as nearly as possible equivalent to that which should have been given by his parents.¹

The Act also provides enabling authority for juvenile institutions to be established to meet the needs of youth, declared wards of the juvenile court under the provisions of Section 601 or 602 of the Juvenile Court Act, who need placement outside of their own home.²

Viewed from the above perspective, California's juvenile institutions function as a "back-up" service to the first line efforts of the juvenile court. In this respect, the institutions are organized at two levels. The first level consists of a series of camps, ranches, schools and treatment facilities established by 23 of California's 58 counties so that juvenile court wards who require commitment might be placed in facilities in or near their county of residence. The second level consists of a series of institutions established under the jurisdiction of the California Youth Authority to serve as a further "back-up" system for those youths whose needs cannot be met at the local or county level.

The focus of study for the Juvenile Institutions Task Force was upon these two institutional systems: the loosely knit and generally uncoordinated institutional facilities operated by the counties of California, and the series of reception centers, boys schools, girls schools and camps maintained by the California Youth Authority.

I. STUDY OBJECTIVES

The study objectives for the Juvenile Institutions Task Force, based on those of the entire project, were as follows:

1. To develop a profile of the current use, resources, programs and functioning of California's juvenile institutions, i.e. to describe what they "look like" today.

2. To pinpoint the most important issues that prevail in these institutions.
3. To develop a model of how juvenile institutions should function.
4. To make recommendations that will help resolve these crucial issues and bring juvenile institutions closer to the "model".

II. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The Juvenile Institutions Task Force carried out its study at two levels.

The County Level

This included juvenile homes, ranches and camps established under the provisions of Article 15, Sections 880 and 881 of the Juvenile Court Act; those 24 hour schools established under Article 18, Section 940; and those juvenile halls established under Article 14, Section 850, where the program had been modified to incorporate a short-term treatment or crisis intervention concept.

In accordance with the overall study design, efforts were concentrated in the 15 counties selected for the study's sample. After a review of the institutional services provided by these 15 counties, it was found that five (Humboldt, Sutter, Tehama, San Joaquin and Imperial) do not operate juvenile institutions aside from a juvenile hall. In these counties, the juvenile court either utilizes placement in private institutions or places juvenile court wards in facilities operated by another county on a contractual arrangement. With the exception of Los Angeles County, the study encompassed all of the institutions operated by the remaining ten counties. Because of the large number of facilities in Los Angeles County, a representative subsample of three boys' camps and one girls' school was utilized. Using this format, institutions studied at the county level included 14 boys' ranches, 4 girls' schools, and 3 short-term treatment units located in 10 counties.

The State Level

All operating facilities of the California Youth Authority were studied. This included three reception centers, six boys' schools, two girls' schools, and four youth conservation camps.

Limitations

In view of time and financial constraints, the study did not include the pre-court intake process, the juvenile halls, or detention practices. However, these were the subject of an extensive study in 1968 by the National

Council on Crime and Delinquency.³ In addition, time and resources were not available to include study of the network of private institutions utilized by juvenile courts for placement purposes. Further, the study did not include the Department of Corrections institutions being used by the Youth Authority for approximately 500 Youth Authority wards, nor did it include the Department of Corrections Reception Center located at the Deuel Vocational Institution that serves as the point of reception and diagnosis for all superior court male Youth Authority commitments. However, these Department of Corrections facilities were included in the study carried out by the Prison Task Force.

Study Population

The study population included all of the institutions administered by the Youth Authority, encompassing a total of approximately 5,500 wards and approximately 2,500 staff members. At the county level, it included 21 county operated institutions encompassing a total of approximately 1,200 wards and approximately 450 staff members.

III. METHODOLOGY

The Juvenile Institutions Task Force conducted its study in four overlapping phases: review of the literature; institutional survey (facilities, programs, wards, staff); model-building interviews and panels; and data assessment. Additional information on study methodology may be found in the Systems Task Force Report.

Phase I. Review of the Literature

In this phase, an attempt was made to review all significant research and reports available on California's juvenile institutions, the most recent national publications dealing with training schools, and all publications of agencies having relevant standard-setting functions. This review afforded a comprehensive look at what was known and written about California's juvenile institutions and about correctional standards for youth facilities. However, time constraints limited the review of the broader literature to only a few of the most important and most recent documents.

Phase II. Institutional Survey

In Phase I it became clear very early in the study that California corrections, including its juvenile facilities, has been the subject of a great deal of study. There were a number of recent inquiries into operations of Youth Authority institutions; the educational and vocational programs had received recent evaluation; Youth Authority research had been active in a number of specialized programs; recent inspection reports were available on all county camps, ranches and schools; and there was recent information

regarding recidivism rates available through the Bureau of Criminal Statistics and the Youth Authority. Hence, the following three principles were formulated to serve as guide-lines for Phase II.

1. To avoid duplication, maximum use would be made of existing research, inspection reports, and special task force reports.
2. The institutional survey would be carried out as expeditiously and efficiently as possible, both to conserve project staff time as well as to conserve time and effort on the part of institutional staff and wards concerned.
3. Interviews would be conducted with institutional and other staff aimed specifically at clarifying key issues and gaining commitment to project goals on the part of key administrative staff.

Following these guide-lines, detailed questionnaires were constructed for both staff and clients with the aim of filling the gaps in the existing literature.

Staff Questionnaires. A questionnaire was used to survey institutional staff as a means of gaining their evaluation of the functioning of their respective institutions, their impressions regarding the clients served, and their reactions to a series of issues currently facing California institutions. The same questionnaire was used for staff at all levels in the county and State institutions.

This questionnaire was given to approximately 450 county correctional employees, representing all employees in county camps, ranches, girls' schools and treatment units in the study counties (except Los Angeles, in which instance a sub-sample of four institutional programs was used). Because of their very large numbers, it was necessary to select samples of Youth Authority institutional workers; thus, questionnaires were administered to a random sample of approximately 1,250 State employees representing roughly 50% of all Youth Authority employees in reception centers, schools and camps. Sixty-nine percent of all staff (76% of county workers and 66% of Youth Authority staff) completed and returned their questionnaires.

Client Questionnaires. A questionnaire was also constructed to obtain the views of juveniles presently confined in institutions. Task Force staff were particularly concerned with obtaining the client's expectations regarding their institutional experience, comments on what the commitment experience consisted of or meant, and their recommendations regarding change and improvement in the system.

The questionnaire was administered to clients either individually or in groups, with at least one Task Force member being available to answer questions and to help clients who had difficulty in reading, writing, etc. Despite rather rigid time constraints, project staff were able to administer the questionnaire to approximately 1,400 youths in 14 of the 21 county institutions and in 8 of the 15 Youth Authority institutions.

Phase III. Model-Building Interviews and Panels

In this phase of the project, Task Force staff met with top administrators, middle management staff, and key line staff at both the State and county levels to gain their input regarding concerns and recommendations for juvenile correctional systems of the future. At this point, the scope of the study for the county level was broadened to include all counties in the San Francisco Bay Area as well as all counties in the Los Angeles Basin. This expansion was undertaken because the San Francisco Bay Area and the Los Angeles Basin Area not only constitute the two major population centers in the State but their future growth is anticipated to far exceed other areas of the State. Further, there are coordinating governmental associations in both areas, indicating that at some levels, at least, they consider themselves to be definable regions. This approach also permitted project staff to talk with a broader spectrum of correctional leaders and to gather information on programs not contained in the 15 county study sample.

The interviewing was done principally in panels. In each instance, participants were asked to focus on changes they would like to see made in the Juvenile Justice System and to project their ideas on what the role and function of the juvenile institutions would be within that system.

Phase IV. Data Assessment

Both staff and client questionnaires were key-punched and results were computerized. The model-building interviews were tape recorded. These recordings were subsequently reviewed and tabulated to select key issues and recommendations by personnel from the field.

Summary

The input for the findings and recommendations of the Juvenile Institutions Task Force came from a review of the literature; interviews with key administrators and other practitioners; computerized results of questionnaires given to all levels of staff; client interviews and questionnaires; and "model-building" sessions with statewide correctional experts.

FOOTNOTES

¹Department of Youth Authority, California Laws Relating to Youthful Offenders, State of California (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1969), p. 5.

²Ibid., pp. 48, 58.

³National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Locking Them Up: A Study of Initial Juvenile Detention Decisions in Selected California Counties (New York: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1968).

CHAPTER II

AN OVERVIEW OF JUVENILE INSTITUTIONS IN CALIFORNIA

The objective of this chapter is to describe the historical evolution of both the county and State networks of juvenile institutions. It mentions important legislation that has undergirded their development and describes some of the important features of the two systems, including the characteristics of youth who are placed in them. The chapter concludes by identifying trends that are suggested by the data, especially that of the growing State-county partnership in the realm of juvenile institutions and facilities.

I. THE COUNTY SYSTEM

Historically

Although there were a handful of historical precedents, the growth of county correctional facilities for youths has been a phenomenon of the last 35 years. The San Francisco Industrial School, the first juvenile correctional institution in California, opened its doors to local delinquents on May 3, 1859.¹ Aside from the "Training Ship, Jamestown", which rehabilitated youths on the high seas in the 1870's, juvenile facilities were almost non-existent until the early 1930's.² In order to cope with the increasing numbers of transient youth during the depression, some of whom inevitably ran afoul of the law, Los Angeles experimented with forestry camps under the joint supervision of probation officers and county forestry employees.³ This program worked so well that the State enacted legislation in 1935 formally authorizing the establishment of forestry camps based on the Los Angeles model.

While the number of local camps grew only slightly over the next decade, it was not until the Legislature authorized subsidies in 1945, and particularly in 1957, that counties accelerated the building and use of a variety of juvenile correctional facilities. In 1945, under a section entitled "Juvenile Homes", the State broadened its earlier legislation to include juvenile homes, ranches and camps, as well as forestry camps. It authorized a specific maintenance and operation subsidy to encourage the development of local institutions and, concurrently, charged the Youth Authority (created in 1941) with responsibility for prescribing minimum standards of construction and operation. The size of each camp was limited to 100 children.

The 1957 legislation established an even stronger partnership between the State and counties. The State committed itself to providing matching funds, not only for maintenance, but also for the construction of any juvenile homes or camps that met minimum standards set by the Youth Authority. A limit on the State's share of expenses was set at \$3,000 per bed for construction costs and \$95 per month per ward for maintenance. These amounts have not been revised since 1957.

Article 15 of the Welfare and Institutions Code, which describes this program, underscores the purpose of local county institutions:

"In order to provide appropriate facilities for the housing of wards of the juvenile court in the counties of their residence or in adjacent counties so that such wards may be kept under direct supervision of said court, and in order to more advantageously apply the salutary effect of home and family environment upon them....."

The Welfare and Institutions Code also makes clear that these facilities are not to be used for dependent or neglected youth.

Table I summarizes the growth of county juvenile facilities since 1932. It not only shows the number and capacity of all such facilities in the State, but it also indicates their average daily attendance over the past fifteen years. The data reveal that the number of facilities has more than doubled in the last decade and that the total capacity has increased markedly as well. At the same time, however, the average size or capacity of each facility has begun to show a significant decline. For example, between 1968 and 1969 there was a 15% decrease in the average capacity of county juvenile correctional facilities. The recent trend is due to development of day care centers and small, short-term treatment units. This trend is also reflected in the percent of available beds actually used. The percentage has been steadily dropping from 92% in 1960 to 73% in 1969-71, apparently the lowest rate of occupancy in the modern history of local juvenile facilities throughout the counties of California.

