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YOUTH POLICY AND LAW CENTER'S
WISCONSIN JUVENILE FEMALE OFFENDER STUDY PROJECT

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INTRODUCTION

This report on young women in Wisconsin's juvenile justice system is a summary of a larger report which resulted from a comprehensive study conducted by Youth Policy and Law Center, Inc. The research for these reports was done between June 1980 and June 1982. The primary purpose of this report is to encourage decision-makers in the juvenile justice and human services systems to examine the equity and effectiveness of how young women are treated. A number of objectives were established for this report: to increase awareness of some of the problems and strengths of young women and of the human resources which are in place to help them; to draw attention to the needs of this population which continues to be an overlooked minority of the youth who become involved in court and services systems; and to promote a positive view of young women which transcends prior assumptions and/or traditional sex-role stereotypes.

The population which was the target of this descriptive study is diverse in a number of ways. Some of the young women had experienced only a few contacts with the juvenile justice and/or human services systems, while others described years of involvement. Some were experiencing success in terms of their progress towards individual goals, others seemed to feel defeated and resigned to problems. There were those young women who had found support and help in handling difficult problems or challenges. Others had been left to their own resources and either succeeded at getting by or became tangled in a web of depression, confusion and/or anger.

Although the young women we interviewed were involved in the network of services which represent the juvenile justice system, many continued to face challenges which had not been addressed. Most of the young women were able to define their unmet needs and offer opinions about what they felt might help them. Many of the young women cannot become contributing, competent, independent individuals unless special programming is provided. There are courts, social services, education systems, and mental health agencies which pay little or no special attention to these young women's needs. There are others which provide some programming, sometimes effective, sometimes not. There are also young women who, regardless of their access to programs and supports, seemingly have no desire and/or ability to use them. Some of the young women seemed to be more aptly characterized as victims than as offenders. Others' conduct seemed to present challenges to the public interest. However, there appeared to be little differentiation in the styles of intervention employed with these young women.

The challenges facing young women who are in conflict with their families, schools and communities are complex. There is no simple blueprint for response. Yet many planners and professionals who work directly with these young women agree that young women's needs have lacked visibility and are often misunderstood. There is also agreement that current juvenile justice and human services could be greatly improved in terms of their responsiveness to the realities facing young women. Our interviews with young women and those who work with them, as well as our independent research on resources, have shown that there a number of possibilities for ways of intervening which might meet some of their needs.

We hope that the readers will find this report to be enlightening and of practical application to their work. In addition, we sincerely want the messages of the young women to be clearly communicated and understood. While each individual represents unique experiences and reactions--the group as a whole shared some common problems and concerns. As a result, the study staff hopes that this report will convince the readers of how important it is for them to treat young women equitably--and at the same time--to be comfortable with the fact that young women experience many aspects of life differently than young men. While our research did not attempt to define differences between sexes, we feel that some unique facets of the young women's life experiences can be inferred from the data. Thus, we feel it is important for the readers to promote the goal of equitable treatment without obscuring or rejecting apparent similarities and differences between adolescent men and women in trouble.

The Center's staff feels strongly that it is possible to confront and respond to the realities of teenage women's experiences--including those characteristics unique to them due to differences in socialization and in their social, political and economic position in their families and communities. At the same time, we feel that decision-makers must hold as high expectations for their futures as capable, contributing, and independent adults as are traditionally accorded to young men.

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METHODOLOGY

We developed our descriptive data in four separate phases. First, we analyzed all forms of available data regarding young women in Wisconsin's juvenile justice system. This was done in order to examine the manner in which the juvenile justice system may differentially process young men and women. We analyzed all available data which identified youth by sex, was felt to be reliable in terms of reporting consistency and which would describe some characteristics of the population at one stage of the process. The data which was used was provided by: The Wisconsin Crime Information Bureau (CIB), the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice, the Wisconsin Supreme Court Information System, the Department of Health and Social Services, individual courts, and Ms. Jill Miller--who provided us with original data collected by her social work field unit at the Youth Policy and Law Center.

Our second phase represented the major focus of our study: to develop a profile of the characteristics and experiences of young women in the juvenile justice system. As a first step in the development of this profile, we conducted an exploratory study. Through semi-structured and lengthy in-person interviews with forty-six young women and through a review of each person's court and/or social services records, we looked for common themes regarding characteristics and experiences. The sample for these exploratory interviews was drawn purposively--with an effort to locate young women who had been adjudicated delinquent, had had substantial involvement with court and/or human services, had come from different parts of the state and each participant was informed about the nature of the study, and the confidentiality of their responses. Care was also taken to be sure that each of them participated voluntarily.

The next step for developing the descriptive profile involved a survey of 192 young women. The survey was done using a written questionnaire which was administered in small groups. Each young woman was given a copy of the questionnaire upon which she was to record her responses. In order to avoid misunderstandings of the questions and response alternatives, they were read aloud by a study staff. The volunteers were also encouraged to ask questions in order to clarify the meaning or intent of each part of the survey. The sample for the survey was developed by randomly selecting counties within groups which were stratified by population density. Eight counties were selected, invited, and agreed to participate with the effort. Within each sample county, a court or social services staff person developed a master list of all young women who were on either formal or informal supervision for either delinquent acts or status offenses (running away, truancy and/or 'parent unable to control'). Each of those young women was then invited to participate in the study. Those who did were paid a small fee.

The third phase of the study was directed at developing a profile of resources available to young women in the juvenile justice and human services systems. We collected data on resources in four different ways. First, we asked the young women themselves a series of questions regarding what they believed would be helpful and what types of services they had received in the

past. We also asked them questions about their access to certain types of services. Next, we surveyed people in the court and social services agencies in the eight sample counties. We also circulated our survey of service providers amongst a number of other private sector agencies which provide services to young women. These professionals were asked a series of questions regarding the needs of their clients, barriers to providing services and training experiences in areas of concern to young women.