Today

In the existing network of local juvenile institutions, 19 of the 58 counties are now operating their own facilities. In addition, 5 counties (Colusa-Yolo-Solano and Santa Barbara-Ventura) have entered into cooperative agreements by establishing joint facilities. As of February, 1971, there was a total of 68 county juvenile facilities in California. All of these are being subsidized by the State as a result of the legislation passed in 1945. These institutions include 47 facilities for boys (mainly camps and ranches), 18 for girls (primarily short-term treatment units and day centers), and 3 coed facilities.⁴

Geographically, 17 of the 68 facilities are located in the San Francisco Bay area (San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Alameda and Contra Costa Counties); 42 are located in the Los Angeles Basin (San Diego, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, Ventura, Santa Barbara and Los Angeles Counties); and the remaining 9 facilities are scattered throughout the Central Valley and Northern California. Thirty-five of California's counties have no correctional facilities for adjudicated delinquents, forcing them to use their juvenile halls, to contract with another county, or to commit them to the Youth Authority when confinement is necessary.

While detailed analytic data do not exist for county juvenile facilities, the California Youth Authority and the Bureau of Criminal Statistics have been gathering descriptive statistics that can provide a general view

TABLE I

GROWTH OF COUNTY CAMPS¹

Year ²	Number of Facilities	Capacity	Average Daily Attendance	Percent Full
1932	2	130	----	----
1945	11	690	----	----
1955-56	16	975	851	87
1960-61	31	2000	1845	92
1962-63	41	2800	2316	82
1964-65	42	2894	2695	93
1966-67	50	3082	2639	86
1968-69	54	3476	3056	88
1969-70	68	3677	2698	73
February 1971	68 ³	3737	2721	73

¹This information was compiled from various Youth Authority reports.

²From 1955, the statistics are based on fiscal years, except the last entry which is for the month of February, 1971.

³There were several new facilities from 7-70 to 2-71 but an equal number were consolidated or closed.

of these institutions. The first thing to note about county juvenile facilities is that they receive a significant proportion of adjudicated delinquents. Of youths appearing in California Juvenile Courts in 1969, 6,826 (12%) were committed to local camps, ranches, or schools for the first time.⁵ An additional 1,728 youths were recommitted during that same year. As of December 31, 1969, there was an average of 54 delinquents housed in each county juvenile facility.⁶

Appendix A lists all county juvenile facilities as of March, 1971, their average monthly cost per minor, bed capacities, and average length of stay. It should be noted that some of these figures, especially the average cost, will have changed since the last inspection report on which they are based.

Financially, the average monthly cost of these institutions per youth ranges from \$199 for a day care center operating out of a local high school to over \$1,300 for an intensive treatment facility for "high-risk" girls.⁷ For all institutions combined, the average cost per youth is \$547. The cost tends to be considerably lower for day care programs and much higher for a number of girls' and coeducational facilities.

Facility sizes vary from small group homes for 6 or 8 youths to the 100 bed camps allowed by law.⁸

The average length of stay for youth in these facilities is 5.6 months. Several short-term treatment centers keep youths an average of barely more than a month, while some day care programs retain their charges for up to 14 months.⁹ Perhaps the most notable trend is that the average period of commitment, even for regular camps and ranches, has declined considerably from the 7 month average reported consistently by the Bureau of Criminal Statistics between 1960 and 1967.¹⁰

Table I presents some characteristics of the youths who were sent to local juvenile institutions in 1969. The most significant factors are that 89% were boys; almost all of whom (92%) were between 14 and 17 years of age. Significantly higher proportions of minorities were committed than existed in the State's total population. By far the most common reason for committing these youths to local facilities was "delinquent tendencies" (30%). With the exception of sex and race, there is a sharp contrast between youths referred to local county institutions and those referred to the California Youth Authority. The latter group will be discussed in the next section.

II. THE STATE SYSTEM

Historically

As it is known today, the State juvenile correctional system was established with passage of the Youth Authority Act of 1941. Prior to 1941 there were three State institutions for youthful offenders. These were the Whittier State School for younger boys, Preston School of Industry for

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF JUVENILES COMMITTED TO CYA
AND COUNTY CAMPS, RANCHES, HOMES AND SCHOOLS, 1969
(New Admissions only)

CHARACTERISTICS	COUNTY WARDS		CYA WARDS	
	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
Total commitments	6,826	100	4,494	100
Boys	6,078	89	3,860	86
Girls	748	11	634	14
Age				
12 and under	63	1	62	1
13	400	6	80	2
14	1,088	16	277	6
15	1,691	25	588	13
16	2,068	30	723	16
17	1,435	21	836	19
18 and over	81	1	1,928	43
Race				
White	3,698	54	2,409	54
Mexican-American	1,334	20	750	17
Negro	1,649	24	1,253	28
Other	145	2	82	2
Reason for commitment				
Homicide	14	0	69	2
Robbery	246	4	457	10
Assault	302	4	334	7
Burglary	1,019	15	589	13
Auto theft	752	11	389	9
Theft (except auto)	566	8	285	6
Sex offenses	39	1	124	3
Drug offenses	1,156	17	844	19
County camp failure or escape	---	--	451	10
All other specific offenses	718	11	418	9
Delinquent tendencies	2,014	30	524	12

Source: Bureau of Criminal Statistics, Crime and Delinquency in California: 1969, p. 179; Bureau of Criminal Statistics, Juvenile Probation and Detention: 1969, p. 72; Department of Youth Authority, Annual Statistical Report: 1969, pp. 12-15.

older boys, and Ventura School for Girls. These institutions, along with facilities for the mentally ill, were administered by the Department of Institutions. Each of the three institutions operated independently, and each provided statewide aftercare services for its own graduates. Two dubious "suicides" in the "disciplinary" rooms of one of the facilities aroused public attention to the primitive condition of the three institutions and resulted in a legislative investigation.

By coincidence, during this same period, the American Law Institute had drafted a model "Youth Correction Act" in response to the similarly publicized plight of young offenders in New York City. The Institute sent a special advisor, John Ellingston, to encourage the State's authorities to adopt the model Act. Although the "Youth Correction Act" was actually directed at the young adult population (roughly 16-23 years), it was modified to fit California's needs. The legislative result of Ellingston's efforts was the creation of the California Youth Authority which would have the responsibility of supervising all youths committed to the State by the courts. In this regard, Ellingston was quoted as saying: "...the decision to extend the Youth Authority plan to include all committed juveniles was not made by the American Law Institute...it was made by the stubborn and irreducible fact of the failure of existing industrial schools to provide delinquent children effective individual treatment...."¹¹

The purpose of the Youth Authority Act was clearly stated:

"to protect society more effectively by substituting for retributive punishment methods of training and treatment directed toward the correction and rehabilitation of young persons found guilty of public offenses."¹²

Passage of the Act resulted in the creation of the Youth Authority Board and the Department of the Youth Authority. The Youth Authority Board was given decision-making powers of accepting, transferring, releasing, and recommitting youths into and between the State's institutions. The Department of the Youth Authority was assigned all other designated "powers, duties, and functions" not specifically given to the Board. The Department of the Youth Authority also received very broad authority to carry out the stated purpose of the Act. This included the authority to build reception-diagnostic centers or other types of institution, to provide aftercare services, to engage in delinquency prevention, and to coordinate local juvenile correctional activities. In order to coordinate the functioning of these two bodies, a 1945 revision of the Act stipulated that the Director of the Youth Authority would also serve as Chairman of the Board.

A unique characteristic of the Act was its authorization for accepting jurisdiction not only of juvenile court commitments, but also of criminal court commitments (from both Superior and Municipal Courts) provided the youth was under 21 years at the time of arrest.

Shortly after its formation, the Youth Authority was caught up in the aftermath of California's post-war population explosion. In the first 12 years of its existence, the California Youth Authority's institutional population doubled from 1300 to 2526. During the next 12 years, however, the number of youths confined skyrocketed, increasing over 270% to an average daily population of 6893 in 1965.¹³ This period was characterized by a forced expansion and multiplication of institutions to keep abreast of the growing tide of juvenile commitments.

Today

The Department of the Youth Authority presently consists of a sizeable network of 3 reception centers, 6 institutions for boys, 2 girls' schools, a large vocational training school for boys, and 4 youth conservation camps. In addition, CYA has 2 new facilities for older boys that have been completed but never staffed because of the declining institutional population over the past several years. Traditionally, the Youth Authority placed many of its older boys in various institutions operated by the California Department of Corrections (CDC). However, the Youth Authority is now committed to the idea of retaining as many of these youths as possible in its own institutions. But despite this commitment, it has been necessary to continue using CDC facilities. As of this writing one CDC facility is used as a reception center and permanent institution for several hundred older boys, and at least three other CDC facilities are used for small numbers of youth requiring specialized care. Finally, CYA also uses local jails and Department of Mental Hygiene institutions for a small percentage of its institutionalized youth.

A very clear and significant trend has been the reduction in commitments to the Youth Authority (as well as to the Department of Corrections) in the past few years. After a spiraling increase between 1941 and 1965, the institutional population has dropped steadily, particularly in the last two years, from a high of nearly 7,000 in 1965 to an existing level of approximately 5,500.¹⁴ This decrease is occurring despite statewide increases in juvenile arrests, referrals to probation, number of petitions filed, and number of juvenile wardships declared.¹⁵ Apparently the declining State institutional population is due to the increase of local facilities, the impact of the probation subsidy program and other factors as well.

Compared with local juvenile institutional placements, very few delinquents are referred to the Youth Authority. Only 417 or .7% of all those appearing in juvenile court in 1969 were sent to the Youth Authority on initial commitments.¹⁶ Exactly the same percentage of municipal court offenders referred to local probation departments in 1969 were committed to the Youth Authority.¹⁷ However, 4.3% of those convicted in superior court were so committed.¹⁸ Of all Youth Authority wards in State institutions on December 31, 1970, 59% (57% of the boys and 84% of the girls) were committed by juvenile courts, indicating a rather high proportion (particularly for boys) committed from the criminal courts.¹⁹

The high cost of institutional care for delinquents is clearly seen in CYA expenditures. For fiscal 1970-71, \$36,400,000 or 71% of the Youth Authority's

total "support budget" (i.e. for the Department itself) was spent on its institutions.²⁰ During the same fiscal year, the per capita cost per institution ranged from \$4,648 for the conservation camps to over \$9,000 for Los Guilucos School for Girls.²¹

Because CYA wards tend to be more sophisticated and have committed more serious delinquencies than youth referred to local county facilities, it is not surprising to find that their average lengths of time confined also differ. In 1970, the average length of time spent by CYA wards in State institutions was almost twice as long (9.2 months) as the average stay for youth in local facilities (5.6 months).²² Boys in Youth Authority institutions averaged 10.5 months, while girls averaged 8.7 months.²³ Youth Authority male wards committed to CDC facilities averaged 15.1 months, while females spent 26.9 months before release.²⁴

Since the Youth Authority itself publishes detailed profiles of its wards in its Annual Statistical Report, there is no need to duplicate that description here. However, the reader is referred back to Table II which provides comparative data on a few selected characteristics for wards placed in both county and State institutions. Aside from the average length of stay, the most obvious difference is that Youth Authority wards are considerably older. This is due principally to the fact that they were committed to CYA from criminal as well as juvenile courts. Only 1% of the wards sent to county camps, ranches, and schools are 18 years or older, while 43% of all Youth Authority wards are at least 18 at the time of their initial commitment. As might be expected, a significant portion of CYA wards (10%) were county camp failures or escapees. In addition, CYA wards are more than twice as likely, than wards in local facilities, to have committed crimes of violence --homicide, robbery, and assault. Finally, a surprising fact indicated in Table II is the unexpectedly high percentage of CYA wards who were committed for "delinquent tendencies". Fully 12% of this group was committed to State institutions in 1969 for exhibiting the myriad of traits and characteristics falling within this "omnibus" definition of delinquency.