In addition, we were interested in conducting an inventory of available services. In order to accomplish this, we chose one community which had been recognized for its history of active women's organizations and for its proliferation of youth services. Using a number of resources, we compiled a list of agencies and organizations and then conducted a telephone survey regarding their services and the extent to which those services were tailored to meet the needs of young women. Next, we chose a few types of services and studied their availability statewide by means of telephone and in-person interviews with experts. The service types which were studied in this way included vocational training, services for sexual abuse victims, services for runaways and services within the secured correctional institution.

Lastly, a series of recommendations for change were developed by study staff along with the expert advice of the project's advisory committee. These recommendations grew out of the study findings and represent a response to the most major unmet needs that face young women in trouble.

CHAPTER ONE.

PROFILE OF YOUNG WOMEN IN WISCONSIN'S JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM:
THE EXPLORATORY STUDY

One important by-product of these exploratory interviews was having the opportunity to actually develop an understanding of an individual's life--the complex and cumulative effects of experiences. Were it not for limited time and space, we would simply include their whole stories just as we heard them.

A majority of the young women we interviewed for this part of our study were White, approximately one-third were Black, and about one-tenth were Native American. Their average age was about 16 years old. Their dispositional status within the justice system varied from placement on county supervision to placement in the secured correctional institution and community supervision after being released from the correctional facility (aftercare). Some of them were residing in residential treatment centers, foster homes, or group homes at the time of the study.

The communities in which they spent most of their childhood were predominantly urban and in the southern half of the state, including Madison, Milwaukee, Racine and Kenosha. Others were from small, rural towns within a 60-mile radius of Madison. A few were from such cities as Green Bay and Eau Claire.

About one-half of the young women reported that their families had, at some time, received benefits from a public assistance program such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children and Food Stamps. The most common occupational category for their parents was what is commonly referred to as "blue-collar" work. About one-half of their parents had not completed high school. Their families generally included four or more children and only rarely included both of the young woman's natural parents.

The offense histories of the young women included numerous referrals for law violations and other misconduct. Within all of their offenses, property and status offenses predominated. They had usually been brought before the court more than once.

Sources of Stress

One of the most vivid impressions which the study staff formed of this group was that they were intensely hopeful in spite of their strong feelings of depression, anxiety, and self-doubt. Many specifically reported having trouble coping with such negative feelings since they often arose as a

result of problems which they were unable to change--such as their parents' problems, their parents' lack of interest in them or harms that had come to them (such as sexual assaults). A variety of their life experiences can be categorized as "sources of stress" since so many of the young women described problems related to them.

Their Families. The young women's families were characterized by divorce, separation, and desertion. Most lived with their mothers and a few had stepfathers or ongoing relationships with their natural fathers.

My dad used to beat us up real bad, in a lot of pretty sick ways too. My mom asked us one day...if it would be ok if she got a divorce from my father. We all loved him...but I didn't want him doing things to my mom and to my brothers and sisters. We all said yeah. I hurt about it, I hurt about it for a long time...

Their perceptions of their relationships with their parents and other family members were marked by extremely negative opinions regarding the family's functioning, but also by positive feelings towards their parents--resulting in an ambiguous profile. While they said they were able to talk to their mothers about personal problems, they felt that their parents were generally nonsupportive and disappointed in them. Further, although they had been given general rules regarding their behavior, other forms of guidance or direction (particularly with regard to behavior outside the home) were virtually nonexistent.

We had some fun together, and some scary moments. I didn't see much of my mom or dad. I was always baby-sitting for my brothers and sisters. My mom would be working, my dad would be drinking. My mom would have to have three jobs to keep up with the rent and our food and everything.

There is nothing that I do that pleases her... even as hard as I tried, I wasn't good enough for her.

They reported that their parents' style of punishment was predictable--they generally knew when they would be punished and how. Occasional or routine receipt of physical punishment was common to virtually all the young women. Most had been injured at least once as a result of such physical punishment--some were injured seriously. One-third of them reported being hit "frequently" or as often as "daily". Physical violence or punishment was not isolated to themselves. Most of them also had seen other family members struck in anger and half reported that serious injuries had resulted from such incidents.

I am not ashamed of any of the questions I answer because they are all true...The problem is here, and I can't run away from it. Say I was just...telling

you about some of the stories, you know...some of the things she has done to me, I might cry. Should I tell you, 'oh yeah, I was an abused child' and things like that, it doesn't bother me, but if I would tell you about the way I was abused, I would probably burst out in tears.

School Experiences. Their perceptions of their experiences in school were marked by alienation and failure. The most important factors determining their experiences in school seemed to be the quality of their relationships with teachers and/or their ability to keep up with the pace of the class. Most of them felt that school officials either didn't care about them or were biased against them.

I tried to do a lot of things to make people like me. I didn't know who I was so I would get all stoned and then I didn't know what was going on. The next day we would have a test and I would fail which I put myself down more for and disliked myself more so... school was a drag...I hope to God it is never like that again.

Teachers were frequently portrayed as being insensitive to the young women's academic problems. Yet the importance of the quality of the teacher-student relationship was emphasized also by the statements of other young women that their best experiences were due to the support and encouragement of a teacher. Those who were in "modified" educational programs such as a graduate equivalency diploma course, alternative schools, or special education classes spoke more positively about their educational experiences than the others. However, most of the young women were not in such programs.) / K

Our teacher...he was the kind that wouldn't put you down for having a problem. He wouldn't even holler at you or nothing, or say 'stay after school', or 'I don't care', or nothing like that. He would wait, you know, show the rest of the class the problem and then come over to you and explain it...