III. SUMMARY

Both the State and county juvenile institution networks in California have expanded very rapidly during the past three decades. At present, they function as a two level "back-up" system for community-based correctional programs. Together the three components constitute "a juvenile correctional system widely acknowledged to be the most advanced in this nation".²⁵

It is clear that during the past few years the trend has been away from the expansive use of institutions for young offenders. It is also fairly evident that the State has spear-headed this trend principally by creating subsidy programs in several areas. First, it is abundantly clear that the State's offer of camp, ranch, and school subsidies has led to greatly increased use of local correctional facilities for young offenders. Second, the probation subsidy program, introduced by the State in 1966, has resulted in a marked decline in the number of youths committed to State institutions. At

the same time, there has been an increase in the number and types of field services offered. Finally, the recent development of short-term and day care facilities, made possible by State subsidies, has resulted in the significantly lower use of available camp beds even at the county level. The treatment philosophy that has been spreading throughout the State, especially with respect to young offenders, is clearly to provide local correctional services and to keep programs as community-based as possible.

FOOTNOTES

¹Vaughn Roley, "A Century of County Camps", California Youth Authority Quarterly Vol. 17, No. 3, Fall, 1964, pp. 26-31.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Department of Youth Authority, "Average Length of Stay, Costs, and Bed Capacity of County Operated Juvenile Homes, Ranches, and Camps", State of California (Sacramento, March 1971), (Mimeographed.)

⁵Bureau of Criminal Statistics, Juvenile Probation and Detention: 1969, State of California (Sacramento, 1970), pp. 1 and 64.

⁶Ibid., p. 64.

⁷See Appencix A.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Bureau of Criminal Statistics, Crime and Delinquency in California: 1968, State of California (Sacramento, 1969), p. 168.

¹¹Youth and Adult Corrections Agency, The Paroling Boards of the Agency, State of California (Sacramento, 1962), (Mimeographed.), Appendix I.

¹²California Welfare and Institutions Code, Section 1700.

¹³Department of Youth Authority, Annual Statistical Report: 1969, State of California (Sacramento, 1970), p. 22.

¹⁴Department of Youth Authority, "Monthly Statistical Reports", State of California (Sacramento), (Mimeographed); the 1-71 average daily population was 5,513.

¹⁵Department of Youth Authority, Some Statistical Facts on the California Youth Authority, State of California (Sacramento, January 1970), pp. 3-9.

¹⁶Bureau of Criminal Statistics, Juvenile Probation and Detention: 1969, op. cit., p. 1.

¹⁷Bureau of Criminal Statistics, Adult Probation: 1969, State of California (Sacramento, 1970), p. 30.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁹Department of Youth Authority, Characteristics of California Youth Authority Wards: December 31, 1970, State of California (Sacramento, 1971), p. 1.

²⁰Department of Youth Authority, State of California, Budget Analysis, 1970-71.

²¹Ibid.

²²Department of Youth Authority, Cost Comparisons, State of California (Sacramento, March 1971).

²³Department of Youth Authority, Monthly Statistical Report: December, 1970, State of California (Sacramento, 1970).

²⁴Department of Youth Authority, Research Division, unpublished information as of this writing. The mean stay for girls would be 15.4 if 2 girls (1 who stayed about 4 years and the other 3 years) were not counted; this is true because there are so few CYA girls in CDC facilities.

²⁵Don C. Gibbons, Society, Crime, and Criminal Careers: An Introduction to Criminology (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 517.

CHAPTER III

JUVENILE INSTITUTIONS MODEL

As a framework for the remaining discussion of juvenile institutions, a condensed "model" is presented in this chapter. The "model" consists of a brief statement of what juvenile institutions should "look like" or how they should function. It includes the goals which they should strive to achieve, the principles upon which they should be founded, and the standards to which they should adhere.

I. GOALS

The primary goal of juvenile institutions, as well as that of all corrections, should be the protection of society, i.e. minimizing the probability of recidivism. Ultimately all correctional programs must be evaluated in terms of their effectiveness in reducing the recidivism of offenders. Their secondary goals, and strategies for attaining goals, should be generally the same as for the rest of corrections, but with specific emphasis based on the nature of institutions and the specific populations juvenile institutions serve. The secondary goals include incapacitation, deterrence, and, particularly, rehabilitation and reintegration. It is the position of the Juvenile Institution Task Force that rehabilitation and reintegration normally are compatible with the protection of society. That is, society is normally best protected by the effective rehabilitation and reintegration of a youth in society. The strategies of juvenile correctional facilities should include special emphasis on environmental modification and changes, peer group influence, family and community involvement, and individual casework.

Realistic Expectations

Historically society has used institutions as rugs under which it can sweep those people who cause problems. Despite the best efforts of staff, correctional institutions in California, as well as elsewhere, are involuntary, unnatural, punitive, dehumanizing "dumping-grounds". The deprivations, degradation, embitterment, and stigmatization they impart to their captives have been recurrently documented in the correctional literature¹ not to mention in the stories of those who have been confined in them. Yet society continues to play the role of the proverbial ostrich, closing its eyes to the inherently negative aspects of institutions and expecting these institutions to somehow transform inmates into outstanding citizens.

Realistically, the most that can be expected from juvenile (or any other) institutions, as they are known today, is that they not exacerbate the problem by contributing to and reinforcing the delinquent careers of the youths they serve. Indeed, it is to be hoped that institutions have a positive impact on their lives by making them better equipped to adjust to society upon release. Institutions are undesirable places to put people, especially young people.

They should be used only as a last resort and for as brief a time as possible. Every effort should be made to avoid dehumanization and to provide genuine positive learning experiences that will help inmates to succeed when released back to their former environment.

II. PRINCIPLES

The System Task Force Report outlines the basic principles that should govern the entire correctional system. The statements below represent an application of these generic principles or guide-lines specifically to juvenile institutions. It will be apparent that many of them are also applicable to other types of correctional institutions and to field services.

Responsibility

Local communities should construct and operate a range of juvenile institutions necessary for the temporary care and control of those delinquents who cannot be dealt with entirely in the community. The State has the overall enabling responsibility for the entire correctional system and should assist substantially in the construction and operation of these local institutions by subsidizing them and providing the services such as consultation, standard-setting and enforcing, training, research, etc., necessary for the effective operation of these facilities. The State should also provide necessary "back-up" facilities of a specialized nature which would handle youths who cannot be adequately managed or treated in local institutions.

Reintegration

By their very nature institutions have the most difficult task of reintegration. They must recognize their temporary role and make every effort, consistent with public protection, to assist the offender in making a successful return back to the community as quickly as possible. This is especially true in the case of young offenders. In a sense, they must never leave the community even though they have been placed in an institution. The community should permeate the functioning of the institution so that their successful return to it will be maximized. Assistance to youths must be particularly intensified at the point of transition back into the community.

Coordination

In order to avoid duplication and to develop a continuum of treatment, there must be close working relationships between that part of the correctional system which commits youths to an institution, the institution, and that part of the system which supervises them upon release. Of particular importance are the links between institutional and aftercare services.

Community-Based

In order to maximize the principle of reintegration stated above, institutions should be located as close to the community of their clientele as possible. The task of reintegration is considerably more difficult if institutions are forced to serve youths who have been referred to them from different parts of the State.

Visibility and Accountability

The operations of any youth facility must be open to public view, both to permit scrutiny and to engender public understanding and support. Research and evaluation must be an integral part of every institutional program. An institutional program, indeed the very institution itself, should "live or die", based on whether or not it satisfactorily achieves realistic expected results. Institutions must be accountable not only to the officials who operate them, but also to their clients and to the public.

Burden of Proof

All institutional decision-making, including commitment, type of program or discipline, and release, should place the burden of proof on the system, not the youth, to justify any further degree of physical restriction or extension of restriction.

Public Involvement

Juvenile institutions should recognize the public's concern for its youth, and in turn should channel that concern into support. Institutions should develop and implement an effective program of public education. They should involve the community in a variety of ways, from direct financial and volunteer assistance to an advisory capacity in policy formulation. Community support and public involvement are required if juvenile institutions are to successfully achieve their objectives.

Change-Orientation

Correctional institutions have a marked tendency to preserve their existence and current modes of operation. Institutions tend to rigidify and become highly resistant to change. Juvenile institutions must avoid this tendency by retaining flexibility and creativity. A process of continual evaluation must be incorporated into their overall program and they must be geared to change. Indeed, institutions must be prepared to "self-destruct" if they are consistently failing to produce expected results.

Differentiation and Range of Services

Treatment of youth should be individualized. This requires both a range of different types of institutions and sufficient specialization of program within each to meet the needs of all young offenders requiring commitment. If correctional institutions do not have the necessary services, they should be able to contract for them or place the youth elsewhere.

Financial Support

Juvenile institutions, like all of corrections, must have the financial means to carry out effective programs, contract for necessary services, and experiment with promising innovations.

III. STANDARDS

Based generally on the broad principles stated above, the following specific operational standards should be followed by all juvenile institutions. The principal source for these standards is the 1967 Task Force Report on Corrections by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.² These are the most recent national standards and before their promulgation they were reviewed by members of the American Correctional Association, the U.S. Children's Bureau, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, and the Governor's Conference Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. All statements appearing in quotations have been drawn from these national standards. (Other specific sources (principally the California Youth Authority's standards) are cited in footnotes.

Facilities

Type. Local correctional agencies should have a range of institutional programs and services available, including "diagnostic study centers, small residential treatment centers for seriously disturbed children, facilities for various age and coeducational groupings, foster homes, forestry camps, and other community-based facilities."

Size. The capacity of any juvenile facility, including State institutions, should not exceed 100 (which is the present California law for county facilities).³

"Living groups in a training school should consist of not more than 20 children. Forestry camp population should total no more than 40 to 50." More specifically, "standards generally call for the living unit to have a maximum capacity of 20 where groupings are homogeneous; the size for a heterogeneous group, or a group of severely disturbed children, should be from 12 to 16. Girls should have private rooms".

Planning. No new institutions or major additions to existing facilities should be authorized without first planning them around the specific type of program to be carried out in the institution. No new institutions or any major additions to existing facilities should be authorized unless the facilities are in locations conducive to the task of reintegrating their clientele into the community.

General. In general, the Standards for Juvenile Homes, Ranches, and Camps, published by the California Youth Authority in 1965,⁴ or subsequent revisions should be adhered to by county institutions. The same or similar standards should also apply to State juvenile facilities. State or local fire, health, and safety regulations should be followed.

Staff

Ratios. "A minimum of one full-time psychiatrist for each 150 children".

"A minimum of one full-time psychologist for each 150 children."

If the specialization stated in the above three standards is not possible, there should be a minimum of one "treatment" or "professional" person (psychiatrist, psychologist, or social caseworker) for every 21 children.

"One trained recreation person for each 50 children."

"A minimum of one supervisor for 8 or 10 cottage staff, or one supervisor for 2 or 3 living units."

"A minimum of one teacher to 15 youngsters with sixth-grade reading ability and above"; proportionally more teachers are needed for those with lesser reading ability.

"Major religious faiths represented in a training school population should be served by chaplains on the training school staff."

An overall minimum of one supervision staff (line worker) position for every 5 to 6 children.⁵

An overall ratio of substantially more than one employee for every 2 youths.

Qualifications. Cottage or line staff should have "ability to relate to children, emotional maturity, and flexibility in adapting to new situations". While there is no rigid standard for this position, "graduation from college would be the preferred qualification".

In addition to the above qualifications, caseworkers should "have graduated from an accredited school of social work" or another of the behavioral sciences.

Superintendents, in addition to all of the above qualifications, should have completed training in modern management techniques.

Training. "A structured program of on-the-job training is essential for every correctional agency. Its elements are: (a) an orientation period for new workers, geared especially to acquainting them with the rules, procedures, and policies of the agency; (b) a continual in-service program designed to meet the needs of all personnel, including administrators and supervisors, through the agency directly and by participation in seminars, workshops, and institutes; (c) educational-leave programs with provision for part and full-time salaried leave, with financial assistance for educational costs, to achieve preferred qualifications and to improve professional competence."

New employees should receive at least 40 hours training before being assigned to supervise children.⁶

All staff should receive at least one hour per week of in-service training.⁷

Working Conditions. The standards for working conditions prescribed by the President's Task Force and the Youth Authority⁸ should be adopted.

FOOTNOTES

¹See, for example: Donald Clemmer, The Prison Community (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1940), Chapter 12; Marshall Clinard, Sociology of Deviant Behavior (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957), Chapter 21; Edwin Sutherland and Donald Cressey, Principles of Criminology (Chicago: Lippincott Co., 1960), Chapters 23 and 24; Gresham Sykes, The Society of Captives (New York: Atheneum, 1965), esp. Chapter 4; Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1964), Part II.

²President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Corrections (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 141-149; 206; 211-212.

³California Welfare and Institutions Code, Section 886.

⁴Department of Youth Authority, Standards for Juvenile Homes, Ranches, and Camps, State of California (Sacramento, 1965).

⁵Ibid., p. 12.

⁶Ibid., p. 13.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., pp. 10-17.

CHAPTER IV

THE CURRENT SYSTEM: SURVEY FINDINGS

Now that a brief overview of State and local juvenile institutions has been sketched and a theoretical model developed, this chapter will examine the results of the Juvenile Institution Task Force study of the current system. Particular emphasis will be placed on data obtained from the staff and client questionnaires. The analysis will be divided into sections on: (1) Goals and Expectations, (2) Functions, (3) Resources, and (4) Research and Evaluation.

I. GOALS AND EXPECTATIONS

Chapter III expressed the view of the Juvenile Institution Task Force that the protection of society (i.e. minimizing the probability of recidivism) should be the primary goal of correctional institutions as well as of all corrections, that the secondary goal is rehabilitation-reintegration, and that tertiary goals are deterrence and incapacitation. Both staff and clients were asked what they perceived to be the purpose of the institutions in which they worked or lived.

Staff Views

All staff were asked two distinct questions about goals: (1) "What should be the most important goal of corrections" and (2) "What actually is the most important goal of your agency?"

Seventy-one percent of the Youth Authority employees and 87% of county institutional personnel thought "rehabilitation" should be the primary goal of corrections while 24% and 10%, respectively, believed that "protection of society" should be most important. Responses to the second question were almost identical to the above, except that secondary choices were more varied. Variation by institution was considerable: from 51% to 100% of total staff at different Youth Authority institutions and from 25% to 100% of staff in county facilities stated that "rehabilitation" was the most important goal of their agency. Staff members employed in girls' schools, at both State and county levels, were strongest in their selection of "rehabilitation" as both the ideal and actual primary goal.

The data clearly suggest that marked discrepancies exist between staff perceptions and definitions of correctional goals and the position taken by the Juvenile Institution Task Force. While few county institutional systems had any official statement of goals and philosophy, the Youth Authority Act unmistakably states as its purpose: "to protect society".¹ Yet, the overwhelming choice of "rehabilitation" as both the desired and actual goal of corrections is abundantly clear, particularly in girls' schools and many small county facilities. It would appear that there is considerable variation and/or confusion not only in how individual staff perceive their task, but also in how they define and distinguish the various goals of corrections.

Client Views

Wards were asked for their perception of why they were sent to an institution. The most common responses were as follows:

30% -- "To learn how to get along better on the outside"

26% -- "To keep me away from where I might get into trouble"

17% -- "Because they did not know what else to do with me"

1% -- "To receive trade training or schooling"

They were also asked "What do your family and friends back home think of this place?" Half of the wards replied "a place to punish", while a third said "a place that helps". These data suggest that a substantial proportion of wards and their families and friends view these facilities as custodial institutions that are punitively-oriented.

II. FUNCTIONS

The principal functions or tasks of juvenile institutions personnel that will be dealt with here are: (1) Intake, (2) Reception, Classification, Assignment, (3) Care, Custody, Control, (4) Program, and (5) Placement and Aftercare.

Intake

While intake into the overall correctional system is outside the formal scope of this study, it is necessary to briefly discuss the processes by which wards are committed in order to better understand the operation of juvenile institutions.

County process. At the county level, all commitments to juvenile facilities are made directly by the juvenile court. Any minor coming within the provisions of Section 601 (evidencing delinquent tendencies) or Section 602 (violation of specific criminal laws) of the Welfare and Institutions Code may be committed to a local facility. County institutions have no legal basis for refusing any case referred to them by the juvenile court, provided the total population does not exceed 100. However, it should be noted that the law does require that, when a ward is considered unfit, the "director shall make recommendation to the probation department for consideration for other commitment".²

State process. Commitment to the Youth Authority is, at least theoretically, more involved. First of all, the Legislature, in 1941, prohibited any commitment to the Youth Authority:

"until the Authority has certified in writing to the Governor that it has approved or established places of preliminary detention and places for examination and study of persons committed, and has other facilities and personnel sufficient for the proper discharge of its duties and functions."³

The Director so certified in 1942. While this was a one-time certification, there is an obvious credibility commitment that these conditions still pertain as long as youth are sent to the Youth Authority.

Secondly, within certain limitations, any court of record in the State of California may commit young offenders to the Youth Authority. The juvenile court may so commit anyone under its jurisdiction provided the youth has been declared a ward under Section 602, is at least 8 years old, and does not have an infectious disease. Any criminal court (municipal or superior) may commit anyone under 21 years at the time of arrest (with a few minor exceptions listed in Sections 1731.5 and 1732.7 of the California Welfare and Institutions Code).

Third, the Youth Authority is not legally bound to accept every case, i.e. it may reject any specific case. With respect to juvenile court commitments, Section 1736 of the California Welfare and Institutions Code simply states that the Authority: "may in its discretion accept such commitments" (emphasis added). Regarding criminal court commitments, Section 1731.5 of the California Welfare and Institutions Code indicates that the Authority "shall" accept any commitment, but only on two conditions: (1) "if it believes that the person can be materially benefitted by its reformatory and educational discipline" and (2) "if it has adequate facilities to provide such care."

Clientele. The single most important determinant as to the success or failure of a correctional system is its clientele. The degree to which a system can change the behavior of other persons is limited and depends greatly on the characteristics, motivation, and capacities of those individuals it is processing. Hence, it is essential to evaluate California's juvenile institutions in terms of the clientele with whom the system works.

Whatever other characteristics may apply to these youth, at least two things are evident in the case of those committed to county facilities. First, they have violated the law and, secondly, duly authorized decision-makers have felt that they could not be dealt with in the community. It can also be stated that when youths are committed to the State, the local communities felt they were not able to cope with them adequately, even by placing them in local institutions. The fact is that the great majority of these youths, particularly those sent to the Youth Authority, have extensive histories of delinquency, including a history of failure in normal probation supervision programs.

Chapter II capsulized some of the key demographic characteristics for State and county institutional populations in 1969. At the present time, there is little additional data available about county commitments as a total group. However, the Youth Authority publishes extensive "ward characteristic"

data each year. Tables III and IV portray some of the most significant trends in Youth Authority populations, for boys and girls separately, over the last 10 years. Both tables clearly reveal a decline in population since 1965. This trend is in large measure due to the probation subsidy program initiated in 1966. The tables also show that over the past decade, the median age of wards has increased significantly; the percent committed from the criminal courts has risen (over 350% for girls); the proportions of crimes against persons and drug offenses have skyrocketed; and the percentage of "third time losers" has more than doubled for boys and more than tripled for girls. These changes would strongly suggest that the Youth Authority's population is becoming a more "hard-core" group.

Unfortunately, the most important types of variables, such as attitudes and "acting-out" potential, that are more adequate measures of "hard-core" delinquents, are difficult to measure and not normally available. A subsequent section on "Care, Custody, and Control" will discuss the growing concern of staff over what they clearly perceive as more disturbed and difficult-to-manage youths being placed under their charge. Particularly at the State level (both in institutions and parole), staff are becoming increasingly anxious and concerned about the high density of the "worst" youth in the system that are coming to them from the counties. In addition to this, 94% of Youth Authority and 76% of county employees indicated, on the staff questionnaire, that they have no voice at all in the process by which wards are sent to them. In short, institutional intake is a process over which the institutions themselves have little or no control. Staff members assert that clients are simply delivered to them and they are expected to perform a variety of services for them, as well as for society. Fogel, somewhat satirically, describes this situation from the point of view of State agencies:

"All they are charged to do is to receive the failure cases of several dozen counties, concentrate the most volatile, hostile, antisocial, asocial, destructive, deviant group of youngsters in large complexes with ratios of one staff to from 30 to 50 (or more) wards, keep them against their wills, and with extremely limited budgets, poor community support, or downright hostility, treat them."⁴

In spite of the above concerns, significant numbers of staff seemed to agree that it was appropriate to send them the most difficult cases. Only 31% of State employees and 52% of county workers felt that all the youth they received needed institutionalization. Eighty-eight percent of Youth Authority and 68% of local staff stated that at least 10% of their clients "could be more appropriately handled in a community program", such as a half-way house or day care center. Only 8% of Youth Authority workers and 18% of county personnel thought that all the youth sent to their institutions were "appropriately placed" in the sense that the resources of their institutions were consistent with the needs of the youth they received.