If we had a problem, she wouldn't help us right then and there. She would go on to the next chapter. Then you'd be a chapter behind. Then you'd ask her for help in this chapter and by the time she showed you what was wrong with that chapter you'd be another chapter behind.

The young women reported frequent and repeated problems with respect to school authorities. Almost all of them had been officially suspended or expelled from school. Generally, this occurred as a result of their truancy or various forms of disruptive behavior. In the last six months that they were in school, the young women reported that they had been frequently detained after class, removed from classes, and sent to the principal or other administrator for correction. The young women generally skipped school frequently.

In general, they felt that their educational experiences became much more problematic during the beginning of middle and/or high school years. Fear of transition and inability to cope with the increased size, academic demands or different nature of new schools were feelings which were frequently expressed. The impression of academic failure or incompetency was vivid and seemed to outweigh other factors such as social difficulties. In fact, most of the young women described considerable competency in sports programs. This seemed to suggest that they felt some investment in those areas of school in which they could succeed.

Sexual Victimization and Issues Related to Sexuality. The extent to which the young women had been victimized was startling to the researchers. Nearly half of the young women had experienced some form of coerced sexual contact before 15 and, of those, one-half had never talked to anyone about the experience before the interview.

I was forced until I screamed and then he let me go. It was when my mom went into the hospital... He just grabbed me and said I was gonna sleep with him tonight, and I said no, Mom don't want me to do that, and he says, well you're gonna. And he laid me on the bed and held me down and he says that I was gonna stay there and I told him no I wasn't. So I screamed and my sister came in and my brother. It was like I would never be myself after that.

One-fourth of the young women had been pregnant--generally at or around fourteen years of age. The majority reported that it was not difficult for them to obtain information regarding birth control. One-fourth of the young women also reported that they had, at some time, received money or material goods for performing sexual services. Generally, they reported that this occurred while they were "on the run" or was otherwise motivated by a need for money when the "opportunity" arose.

A Source of Emotional-Social Support

The young women generally were very dependent on their peers for acceptance and support which they felt that they could get nowhere else. Only a few were emotionally/socially isolated both from their families and other young people. The young persons from whom they obtained such support were by and large much like themselves--they had experienced law enforcement and/or court contacts.

I sort of drifted from friend to friend. I had one solid girlfriend, two really. We just had a lot in common, liked to do a lot of the same things, got in a lot of the same trouble, did everything together, you know, just to have security.

Reactions to Stress

Alcohol and Drug Use. About one-third of the young women were characterized as "problem drinkers" and another third as "heavy drinkers". Over one-half of the young women were characterized as "frequent drug users" and another fourth were "moderately frequent users". They almost always attributed their use of alcohol and drugs to a need for tension reduction or escape from problems--in contrast to studies of adolescent drug and alcohol use in high school populations across the country, which have found that most youth use alcohol and drugs socially, for fun (DHSS, 1978; Research Triangle Institute, 1975; Cooper, et al., 1977). Their heavy reliance on alcohol and drugs as a means of escape is suggestive of the great amount of anxiety these young women have lived with as well as the limited alternatives they have for coping with such anxiety.

Drinking makes me feel happy, gets you over depression. Makes you feel like you don't have a care in the world, can escape from anything. Sometimes, when I'd come down from it, then I'd want some more 'cause it makes you start feeling depressed when you don't have it. Marijuana makes you feel you're out somewhere floating, drifting away. (The only negative effect is)...only when you come down..you want more.

Physical and Mental Health. The toll of stress was also evident when they were asked some questions on these topics. A number of the young women (7) reported that they had wet their bed in the past--some up to the age of fifteen. Others reported brief episodes of "black-outs" or loss of consciousness. Purposeful attempts to harm themselves were common. The majority of the young women had made such attempts, usually by taking large amounts of drugs or by cutting their wrists. They generally explained such actions either in terms of their parents' rejection or in terms of general self-contempt.

Running Away. Most of the young women had run away from home or placements. As a group, they had run away an average of eight times in their lives, usually beginning before they were fourteen years old.

The Response of Mental Health, Social Services, and Court Systems

The group as a whole described extensive experiences with various types of human services professionals, although such contacts did not seem to be very intensive in terms of their duration or frequency.

Self-Sought Services. Most had sought services from agencies or other adults by themselves at some point in their lives and felt that the help they received was extremely beneficial. Yet these services seemed to be short-term and crisis-oriented in nature.

I needed help to deal with my anger. I needed somebody to talk to, because a lot of times to deal with my anger I would go and do something wrong. Like my mom would make me feel bad so I would do something to make her feel bad.

Other Services. The overall impression of the services provided to the young women at the direction or request of others was one of superficiality--few of them seemed to receive services of much intensity (duration or frequency). Almost all had been seeing social workers, or "probation officers", usually following a referral by others (including the court). Only a few reported regular and frequent contacts with their social workers, and almost one-half reported that they saw such persons less than once a month. The others saw their social workers from once a month to weekly. Their perception of the help they received from their social workers seemed to depend upon their perception of the person's "investment" in them as well as upon the actual efforts the person made to help the young women solve problems (such as meeting with the family). Many of the young women also had seen psychologists or psychiatrists during their lives. These services seemed to have focused on individual counselling. The actual contacts with these professionals were likely to be frequent but short-term in duration (less than four months).

They should really try and understand the things young women go through, you know, they don't know how many of these girls have been raped, etc., and it sticks with them, you know...

I needed somebody to really talk to. That I guess I can't really stress enough because nobody really wants to listen. Everybody's got advice but nobody really cares to listen to what a person is feeling--which is a drag because you can never find out what a person is feeling unless you sit down and listen to him.

Occasionally, others were seen as especially helpful by some of the young women. Most of the young women mentioned specific police officers and/or lawyers as well as certain social workers or counsellors. Many of them seemed to be open to help from others, especially when someone went beyond his/her routine job duties to assist them. Others expressed difficulty accepting help from any person.

He gave me his opinion on how I should handle things differently than the way I was and he wasn't always cutting me down. He understood where I was coming from and explained to me why it was wrong instead of telling me that it was wrong.

Placements Outside Their Homes. Over two-thirds of the group had been placed outside their homes (in foster homes, group homes, or residential treatment centers). All but four of them had been "placed", if short-term shelter placements are included. Generally, these young women had been in a series of alternate settings. They generally viewed these placements as punishments for their own misconduct.

- Q: *Why were you placed the first time?*
 A: *For being a runaway when I was thirteen. My uncle helped them (parents) find a place for me.*
 Q: *For what reason did this placement end?*
 A: *Because I cut my wrists so my parents took me to a different place.*
 Q: *How was the (placement) experience?*
 A: *It made me bitter.*
 Q: *And when you cut your wrists, what were you trying to do?*
 A: *Get attention, I think.*
 Q: *Did it make a difference that the placement wasn't in your home town?*
 A: *Yeah, it did, because I felt like they just shipped me off.*

Almost one-half of the group experienced more than six placements in a three-year period. Most of the young women reported feeling "afraid", "lonely" and "rejected" at the time of their first placements. They were usually first placed due to a runaway incident and/or due to conflict with their parents. Generally, their first placements ended either in conflict (they ran away or "had to leave" as a result of problems) or due to a planned placement in another alternate care setting--only rarely did they return home.

Experiences in Detention Centers and Jails. The young women had been securely detained in jails and/or detention centers an average of more than five times in their lives (beginning before they were fifteen years old). Most reported feeling a great deal of fear when they were first detained. After a number of detentions, however, they were more likely to feel angry or depressed. Over one-third of them had been detained more than eight times, often for periods exceeding one week. The most common reason for their being locked in such facilities was for running away (including both running away from home and placements). Over one-third had been strip-searched or had "body-cavity checks" at least once.

All the time was more or less one big daze. I didn't feel anything. There was no routine. I was in solitary and there was nothing. Then they put you in a cell, and it's a closed off cell, then (later) in a regular cell, but it was off from

everyone else. They put your tray through the door and you don't see nobody until your time's up. There was nothing in there, no books, never anyone else, no TV, no games, like cards. (What did you do?) Sleep.

The police think that girls are like something to mess with--you know, laugh at them or make them mad or something. Something to play with.

Selected Services Issues. The young women reported that family conflicts regarding sex-related issues were common. It was surprising to learn that these issues were not discussed or even mentioned by their social workers in view of the fact that so many of them reported pregnancies, coerced sexual contacts, family conflict over curfews and boyfriends, or prostitution.

In addition, when we reviewed court and/or social services records, we found that the young women who had been placed in secured correctional institutions were quite similar to those who were not in the following ways: total number of offenses in their records, number of court appearances, and the seriousness of their offenses. The most noticeable difference in the offense histories of the young women in correctional programs was that they were much more likely to have "public disorder crimes" in their backgrounds (including disorderly conduct, loitering, curfew, drugs, concealed weapons, and eluding/resisting an officer).* The majority of young women in correctional institutions were sent there at their first dispositional hearing.

*Wolfgang, a noted crime researcher, developed this classification category and included concealed weapons charges. In our sample, there were four such allegations among a total of 40 in this offense category.

CHAPTER TWO.

PROFILE OF YOUNG WOMEN IN WISCONSIN'S JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM: THE SURVEY

The second step towards the development of a profile of young women in the juvenile justice system involved a survey of 192 young women. The focus of the survey was on a number of issues and experiences which had been identified during the exploratory study. These experiences had been found to have happened to many of the young women and to have had serious implications for their lives. They were also experiences which did not seem to have been adequately addressed by services.

Fifty-four percent of these young women were receiving services as a result of delinquent behavior and the rest were status offenders. About 65% of the sample were White young women, 21% were Black and 14% were either Native American, Hispanic, or of mixed racial backgrounds. Thirty-nine percent of the young women were fourteen or fifteen years old, 34% were sixteen, and 27% were seventeen. Fifteen percent of the young women were in the secured correctional institution at the time of the study. Among those who were not in the correctional institution, 65% lived at home, 5% were in foster homes, and the rest were either in group homes or residential treatment centers. Forty-six percent of the young women were from Milwaukee, 38% from semi-urban counties, and 16% were from rural counties. Sixty-nine percent of these young women were from single parent or disrupted families.

Victimization: Physical Abuse

The young women had often experienced physical abuse and a sizable population had never received services which would help them deal with the effects. Seventy-nine percent of the young women had experienced some form of injury as a result of physical punishment. Among those who reported such injuries, 84% had received bruises, 81% had received welts, 81% had been in "severe pain", 21% had been knocked unconscious, 17% had had teeth chipped or broken, and 12% had had a bone broken. Often, a number of injuries had been inflicted upon them. Forty-nine percent of young women had experienced three or more different types of injuries. The forms of punishment these young women had been subjected to were alarming. Those young women who received observable injuries had: been slapped with a hand (87%), been hit with an object (85%), been shoved hard (63%), had their hair pulled (57%), been struck with a closed fist (52%), and/or had their arm twisted (48%). In addition, 30% reported having been choked and 19% reported having been burned as punishments.

Those who had been injured as a result of punishments were most likely to have had an injury inflicted by their mother (56%) and/or father (51%). However, 27% of them reported that siblings who were left "in charge" had punished them to the point of injury. In addition, 21% reported that such injuries had been caused by a step-parent and 14% attributed injuries to other relatives.