TABLE III

CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUTH AUTHORITY BOYS IN INSTITUTIONS
JUNE 30 EACH YEAR, 1961 - 1970
(Showing percent of totals*)

BOYS IN INSTITUTIONS	JUNE 30									
	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Total Population	4,340	4,578	4,943	5,117	5,353	4,827	4,894	4,922	4,748	4,541
Court										
Juvenile	62	64	65	67	70	70	69	64	63	59
Criminal	38	36	35	33	30	30	31	36	37	41
Commitment Offense										
Against persons	17	19	21	21	22	23	21	24	26	26
Against property	50	50	48	46	45	43	42	38	36	33
Drugs	5	4	4	5	5	6	9	12	13	15
Other offenses	27	27	27	28	29	29	29	27	25	26
Admission Status										
1st Commitment	66	61	58	55	56	55	53	54	54	58
1st Return	21	25	25	27	26	26	27	26	25	22
2nd Return	9	10	10	12	12	12	13	14	13	12
3rd or more	4	5	5	6	6	7	8	7	9	8
Ethnic Group										
White	56	55	54	52	50	50	50	51	50	48
Mexican-American	20	21	19	20	21	20	19	18	20	19
Negro	23	24	26	27	28	29	29	29	28	32
Other	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Median age in years	18.1	18.0	17.9	17.9	17.9	17.8	17.8	18.2	18.4	18.6

Source: Department of Youth Authority, A Comparison of Youth Authority Wards: 1961-70, State of California (Sacramento, September 1970), p. 6.

*Except "Total Population" and "Median age".

TABLE IV

CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUTH AUTHORITY GIRLS IN INSTITUTIONS
JUNE 30 EACH YEAR, 1961 - 1970
(Showing percent of totals*)

GIRLS IN INSTITUTIONS	JUNE 30									
	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Total Population	453	503	636	587	665	657	588	562	619	527
Court										
Juvenile	96	95	95	93	93	94	93	90	89	84
Criminal	4	5	6	7	7	6	7	10	11	16
Commitment Offense										
Against persons	5	5	9	8	8	11	14	16	14	16
Against property	14	15	16	17	18	16	12	13	12	13
Drugs	3	4	6	6	5	4	6	6	12	12
Other offenses	79	76	69	69	70	69	68	65	62	59
Admission Status										
1st Commitment	73	70	69	66	67	62	58	56	57	62
1st Return	23	25	23	24	26	27	31	30	28	22
2nd Return	3	4	6	8	5	9	8	11	12	12
3rd or more	1	1	2	2	3	2	2	4	3	4
Ethnic Group										
White	59	53	55	54	53	53	53	51	56	57
Mexican-American	16	16	14	14	15	14	15	16	12	11
Negro	23	27	28	29	29	31	30	31	28	29
Other	3	4	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	3
Median age in years	16.2	16.3	16.4	16.5	16.6	16.5	16.6	16.9	17.0	17.3

Source: Department of Youth Authority, A Comparison of Youth Authority Wards: 1961-70, State of California (Sacramento, September 1970), p. 7.

*Except "Total Population" and "Median age".

Reception, Classification, Assignment

To assure adherence to the principles of coordination between the parts of the correctional system, providing a continuum of treatment, and appropriate differentiation in the treatment of youth (described in Chapter II), an effective classification system is essential. Within an institutional framework, the classification process is the pivotal link between what has occurred before confinement and what will occur in the institution. In brief, its task is to evaluate a client's current needs and plan a correctional strategy.

At the county level, where maximum correctional services should be available, classification on any sophisticated level is almost non-existent, particularly in the smaller counties. This is evidenced by the fact that the counties often request the State to furnish diagnostic services for both juveniles and adults (per Sections 704 W & I and 1203.03 P.C.).

The Youth Authority, on the other hand, has special reception centers which perform classification functions for all committed wards. It operates three separate reception centers or units. The Northern Reception Center receives both boys and girls. The Southern Reception Center is for boys only, and there is a reception center for girls at the Ventura School. In addition, some of the wards committed by the criminal courts are referred to the reception center at the Deuel Vocational Institution operated by the Department of Corrections. The three Youth Authority reception centers evaluate each ward for an average of 4 weeks.⁵ The evaluation process is somewhat longer at the Deuel Vocational Institution. Reception centers make recommendations as to the type of program in which the youth should be placed.

Responses from the staff questionnaire, interviews, and relevant literature suggest three problem areas related to how youth are received, classified, and assigned within their particular institution. These are time delays, quality of information, and use of classification materials.

Time delays. Only 35% of Youth Authority staff and 74% of county staff reported that they receive both advance notification and relevant case history material prior to the delivery of a youth at their institution. Individual county facilities varied from 33% to 100% in affirmative responses to this question. Curiously, 61% of Youth Authority reception center staff reported that they receive prior notification and case material from the committing counties while a far lower percentage of staff from other Youth Authority institutions (particularly the large facilities for boys) received this information from their own reception centers. This suggests that there is closer coordination between individual counties and Youth Authority reception centers, than that which exists between YA reception centers and its institutions. In instances where case material is not delivered with the youth, questionnaire results showed that it normally took 2 to 7 additional days before the information was received.

State reception center personnel indicated that they have the most difficulty in obtaining school data on their wards. In most cases, information regarding the youth's school adjustment in the local school district (or even county institutions) is not received in time to be of any assistance. Frequently this necessitates duplication of testing procedures.

Quality of information. Only 25% of Youth Authority reception center staff and 30% of county staff reported that they ever receive a classification of the youths committed to them. Amazingly, from 14% to 53% of the staff at various Youth Authority institutions said they either did not receive classification information on wards sent to them, or did not know that classification information was even available. This finding takes on added significance when it is remembered that all Youth Authority wards are routinely classified at the reception centers.

Reception center workers feel that many of the reports they receive from the counties are prepared with commitment in mind and, therefore, do not provide the comprehensive information needed by the reception center. The phenomenon of selective reporting has long been documented. The Governor's Special Study Committee on Juvenile Justice in 1960 reported:

"Present court reports appear to be prepared with the thought of supporting a given disposition recommendation. Thus, if the probation officer feels the child should be removed from his home, the social report often contains selected information, incidents, and hearsay which would allow the juvenile court judge to support this recommendation. Similarly, when a dismissal of the petition is recommended, social evaluations are equally selective. Since cases are not thoroughly aired in court - the average hearing takes less than 15 minutes - there is little opportunity for the judge to personally verify the facts or to obtain other information which might logically suggest a different but more appropriate disposition."⁵

Similarly, in analyzing the court reports of a series of cases under commitment to the Youth Authority, Fogel concluded that there was a relationship between a "report's complexity and the disposition of the case".⁷ He found that 62% of the total volume of reports presented to the court at the time of the youth's first hearing was devoted to social analysis. The remaining 38% was devoted to the offense. At the time of commitment to the Youth Authority, the composition of the court report had reversed itself. Fully 70% of the report was devoted to a description of the offense and only 30% devoted to social analysis.⁸ Though the nature of the offense resulting in commitment was likely to be more serious, and while the increased use of defense attorneys required better support of a case, these figures strongly suggest that "social factors" are increasingly neglected or condensed in reports when commitment is anticipated.

It is a fact that county juvenile probation departments frequently have prepared lengthy case histories at a cost of hundreds of dollars on youths they send to the Youth Authority. Yet, the information contained in these case histories is not communicated fully to Youth Authority reception centers and institutions. All too frequently, a sort of "shell game" exists in which that part of the system currently having jurisdiction over the client must figure out under which "shell", or other part of the system, needed information about the youth is located.

Use of classification materials. Table V summarizes the questionnaire results related to this topic. Only two-thirds of State staff and 43% of county personnel reported that their institutions used any classification system. Approximately two-thirds of those persons had been trained in the classification system used by their facility. Only 29% of State workers and 22% of county employees felt the classification system they used was of any help in treating the youths under their supervision. The majority of staff supported the concept of "matching" worker with ward.

A remarkable finding uncovered by the survey was the lack of knowledge by so many staff as to what was occurring in their own institution. There was no Youth Authority institution, and only one county facility, in which all staff knew whether or not a classification system was being used in their institution. Some of the Youth Authority staff employed in institutions other than the reception centers felt that much of the diagnostic-classification materials prepared by the various reception centers was of little value to them. They frequently had to re-diagnose and re-classify the youths sent to their respective institutions. Questionnaire results showed that more than a third of the Youth Authority staff in institutions indicated that they re-classified, at least some of the wards, that had previously been classified by the reception centers. These findings clearly reveal a duplication of efforts. In fact, only one facility indicated much satisfaction with reception center reports -- a girls' school which has its own reception center attached. A major reason for this appears to be the close relationship between the receiving-classifying unit and the main institution, fostered by at least some rotating of staff between them. In other reception centers, staff often had little or no first hand knowledge of the programs for which they were recommending youths.

Despite efforts to use sophisticated classification systems, the most commonly utilized criteria for assignment of a youth to a program was "age and maturity", followed by a "formalized classification system" and "available bed space". However, it should be noted that there was tremendous variation in the weight given to these factors by different institutions and by different individuals within the same institution.

Summary. The above findings reveal several significant problems related to the receiving, classifying, and assigning of youths in institutions. First, local information such as school records is often not reaching institutions, particularly the Youth Authority reception centers, in time to be useful. This is resulting in costly duplication of efforts. Second, full "social history"

TABLE V

USE OF CLASSIFICATION MATERIALS
(Staff Responses)

QUESTION	PERCENT	
	CYA	COUNTIES
1. Does your institution use a classification system?		
Yes	66	43
No	10	40
No information	23	18
2. Have you had training in the classification system used by your institution?		
Yes	43	28
No	42	34
No system used	5	20
Not applicable	11	19
3. Do you yourself use a classification system with youth under your charge?		
Yes, but it is not a significant help in treatment	11	6
Yes, it is a significant help in treatment	29	22
No	36	53
Not applicable	24	18
4. Do you think that staff should be classified and in some way matched with youth they supervise?		
Yes	68	52
No	32	48
5. Rank the following items in order of importance in determining youth assignments in your institution:		
Age and maturity	1	1
Formalized classification system	2	2
Available bed space	3	3
Informal classification system	4	4
Other (i.e. not in this list)	5	7
Type of offense	6	8
Institutional need	7 (tie)	5
Custody and runaway potential	7 (tie)	6

data are frequently not included in reports sent to institutions. Third, sophisticated classification systems have not been adequately developed, understood, and used consistently and effectively for treatment purposes. Fourth, there are significant gaps and overlaps between the Youth Authority's reception centers and its other institutions, raising the question of how valuable or necessary the reception centers are.

Care, Custody, and Control

The trend toward localized corrections and the use of alternatives to institutionalization, both augmented by State subsidies, has resulted in a change in the types of youths being committed. The current institutional population consists increasingly of young persons who are least able to exercise socially-acceptable behavior. In the survey, one of the primary concerns of staff centered on the increasing numbers of difficult-to-manage youths that had been committed to institutions within the last three years. Table VI summarizes staff questionnaire responses related to how they perceived their institutions were faring in regard to the care, custody, and control of their charges.