Sixty-one percent of the young women did not seek help as a result of such punishments. While some of these young women may have been very young at the time of the injury, others were able to identify reasons. The most

frequently reported reason for not seeking help was: "I didn't think of it as a problem someone could help me with (61%). Another reason reported by 58% of the young women was: "I didn't want to cause trouble by telling someone." Fifty-seven percent of the young women indicated that they were "afraid that no one would understand". The experience of severe physical punishment continued to trouble 37% of the young women in some way.

Physical abuse was not isolated to any one type of county. The victims of physical abuse were distributed evenly among socio-economic groups (based on occupation of parent) and also among sizes of counties. However, White young women (82%) were more likely to report physical injuries resulting from punishments than were the Black young women (66%) or "Other Minorities" (59%).

Physical abuse victims also were found to be more likely than the non-victims to have been sexually abused. While just 17% of the young women who did not experience injuries from punishment were sexually abused, 25% of those who received bruises or welts and 61% of those who had received severe injuries had also been sexually abused.

Table O-1. Among Those Who Reported Injuries As A Result of Physical Punishment, Types of Punishment Experienced by Status in the Juvenile Justice System and by Race.

Type of Physical Punishment/Abuse	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders-- County Supervision	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision					
Percent who were:							
1. shoved hard	81.8	58.0	61.6	64.7	48.1	81.3	63.4
2. hair pulled	59.1	66.0	50.7	61.8	37.0	62.5	57.2
3. slapped with hand	90.9	90.0	83.6	91.2	70.4	87.5	86.9
4. arm twisted	59.1	46.0	45.2	49.0	33.3	62.5	47.6
5. hit with object	100.0	82.0	82.2	82.4	88.9	93.8	84.8
6. struck with closed fist	72.7	42.0	45.2	50.0	44.4	75.0	51.7
7. choked	40.9	26.0	28.8	29.4	29.6	31.3	29.7
8. burned	22.7	18.0	17.8	16.7	22.2	25.0	18.6
(N)	(22)	(50)	(73)	(102)	(27)	(16)	(145)

Table 0-2. Among Those Reporting Injuries the Types of Harms Received as a Result of Physical Punishment by Status in the Juvenile Justice System and by Race

Harms Received from Physical Punishment/Abuse	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders--	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision	County Supervision				
Percent who received:							
1. severe pain - no surface injury	86.4	78.0	80.8	80.4	74.1	93.8	80.7
2. bruises	90.9	86.0	80.8	85.3	77.8	87.5	84.1
3. welts	90.9	74.0	82.2	78.4	81.5	93.8	80.7
4. broken bone(s)	36.4	14.0	4.1	9.8	14.8	25.0	12.4
5. broken teeth	40.9	14.0	11.0	15.7	18.5	18.8	16.6
6. knocked unconscious	50.0	22.0	12.3	17.6	25.9	37.5	21.4
(N)	(22)	(50)	(73)	(102)	(27)	(16)	(145)

Table 0-3. Reasons for Not Seeking Help Among Those Who Reported Physical Abuse by Status in the Juvenile Justice System and by Race

Reasons For Not Seeking Help Among Those Who Reported Physical Punishment	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders--	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision	County Supervision				
Percent who said:							
1. No one available.	33.3	25.8	24.2	17.3	41.2	50.0	26.6
2. I was scared.	66.7	38.7	42.4	42.3	58.8	40.0	45.6
3. Afraid no one would understand.	60.0	54.8	57.6	46.2	82.4	70.0	57.0
4. Thought would be beaten more.	60.0	19.4	36.4	28.8	41.2	50.0	34.2
5. Thought might be removed from home.	60.0	32.3	27.3	25.0	70.6	30.0	35.4
6. Didn't want to cause more problems.	73.3	48.4	60.6	50.0	76.5	70.0	58.2
7. Didn't think of it as a problem someone could help with.	53.3	61.3	63.6	55.8	82.4	50.0	60.8
(N)	(15)	(31)	(33)	(52)	(17)	(10)	(79)

*Excludes those who sought help.

Victimization: Sexual Abuse

The extent of sexual abuse of the young women in the survey was alarming, particularly when prior researchers have indicated a tendency for youths to underreport such experiences. Thirty-two percent of the young women had experienced sexual contact with a relative or another person who held a position of trust with her and her family. Sixty-seven percent of these young women had experienced such contacts more than once, and 31% reported that the sexual contacts spanned a period of time of more than two years. One-half (51%) of these young women first had been sexually abused between six and ten years of age. Eighty-nine percent of the victims had been sexually abused by the time they were thirteen years old. Fifty-one percent of these young women had been sexually abused by a parent or step-parent. The rest had been abused by another relative or a family friend.

Of great concern is the finding that over one-half of these young women (52%) said that they had never talked to anyone about the problem prior to this survey. Among those who did try to find someone to talk to, 76% indicated that it was difficult. Among those who did not try to talk to someone about these experiences, 81% reported that they were too scared, 84% said they didn't know what to expect by way of a reaction, and 72% said they were embarrassed about the problem. In addition, 59% of the victims of sexual abuse indicated that they did not know they could get help for this type of problem. Others were afraid to seek help for fear their family might be "broken up" (44%) and/or that they themselves might be removed from home (41%).

This form of victimization was experienced by young women of varied backgrounds. The victims of sexual abuse were distributed evenly among socio-economic groups and also among sizes of counties. The incidence of sexual abuse did not vary much between racial groups, although Native American, Hispanic, and mixed racial background young women were somewhat more likely to report sexual abuse (37%) as compared to Black young women (32%) and White young women (27%).

We have seen that physical abuse victims (those with severe injuries) often were also sexually abused. Looking at the sexual abuse victims as a group, we found that 87% of them also reported some form of injury resulting from physical punishments as compared to 70% of the non-victims. The young women who had been sexually abused (72%) were much more likely than those who were not (40%) to have been sexually assaulted as well.

Table 0-4. Incidence of Sexual Abuse by Current Status in the Juvenile Justice System and by Racial Origin

Frequency of Sexual Abuse Indidents	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders-- County Supervision	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision					
Never	37.9%	78.4%	69.7%	67.7%	73.2%	63.0%	68.2%
At Least Once	62.1	21.6	30.3	32.3	26.8	37.0	31.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(29)	(74)	(89)	(124)	(41)	(27)	(192)

Table 0-5. Among Sexual Abuse Victims, the Age at the Time of First Incidence of Sexual Abuse by Status in the Juvenile Justice System and by Racial Origin

Age of Victim	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders-- County Supervision	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision					
0-5 years	11.1%	.0	22.2%	12.5%	9.1%	20.0%	13.1%
6-10 years	66.7	56.3	37.0	52.5	72.7	20.0	50.8
11-13 years	16.7	37.5	22.2	17.5	18.2	60.0	24.6
14-17 years	5.5	6.3	18.5	17.5	.0	.0	11.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(18)	(16)	(27)	(40)	(11)	(10)	(61)

NOTE:

Those who reported no sexual abuse history (N=131) are excluded.

Table 0-6. Duration of Sexual Abuse by Current Status in the Juvenile Justice System and by Racial Origin

Duration of Abuse	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders-- County Supervision	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision					
1 month or less	44.4%	56.3%	48.1%	47.5%	54.5%	50.0%	49.2%
1 year or less	22.2	18.8	18.5	17.5	18.2	30.0	19.7
2-6 years	11.1	25.0	18.5	25.0	9.1	.0	18.0
6+ years	22.2	.0	14.8	10.0	18.2	20.0	13.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(18)	(16)	(27)	(40)	(11)	(10)	(61)

NOTE: Those who reported no sexual abuse history (N=131) are excluded.

Among Those Who Did Not Talk About Their Sexual Abuse Experience, Reasons
Table 0-7. for not Talking by Current Status and by Race

Reasons for not Talking About Sexual Abuse	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders-- County Supervision	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision					
1. Was too scared.	80.0% (8)	83.3% (10)	80.0% (8)	72.2% (13)	100.0% (8)	83.3% (5)	81.3% (26)
2. Was embarrassed.	90.0 (9)	75.0 (9)	50.0 (5)	66.7 (12)	87.5 (7)	66.7 (4)	71.9 (23)
3. Family might be broken up.	50.0 (5)	58.3 (7)	20.0 (2)	33.3 (6)	62.5 (5)	50.0 (3)	43.8 (14)
4. Might have to leave home.	70.0 (7)	25.0 (3)	30.0 (3)	38.9 (7)	62.5 (5)	16.7 (1)	40.6 (13)
5. Didn't know what to expect	90.0 (9)	75.0 (9)	90.0 (9)	83.3 (15)	100.0 (8)	66.7 (4)	84.4 (27)
6. Didn't know I could get help for this problem.	50.0 (5)	33.3 (8)	40.0 (6)	61.1 (11)	75.0 (6)	33.3 (2)	59.4 (19)

Victimization: Sexual Assault

Fifty percent of the young women in our sample had been forced to have sexual intercourse or oral/anal sexual contacts against their will (excluding intrafamilial abuse). In addition, most of these young women (52%) had been assaulted more than once. In fact, 20% of these women had been assaulted five times or more. The young women were most likely to have been at least sixteen years old at the time of the first assault, although 21% reported that they had been fifteen years old or younger.

As we have found with the other forms of victimization, 60% of the victims of sexual assault had never talked with anyone about the experience. This was even more true for minority young women. The reasons which the young women gave for not disclosing such experiences reflected general fear (80%), and embarrassment (86%). Seventy-two percent of the young women indicated that they were afraid that no one would understand. Thirty-five percent of these victims said that they didn't know that it was possible to get help for this problem. Since so many of them had never talked with anyone else about these experiences, it is not surprising that 62% of the victims reported that they were still troubled by the experience.

While young women from all socio-economic backgrounds had experienced assaults, victims were somewhat more likely to come from families in which the parent was unemployed. Sixty-three percent of the daughters of unemployed parents were sexually assaulted as compared to 54% of the daughters of unskilled/skilled laborers and 50% of the daughters of semi-professional, professional, and self-employed parents. Young women from rural counties and from Milwaukee were more likely to have been sexually assaulted than those who were from semi-urban counties. Thirty-four percent of the young women from semi-urban counties had been sexually assaulted as compared to 58% of the rural young women and 51% of those who were from Milwaukee. Native American, Hispanic, or mixed racial background young women were much more likely than the others to have been sexually assaulted. Forty-eight percent of the White and 46% of the Black young women reported such experiences. In contrast, 63% of the Other Minority young women reported sexual assaults.

The victims of sexual assault were much more likely than non-victims to have experienced physical and/or sexual abuse within their families, suggesting a pattern of victimization for many of the young women. Eighty-three percent of the sexual assault victims had been physically abused as compared to 68% of the non-victims. In addition, 46% of the sexual assault victims had also been sexually abused as compared to 18% of the non-victims.