County personnel generally felt they were doing a good job in caring for and controlling the majority of wards placed in their facilities. However, they indicated that runaways were an increasing problem. Administrators stressed that their open, minimum custody facilities no longer provided the degree of security and custody needed. Only 64% of county staff (and only one-third of State employees) felt that they had an effective program for runaways. Staff members expressed by far the most concern over the rapidly growing numbers of emotionally disturbed youth they were receiving. Many county authorities reported that because of the closing of State Mental Hygiene resources, resulting from recent statutory amendments, and the lack of expansion of local resources, they were unable to cope with many of these seriously disturbed youth. Only 46% of local personnel (and 26% of Youth Authority staff) believed that their programs were effective for the emotionally disturbed youth. As many of these youths were being processed through the juvenile courts, they backed up in juvenile halls while awaiting placement, and frequently the authorities were forced to send them to county camps and ranch programs. Correctional personnel thus have been forced to program their institutions for a completely different type of ward than those for whom the facilities were established. Administrators are experiencing a serious lack of appropriate facilities, personnel, and training. Counties with short-term institutional treatment programs seemed much better equipped to handle this problem. Many of the other county administrators interviewed were considering the possibility of converting a portion of their juvenile halls into short-term treatment units built around a crisis intervention model.

As mentioned earlier, the State has been asserting for some time that its population is becoming increasingly more difficult to deal with. A 1969 Youth Authority report, The Disturbed and Intractable Wards, concluded that "the Youth Authority has a more difficult, more delinquently-oriented, more emotionally disturbed population than any other juvenile institution system in the country, probably in the world".⁹ This contention was based on three

TABLE VI
EVALUATION OF CARE, CUSTODY, AND CONTROL
(Staff Responses)

QUESTIONS	PERCENT	
	CYA	COUNTIES
1. With respect to its functions of care, custody, and control in the past year, has your institution:		
Lost ground	31	16
Held it own	28	31
Improved	41	53
2. How do you assess your institution with respect to <u>care</u> of wards?		
Poor	6	2
Average	16	8
Good	89	90
3. How do you assess your institution with respect to <u>custody</u> of wards?		
Poor	23	18
Average	33	36
Good	44	46
4. How do you assess your institution with respect to <u>control</u> of wards?		
Poor	22	4
Average	31	20
Good	46	76

TABLE VI (continued)

QUESTIONS	PERCENT	
	CYA	COUNTY
5. In the past year, have the characteristics and needs of institutionalized youths:		
Remained same	17	30
Changed slightly	42	50
Changed drastically	41	20
6. In the past year, has the number of assaults on staff:		
Decreased	14	9
Remained same	32	74
Increased	54	17
7. In the past year, has the number of racial and ethnic assaults among youth:		
Decreased	13	16
Remained same	39	75
Increased	48	9
8. In the past year, has the number of runaways:		
Decreased	15	16
Remained same	34	30
Increased	52	53

factors. First, California's local camp system is by far the most developed in the country and handles roughly the "best one-third" of confined youths in the State, leaving only the harder-to-manage cases for the Youth Authority. Second, the probation subsidy program has been siphoning off an additional portion of the more tractable wards. Third, society's general unrest and turmoil, particularly among the young, evidenced by civil rights activity, distrust of the establishment and occasional defiance of authority, and racial conflict, have become intensified in institutional populations. Charts I to VI, showing updated data from the above-mentioned study, reflect the marked increase in serious "acting-out" behavior among institutionalized wards from 1965-70. The report concluded that little could be done to alleviate these problems without significantly increasing the staffing ratios, reducing living unit size, and strengthening the whole range of medical-psychiatric resources.

As seen in Table VI, the Task Force staff questionnaire responses substantiate the Youth Authority's overall concern about its custody and control functions. Since the publication of the above report, i.e. in the past year, "acting-out" incidents have risen sharply. Both classification unit personnel (who review all new commitments) and reception center workers confirmed the opinions of other staff that a higher proportion of intake cases consist of seriously disturbed youth.

Program

As is true with any part of the correctional system, program is the backbone of the entire operation--the core of its very existence. Everything else is auxiliary. Because society has traditionally shown greater concern about its children, correctional administrators have usually been able to secure more resources for programs in juvenile institutions than is the case with adult offenders. However, even correctional programs and facilities for children traditionally have been weak and have been subordinated to the needs of the institution. In discussing training schools across the country, Gibbons summarizes their program history:

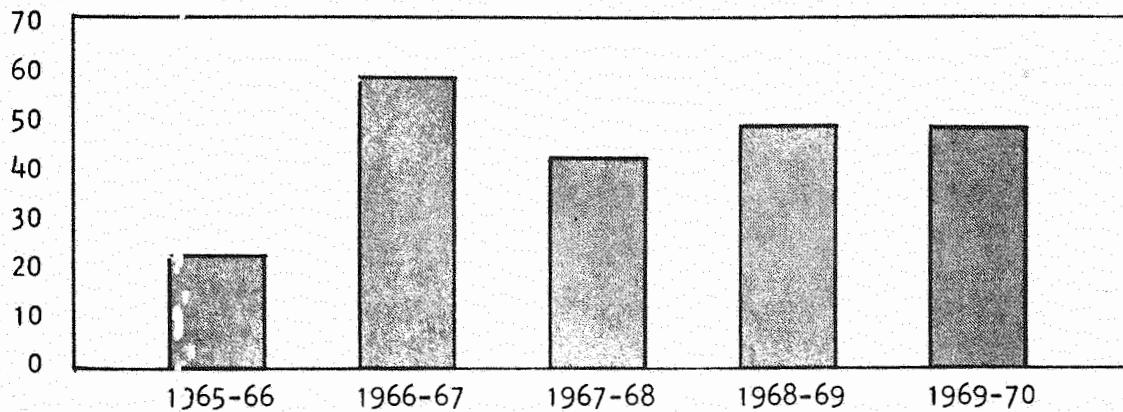
"Training schools in the past have usually operated a minimal treatment program. Most inmates have been placed in a school program or some kind of vocational or other work experience. Occasionally they receive some kind of individual therapy from a social case worker, but this tends to be a relatively infrequent event."¹⁰

He adds that, even in California, "where treatment goals have been emphasized in State institutions for several decades, training schools place primary emphasis upon regimentation of youngsters in the interests of controlling them."¹¹

In general, there are three major types of programs that do or should exist in juvenile institutions: treatment, education, and work or vocational training.

CHART I

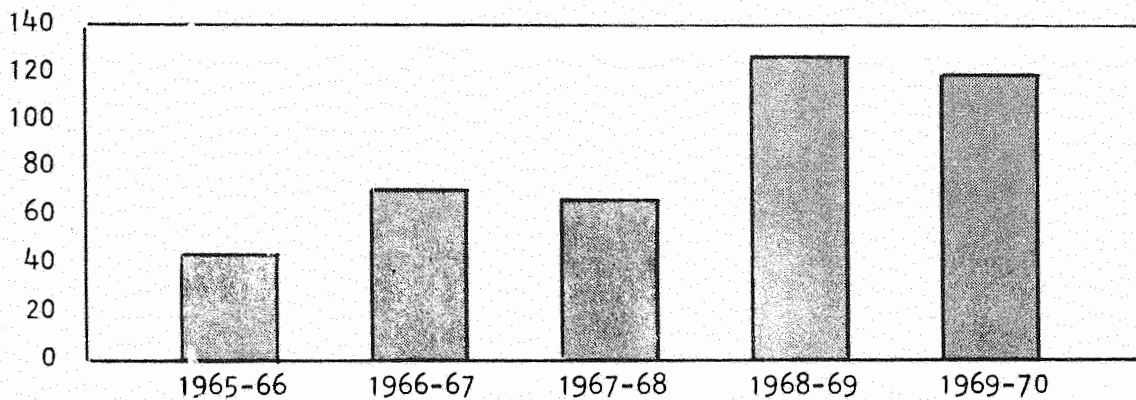
ATTEMPTED SUICIDES



Attempted suicide is an incident where a ward, in the judgment of staff concerned, has made an attempt to take his life. Deaths occurring from these attempts are included in this category.

CHART II

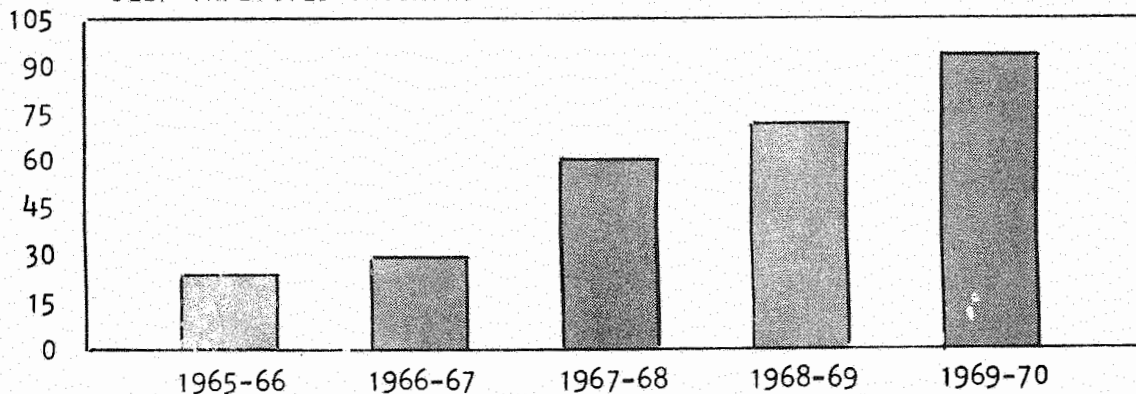
ATTACKS ON STAFF OR WARDS



Reported in this category are unprovoked attacks or assaults by a ward on another ward or staff.