Table 0-8. Incidence of Sexual Assault by Current Status in the Juvenile Justice System and Racial Origin

Incidence of Sexual Assault	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders--	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision	County Supervision				
Never	24.1%	54.1%	55.1%	51.6%	53.7%	37.0%	50.0%
At Least Once	75.9	45.9	44.9	48.4	46.3	63.0	50.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(29)	(74)	(89)	(124)	(41)	(27)	(192)

Table 0-9. Among Sexual Assault Victims Who Did Not Talk With Anyone, Their Reasons by Current Status in the Juvenile Justice System and by Racial Origin

Reasons for Not Talking	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders--	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision	County Supervision				
Percent who were:							
1. scared	92.9	66.7	83.3	75.0	83.3	90.0	80.0
2. afraid no one would understand	69.2	73.7	72.2	67.9	66.7	90.0	72.0
3. embarrassed	92.3	73.7	94.4	85.2	75.0	100.0	86.0
4. didn't know I could get help for this problem	33.3	38.9	31.3	19.2	80.0	30.0	34.8
5. no one available	54.5	35.3	17.6	19.2	60.0	44.4	33.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(11)	(17)	(17)	(26)	(10)	(9)	(45)

NOTE:

Those who were not sexually assaulted are excluded. Those who talked to someone are also excluded.

Suicide Attempts

Throughout the study, it was apparent that a majority of these young women had serious problems with depression and anger. In fact, 58% of the young women in our sample had attempted suicide at least once. These attempts were not isolated. Sixty-two percent of these young women had attempted suicide more than once. Seventy-seven percent of them were living at home at the time of their first attempt, and 57% (of those who repeated attempts) were living at home at the time of their most recent attempt. Eighteen percent of the young women were living in a foster home, group home, or residential treatment center at the time of their first suicide attempt and 6% were in a locked facility.

Most of the young women (76%) evaluated their first attempt as not being very serious in terms of the harm caused. However, 69% of those who made repeated attempts characterized their most recent one as being very serious. Furthermore, their suicide attempts were more often planned in advance than they were spontaneous, or in reaction to immediate events. Sixty percent of the young women planned their first suicide attempt and 65% of the young women with repeated attempts planned their most recent attempt.

The data indicate that a sizable proportion of young women did not give anyone an opportunity to help. Fifty-five percent of these young women were receiving services from helping professionals at the time of their first attempt and 60% of those who repeated attempts were seeing such professionals at the time of their most recent attempt. In spite of these services, only a few of the young women had talked to such people about the problems which led to their attempt(s). For example, while 24% of these young women were seeing a social worker or probation officer at the time of their first suicide attempt, only 3% reported that they had talked to such persons about the problems which had led them to harm themselves. In contrast, 26% of these young women had talked to friends about their problems. Most of them, however, had not talked to anyone.

Their reasons for not talking about their problems prior to attempting suicide are therefore extremely important. Forty-five percent of these young women indicated that they avoided talking to someone because they were worried that people would think that they were crazy. Forty-six percent said that they simply did not want anyone to know about the problems they were having, and 23% didn't think anyone would be able to help them with their problems. Alarming,ly, over one-half (55%) of these young women reported that--at the time of the study--they were still troubled enough by problems to contemplate future suicide attempts.

Those women who had attempted suicide were from all socio-economic backgrounds, although the daughters of professional, semi-professional, and self-employed parents (68%) were more likely to have attempted suicide than were the daughters of skilled/unskilled laborers (53%) and the daughters of unemployed parents (50%). In addition, the White young women (69%) were more likely to have attempted suicide than were the Black (32%) or "Other Minority" young women (52%). While the numbers were small enough to caution the reader, we found that young women in the "Other Minority" group were more likely to

have attempted suicide "many times" (22%) as compared to the White (14%) and Black young women (0%). They were also more likely to evaluate their first attempt as very serious. Minority young women were more likely to have been in alternate care placements or locked facilities at the time of their first suicide attempt than were the White young women, and more likely to still be contemplating suicide.

The data revealed a relationship between suicide attempts and victimization experiences. Sixty-four percent of the young women who had been physically abused and/or sexually abused and/or sexually assaulted had attempted suicide as compared to 20% of the non-victims. The relationship between suicide attempts and physical abuse was particularly strong. Ninety-one percent of the young women who had been severely abused and 52% of those who had received bruises or welts had attempted suicide, as compared to 38% of those who had never been injured as a result of physical punishments. Sexually abused young women were also much more likely than those who were not sexually abused to attempt suicide. Seventy-nine percent of the sexual abuse victims attempted suicide as compared to 51% of those who had not been sexually abused.

The frequency of running away also showed a relationship to suicide attempts. While 31% of the young women who had never run away from home had attempted suicide, 48% of those who had run once or twice and 72% of those who had run three or more times had attempted suicide.

Table 0-10. Incidence of Self-Harm by Current Status in the Juvenile Justice System and by Racial Origin

Incidence of Self-Harm	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders-- County Supervision	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision					
Never	17.2%	51.4%	41.6%	31.5%	68.3%	48.1%	41.7%
At Least Once	82.8	48.6	58.4	68.5	31.7	51.9	58.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(29)	(74)	(89)	(124)	(41)	(27)	(192)

Table O-11. Frequency Among Those Who Ever Attempted Suicide by Current Status in the Juvenile Justice System and by Racial Origin

Frequency of Self-Harm	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders--	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision	County Supervision				
Once	12.5%	41.7%	46.2%	36.5%	61.5%	21.4%	37.5%
A Few Times	62.5	47.2	44.2	49.4	38.5	57.1	49.1
Many Times	25.0	11.1	9.6	14.1	0.0	21.5	13.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(24)	(36)	(52)	(85)	(13)	(14)	(112)

Table O-12. Relationship Between Self-Harm and Victimization (Including Physical Abuse, Sexual Abuse, and Sexual Assault)

Suicide Attempts	Non-Victims	Victims	Total
Yes	20.0%	64.1%	58.3%
No	80.0	35.9	41.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(167)	(25)	(192)

Table 0-13. Reasons For Not Talking to Someone Prior to Self-Harm Attempt(s) by Status in the Juvenile Justice System and Racial Origin