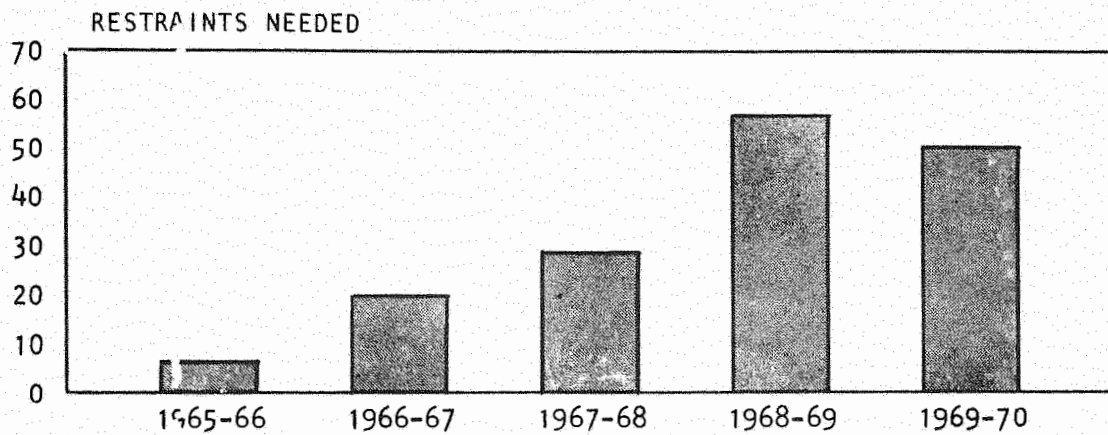
CHART III

SELF INFLICTED INJURIES



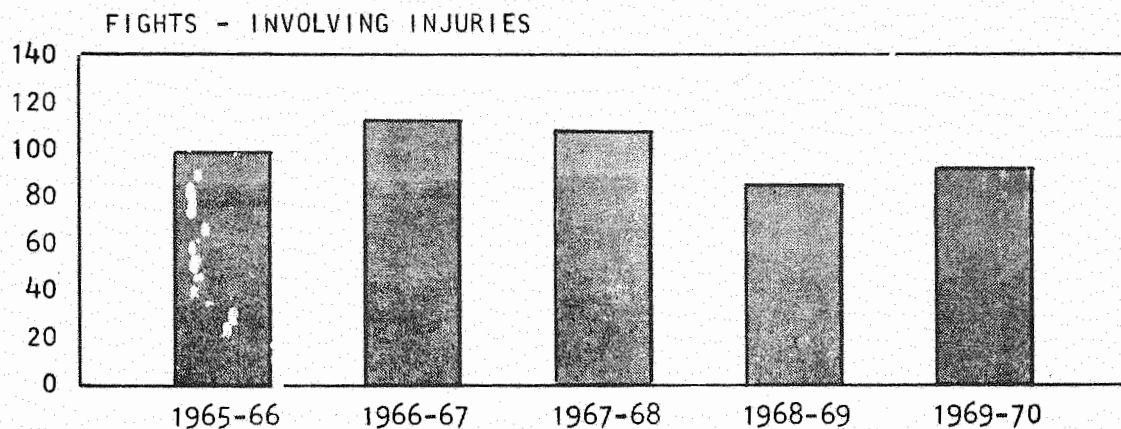
These are incidents in which a ward has voluntarily injured himself, e.g., shoving his hand through a window, striking a wall, etc. Also included in this category are suicidal gestures without a clear suicidal intent.

CHART IV



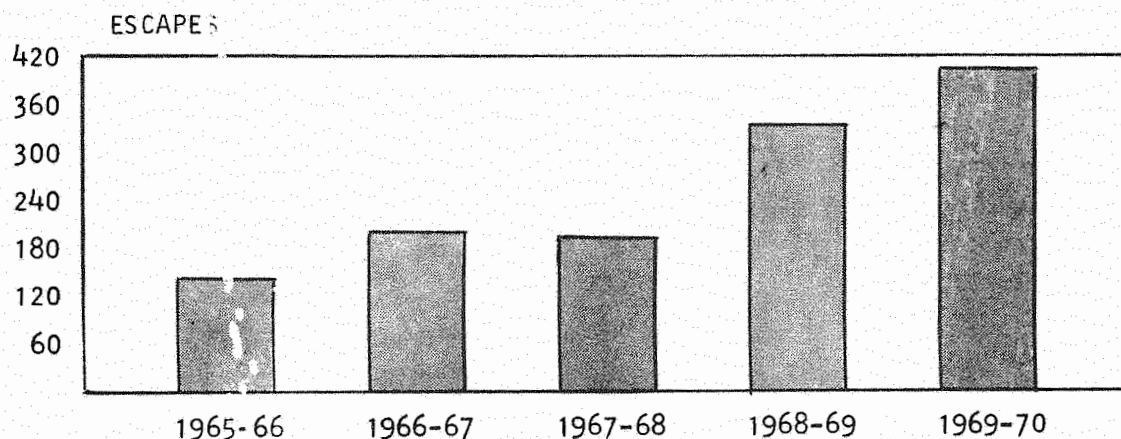
This is a combination of both mechanical and chemical restraints. It involves either the use of handcuffs or camisoles, or the use of mace or tear gas.

CHART V



The data given on fights reflect only those fights occurring (normally between two wards) where an injury occurred which required medical attention.

CHART VI



An escape is defined as a ward leaving an institution of the Youth Authority, the Department of Corrections, or the Department of Mental Hygiene without permission. This includes leaving the control of institution staff while off grounds, on work assignments, or on a trip, regardless of the duration of the absence. This does not include a ward who fails to return on time from a day pass or furlough.

Treatment. While California is widely recognized as being in the avant garde in developing treatment programs, deviations from the basic principles outlined in the previous chapter nevertheless occur throughout the State's facilities on a daily basis. For example, there are many instances where wards are not provided with a continuum of treatment before, during, and after confinement. In addition, the necessary range of treatment services does not exist for all of the youths confined in local and State institutions. In short, substantial progress has been accomplished, but much more remains to be done.

Related to the above, the staff survey found that only 36% of all Youth Authority workers and 41% of county boys' camp staff indicated that "specialized treatment" played a primary role in their respective institutions. However, 85% of the staff employed in local girls' schools felt it played a significant role. Many stated that they lacked the necessary resources, while others commented on the need for additional training, particularly in basic casework techniques.

Education. Academic training continues to be the primary emphasis in most of California's juvenile institutions. Sixty-nine percent of Youth Authority boys' school staff, 83% of their girls' school employees, and 68% of all county personnel reported that educational programs clearly played a primary role in their facilities. The major problem reported by county staff members was the existence of occasional conflicts between school staff and institutional administrators. At present, County Boards of Supervisors have the authority to arrange for either the County Superintendent of Schools or a local school district to provide the educational program in any juvenile facility.¹² All of the study counties chose the first option, which establishes a dual administration within the facility. A number of camp administrators complained that because of this organizational arrangement, they were left without adequate control over the most important component of their overall program. Other administrators asserted that not only did they have an excellent relationship with the school personnel, but also would probably be unable to obtain such efficient and economical services through any other arrangement. In this respect, California law is not consistent with the national standard which recommends that "The entire educational program within a training school should be administered within the institutions' administrative structure".¹³ Additionally, a number of institutions throughout the State do not adhere to the standard that a year-round school program be available to all "who can benefit from an education".¹⁴

Work and vocational training. While facilities for younger wards are almost always academically-oriented, a number of institutions for older youths concentrate on work experience, and to a significantly lesser degree, vocational training. Unfortunately, few programs provide training or work experience that truly help reintegrate youths back into their communities. The hundreds of wards placed in forestry and dairy type programs find little demand for lumber-jacks and shepherds when they return to their urban ghettos.

The most serious problem is the paucity of vocational training programs for the rapidly growing 18-21 year old group in the Youth Authority. As of December 31, 1970, the median age for institutionalized Youth Authority wards was 18.6 years (18.8 for boys)--a figure that has been edging upward over the last few years.¹⁵ Hence, it is obvious that CYA facilities need to significantly upgrade and expand their vocational training efforts. Such programs should be balanced with an increased number of college level programs for those who can profit from them (such as those pioneered at Fricot and the Youth Training School).

Summary. Treatment, educational, and vocational training programs in particular need to be reevaluated and strengthened at both State and county levels.

The Youth Authority presently consists of a vast, bureaucratic network of reception centers, institutions, and camps that were built as a result of the pressures of the post-war years. Most of the existing programs have been shaped because of population pressures, lack of resources, and concern over smooth-running facilities, rather than by analysis of or planning for the needs of the youth that have been served. Inadequate coordination between and within institutions (as reported by 44% of staff), has resulted in considerable duplication of programs with limited capacity to provide the range of services required for effective differential treatment. Geographic location, excessive living unit size, and staffing ratios have continued to pose serious handicaps. Furthermore, although the Youth Authority has evolved from a system for children and youth to an agency for youth and young adults, thereby falling more closely in line with its original purpose, it has nevertheless fallen further behind in its ability to provide effective programs for the young adult. Finally, only 40% of staff felt that their overall institutional services had improved in the last year.

It should be noted, however, that the Youth Authority has recognized many of its problems and is striving actively to eliminate deficiencies and to maintain its standing as one of the nation's foremost juvenile correctional agencies. Within the past three years it has taken a number of steps to become a more effective and responsive system. It has commissioned a series of task forces to study various aspects of its operation. It has also established the treatment team concept in its institutions, as well as the adoption of I-level as its official system of classification. Other signs of change have been efforts to move decision-making down to the lowest level of the organizational hierarchies; regionalization of its institutions; beginning integration between field and institutional services; formulation of a long range plan to revitalize the education program; the development of a pilot coeducational program at Ventura; and long range research efforts in the Northern Youth Center.

As described in Chapter II, many of the county facilities were established on the forestry camp model. This format has resulted in the development of programs that have little to do with helping the ward readjust to his society. As camps for younger wards have developed, they have become more academically oriented. These two types of programs comprise the bulk of

juvenile institutions that have been available for delinquents in most counties. As a result, there is a noticeable similarity of program within and between neighboring counties. Only recently, have some counties employed a wider variety of strategies, such as day care centers and short-term treatment units, thereby allowing greater individualized programming. County programs for the older adolescent and young adults are almost non-existent. This is true even though there is enabling legislation. As yet, no county has established a "Youth Correctional Center"¹⁶ or, as far as the Juvenile Institution Task Force was able to determine, any equivalent types of programs. In spite of the above shortcomings, county staff felt, to a much greater extent than State personnel, that their programs were coordinated and that they received feedback on whether or not their efforts with "graduates" had proved successful.

Perhaps the most common limitation of any institutional program is the tendency to have the program fit the needs of the institution, instead of accommodating the needs of the individual client. A corresponding limitation consists of viewing the institution as an end in itself rather than as a temporary back-up service for field supervision programs.

Release and Aftercare

Just as intake and classification are important links between preinstitutional handling and the institution, so should placement and aftercare services provide an effective bridge back into the community. The three processes should not be viewed as separate events, but as part of the same continuum of treatment. The well-established fact that the greatest recidivism occurs within a short time after release¹⁷ also underscores the importance of concentrating services during those crucial weeks or months immediately following release. The two major issues here are when to release the ward and how to best provide him with a continuum of treatment between institution and community.

Length of stay and readiness for release. The first critical problem is to predict accurately readiness for release or, minimally, the point at which further confinement serves no beneficial purpose.

As mentioned in Chapter II, the average stay in county juvenile institutions has dropped significantly in the past few years to a current average of 5.4 months.¹⁸ The Youth Authority, on the other hand, has increased its average length of stays markedly, particularly in the last 3 or 4 years. Table VII shows the mean length of stay for Youth Authority wards over the past decade and the percent increase from the first half of the decade to 1970. With the exception of the 1968 figure for girls in CYA facilities, the average lengths of stay in 1970 were the longest in at least a decade. Thus, while fewer youths are being committed to institutions, the average length of stay for those who are confined has increased. The survey data suggest that the increased periods of confinement are generally endorsed by the institutional staff in the Youth Authority and conversely the employees of local juvenile institutions endorsed the declining lengths of

TABLE VII
MEAN LENGTH OF STAY OF WARDS IN CYA AND CDC INSTITUTIONS
PRIOR TO RELEASE ON PAROLE, 1961-1970
(In Months)

INSTITUTION OF RELEASE	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	Percent Increase From 1961-5 To 1970 ¹
Boys - CYA Institutions	8.6	8.9	8.7	9.0	8.8	8.6	9.4	10.0	9.9	10.5	19%
Girls - CYA Institutions	8.5	8.5	8.2	7.4	7.8	8.4	8.4	9.0	8.6	8.7	7%
Boys - CDC Institutions	11.2	12.5	13.3	13.4	13.7	14.2	12.1	12.6	15.1	15.1	18%
Girls - CDC Institutions	11.0	11.6	12.3	12.9	14.7	13.6	14.5	15.4	16.4	26.9 ²	115%

Source: Department of Youth Authority, Annual Statistical Report: 1969, p. 25; also "Monthly Statistical Report", December, 1970, mimeographed.

¹These percentages represent the increase from the average of the means of 1961-1965 to the mean of 1970.

²This figure is so high due to 2 girls who were paroled in 1970 after serving 4 and 5 years respectively. If those 2 girls were not counted, the mean stay would be 15.4 months.

stay for wards in their facilities. Table VIII shows that 41% of the CYA staff believed the length of stay to be about right. An additional 34% felt that youths were released prematurely, thus opting for even longer periods of confinement. On the other hand, 74% of the staff in county facilities believed that their wards were released at about the right time. Virtually no staff felt that wards were being held too long.

However, despite the clear differences of opinion between staff members of local and State institutions, there is considerable evidence that suggests that many, if not most, of even "hard core" youthful offenders can be released after much shorter periods of confinement without decreasing or jeopardizing the community. In the early 1960's, the Fremont Experiment at the Youth Authority Southern Reception Center assigned youths randomly in regular institutional programs (averaging 9 months) or in the Fremont unit (for a fixed period of 5 months) with a rich treatment program. A two year parole follow-up of graduates showed that the experimental group (Fremont unit) had no higher recidivism rate and no more serious types of offenses than the control group.¹⁹

Following up on the Fremont Experiment, the same reception center developed the Marshall Program in the mid 1960's. This program attempted to create a therapeutic community model, employing a treatment team approach, but limited the program to only 3 months. Part I of the analysis of the Marshall Program found that "For the total sample of consecutive admissions, the Marshall graduates exhibited a slightly lower parole violation rate than the comparison group".²⁰ The comparison group consisted of wards who went through regular, longer institutional programs. Even "when selection bias was (partly) controlled by the case-matching procedure, the violation rates were found to be virtually equivalent".²¹ Part II of the analysis carefully followed the effects of the program on different types of youths. During the follow-up period, the Marshall graduates had a higher violation rate than the control group (72% compared to 56%).²² However, "when the group violation rates were recomputed excluding lone offenders, the violation rates converged impressively--Marshall Program: 67%; matched comparison group: 62%; no significant difference".²³ In fact, some types of youths from Marshall fared better than did their "matches". The major implications of the Marshall study are two-fold. First, many, if not most youths, do just as well on parole after a relatively brief period of confinement than if they are incarcerated for longer periods. Second, the data clearly suggest that certain types of youths fare better in this kind of program while other types of wards do worse.

Similarly, the recent Ventura Intensive Treatment Program (VITP) compared girls placed in a 3 month special program with a control group who averaged 7.6 months of institutionalization. The project researcher concluded: "In terms of testing the feasibility of assigning selected wards to a three month institutional program without seriously increasing the recidivism rate, the VITP program appears to have adequately achieved this goal".²⁴ Furthermore, he pointed out that "in occupancy expenses alone financial savings of \$570,248 were effected during the first 18 months of the program, or roughly \$380,165 per year".²⁵

TABLE VIII

READINESS FOR RELEASE - STAFF VIEWS
(Percentage Distribution)

STAFF FEELING ABOUT RELEASE OF WARDS	ALL CYA STAFF	ALL COUNTY STAFF	CYA STAFF				COUNTY STAFF		
			RECEPTION CENTERS	BOYS SCHOOLS	GIRLS SCHOOLS	CAMPS	BOYS SCHOOLS	GIRLS SCHOOLS	SHORT-TERM TREATMENT UNITS
Usually premature	34	21	35	38	20	22	26	16	7
Usually well co- ordinated with youth's readi- ness	41	74	41	36	62	51	65	82	93
Usually no rela- tionship to youth's readi- ness	22	5	24	23	13	27	8	2	0
Usually overdue	3	0	0	3	6	0	1	0	0

The best known and perhaps most successful of all programs which demonstrated the feasibility of reducing or eliminating incarceration is the Youth Authority's Community Treatment Project which has existed since 1961. This program has placed wards directly on parole after the reception center process. The treatment strategy has been to classify the youths according to I-level theory and to "match" them with parole agents who have been evaluated as being particularly capable of working with that type of ward. The success of this program has been so noticeable that the program director has stated:

"By 1964, the feasibility of treating a large proportion of the juvenile offender population in intensive community programs rather than in institutions was a settled issue. In addition, it was clear that the community program offered higher success than the traditional Youth Authority program."26

Subsequent research has documented that the Community Treatment Project, like the Marshall Program, has been more successful with certain types of youths than with others. However, researchers have been careful to stress that:

"CTP's effectiveness is not simply a result of its having operated within a community setting: all available evidence suggests that the avoidance of institutionalization, in itself, contributes little if anything to the experimental-control differences in parole success. In other words, it is the differential or intensive/extensive treatment aspects...which appear to be of fundamental importance."27

All of the above evidence supports the premise that the period of institutionalization can be minimal for many types of youths, assuming that intensive treatment is available in the alternative program. The fact that Youth Authority average stays continue to rise and that staff, particularly CYA personnel, feel that youths are released too soon raises the question of whether staff is overly conservative and, perhaps, fighting for their existence by retaining the fewer youths they do receive for longer periods of time. In this regard, one highly placed State official opined that the increasing length of stay in Youth Authority institutions was in no small way due to "the self-preservation squirming of a bureaucratic system attempting to protect itself, its jobs, programs, etc".

Links between institution and aftercare. The second issue related to release concerns construction of the bridge -- specifically, how aftercare supervision should be linked with institutional treatment. As might be expected (due simply to proximity to the community), the counties throughout the State seem to be integrating these services far more effectively than the Youth Authority. Eighty-two percent of the county staff reported that personal contact was made between field and institutional workers, and one-third of them indicated additional contacts were made with other significant persons in the youth's home environment. On the other hand, 69% of the

Youth Authority staff reported that this transition was only a "paper process" and that it did not exist in fact. Again, county programs are somewhat more flexible either in terms of allowing institutional personnel to supervise some of their graduates as part of their normal duties, or by requiring field personnel to become involved with their future wards while they are still in the institution. Staff preference appears to be in favor of community-based units with small caseloads (about 15 per worker), allowing time to work with the youth and his family before release, and to provide intensive supervision during the critical transition period. Furloughs are also being used increasingly to facilitate a ward's gradual reintegration.

As stated above, the Youth Authority is aware of problems it faces in linking institutions with parole and has attempted to minimize the obstacles by placing both types of services in the same division. However, geography and the traditional gaps between these components continue to hinder their forming closer linkages.

As an overall evaluation, staff were asked: "Are there programs at your institution that really seem to be making sense in helping the youth in his move back into the community?" Ninety percent of county staff and 77% of the Youth Authority employees replied affirmatively.

III. RESOURCES

Now that the principal goals and functions or tasks of juvenile institutions have been examined, it is essential to look at the resources that are available to them in carrying out their responsibilities. As used here, the notion of resources is a very broad one. It encompasses all those factors that facilitate or hinder the correctional process.

While the following variables are discussed one at a time and while some are more important than others, it should be remembered that they do not operate independently. They are all interrelated and tend to have a cumulative effect. It is the accumulation or "cluster" of positive or negative factors that effects how an institution carries out its functions and determines the extent to which it accomplishes its goals. For example, there is a high degree of agreement among researchers that the most significant factor affecting an institution's ability to change its wards is the development of a proper social climate, commonly referred to as a "therapeutic milieu".²⁸ This therapeutic climate or milieu, however, is dependent on a host of variables such as location, design, institutional size, living unit size, staffing ratios, quality of staff, as well as other characteristics to be discussed below.

Geographic Location

An institution should be geographically located so that it can be an integral part of the community it serves. This factor is so important that it effects the very nature of programming and reintegration efforts by an

institution. It also relates to the ability of the institution to recruit and train competent personnel, to mobilize community resources, to build and strengthen family ties, to develop and maintain relevant educational and vocational programs, and to serve as a change agent within the community. An institution that is not located in or immediately adjacent to the community it serves operates under a handicap that is extremely difficult to overcome.

Geographic location is considered to be a definite problem at the county level and a critical and almost insurmountable obstacle at the State level.

As noted earlier, most counties have employed the "forestry-camp" concept in establishing their camps and ranches. As a result they are located in isolated portions of the respective counties. While there are exceptions to this pattern, most camps require extended private transportation to and from the community which exacerbates the problem of establishing linkages between themselves and the communities they serve. Most of the recently established county facilities, particularly the short-term treatment centers, are located within acceptable geographic limits. However, in reviewing the location of other types of institutions in the sample counties, it appears that more than half of them are located in areas that tend to hinder, rather than enhance, their correctional effectiveness.

The State picture is considerably more dismal. Only three institutions are situated in such a way that they can effectively relate to local communities. The three institutions are the Northern Reception Center at Perkins, the Southern Reception Center at Norwalk, and the Nelles School for Boys in Whittier. A fourth facility, the Youth Training School in Chino, might be geographically well-situated in approximately ten years if the population growth continues. The same is true for the Ventura School for Girls in Camarillo. At the present time, however, only 20% of the Youth Authority's institutional resources are situated in locations that readily lend themselves to the task of reintegration.

The Youth Authority has an additional handicap to overcome. Not only are most of its institutions located in rural areas, but they are also not located in the most expedient sections of the State. Sixty percent of all of the Youth Authority's bed space is in Northern California. And yet it receives 64% of its commitments from Southern California.

Considerable time and effort has been spent attempting to work around these handicaps. Most recently the CYA has attempted to regionalize its institution and field resources. This has met with only limited success. As reflected in Table IX, youth from Southern California are still being sent all over the State. Thirty-seven percent of the youth confined at Preston and 21% of those at O. H. Close and Karl Holton are at least 350 miles away from their home. Sixty-three percent of the youths confined in the four Northern conservation camps come from Southern California. Paso Robles, located half way between the two major population centers of Los Angeles and San Francisco, receives 77% of its youth from Southern California, 12% from the San Francisco region, and the balance from the rest of the State. The Northern Youth Center,

TABLE IX

PERCENTAGE OF WARDS IN YOUTH AUTHORITY INSTITUTIONS
BY AREA OF COMMITMENT

AREA OF COMMITMENT	Total	BOYS INSTITUTIONS (Including Location)							GIRLS SCHOOLS (Including Location)	
		Nelles (Whit- tier)	Y.T.S. (Chino)	Paso Robles	Preston (Ione)	O.H. Close (Stocktn)	Karl Holton (Stocktn)	Camps (All 4 North)	Ventura (Cama- rillo)	Los Guilucos (S.Rosa)
Southern California	64	99	91	77	37	21	19	63	96	1
San Francisco Bay Area	21	1	5	12	40	50	48	20	3	65
Balance of State	15	0	5	11	23	29	33	17	2	35

Source: Department of Youth Authority, Characteristics of CYA Wards: December 31, 1970, State of California (Sacramento, 1970), pp. 9-15