Reasons for Not Talking	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders--	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision	County Supervision				
A. Reasons for not Talking Prior to First Self-Harm Attempt*							
1. I was afraid.	27.3%	27.8%	16.0%	15.7%	50.0%	38.5%	22.2%
2. I didn't think anyone could help.	22.7	16.7	28.0	19.3	35.0	46.2	23.1
3. I didn't know who to go to.	9.1	19.4	20.0	14.5	25.0	30.8	17.6
4. It was too personal.	18.2	19.4	14.0	16.9	25.0	7.7	16.7
5. People would think I was crazy.	54.5	41.7	44.0	44.6	41.7	53.8	45.4
6. I didn't want anyone to know.	40.0	38.9	50.0	48.2	41.7	38.5	46.3
(N)	(22)	(36)	(50)	(83)	(12)	(13)	(108)
B. Reasons for Not Talking Prior to Most Recent Self-Harm Attempt**							
1. I was afraid.	10.0	10.0	18.5	11.5	20.0	20.0	13.4
2. I didn't think anyone would help.	30.0	15.0	25.9	19.2	40.0	40.0	23.9
3. I didn't know who to go to.	15.0	15.0	29.6	17.3	40.0	30.0	20.9
4. It was too personal.	30.0	10.0	14.8	15.4	20.0	30.0	17.9
5. People would think I was crazy.	35.0	30.0	51.9	36.5	60.0	50.0	40.3
6. I didn't want anyone to know.	60.0	40.0	51.9	53.8	40.0	40.0	50.7
(N)	(20)	(20)	(27)	(52)	(5)	(10)	(67)

NOTE:

* Nonresponses are excluded (N=4). Those who did not attempt self-harm are excluded.

** Nonresponses are excluded (N=3). Those who did not attempt self-harm are excluded.

School Experiences

Most of the young women were attending some form of school program at the time of the study, although 16% had dropped out or had been expelled or suspended. Thirty-two percent of the seventeen year olds were in graduate equivalency programs at the time of the study. Forty-two percent of the young women had repeated at least one grade level, especially those from Milwaukee and those from lower socio-economic groups. Eighty-four percent of the young women identified a grade level at which their school problems intensified. Among these young women, 43% identified 6th or 9th grade as being the most difficult times for them. Both grade levels represent a transition such as from elementary to middle school or from middle to high school.

The young women experienced numerous difficulties in school. These problems were sometimes caused by or made worse by problems they faced outside of school. In fact, 67% of the young women reported that they had been experiencing personal problems during the past year which affected their school experiences. Furthermore, over one-half of them reported that they just didn't feel they belonged in school. Other problems during the past year were also reported. Sixty percent of the young women indicated that they had been unable to keep up with the pace of academic work. Fifty-five percent had been in physical fights with other students and 53% did not get along with their teachers.

The data indicated that sizable proportions of young women felt that they did not receive help for their school problems. Among those who felt they had problems in school during the last year, 29% felt that no one had tried to help them. Among those who did receive help, teachers, school counselors, and their social workers were the most frequent sources, although help from each of those persons was reported by less than one-half of the young women. Further, among the young women who reported problems in school, 56% were in some form of modified school program, from special education classes to work-study programs. This was true for fewer of the Black young women (48%). Furthermore, the proportion of young women who participated in such programs increased following their referral to court. Among those who had been brought before a juvenile court, 24% had been in modified school programs prior to their involvement in the justice system. While there may be many reasons for the increase in special school programs following court actions, these data suggest that--for some young women--special programming may follow their being labeled as having problems.

Table O-14. Problems Experienced in School During Last Year that They Were in School by Current Status in the Juvenile Justice System and Racial

Indicators of Adjustment Within the School	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders--	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision	County Supervision				
Percent who:							
1. Had physical fights with other kids.	82.8	58.1	43.8	53.2	58.5	59.3	55.2
2. Did not get along with other kids (other than fights).	31.0	23.0	12.5	18.5	22.0	18.5	19.3
3. Were unable to keep up with school work.	65.5	48.6	67.5	64.5	41.5	66.7	59.9
4. Did not get along with teachers.	69.0	44.6	53.9	58.1	36.6	51.9	52.6
5. Felt generally that they did not belong in the school.	62.1	52.7	48.3	54.8	36.6	63.0	52.1
6. Had other personal problems which affected their school experience.	75.9	64.9	66.3	69.4	63.4	63.0	67.2

N=192

Table 0-15. Most Difficult Time in School by Status in the Juvenile Justice System and Racial Origins

Grades that were Identified as Most Difficult	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders--	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision	County Supervision				
<u>A. Level of Schooling Which was Identified as Most Difficult.</u>							
1. All grades	24.1%	6.8%	6.7%	10.5%	7.3%	7.4%	9.4%
2. Grade school	0.0	4.1	9.0	6.5	4.9	3.7	5.7
3. Middle school	37.9	29.7	27.0	28.2	29.3	37.0	29.7
4. High school	24.1	44.6	40.4	41.9	36.6	33.3	39.6
5. None	13.8	14.9	16.9	12.9	22.0	18.5	15.6
Total (N)	100.0 (29)	100.0 (74)	100.0 (89)	100.0 (124)	100.0 (41)	100.0 (27)	100.0 (192)
<u>B. Among those who Identified a Grade as the Most Difficult, Percent Who Identified a Transition Grade (6th or 9th Grade) as Most Difficult</u>							
(N)	44.4 (18)	41.4 (58)	44.1 (68)	45.3 (95)	44.8 (29)	30.0 (20)	43.1 (144)

Table 0-16. Relationship Between Victimization and Types of School Problems Experienced by Status in the Juvenile Justice System and Racial Origin

School Problems in Recent Year	Sexual Abuse		Physical Abuse		Total
	Non-Victims	Victims	Non-Victims	Victims	
Percent who:					
1. Were in physical fights with kids.	51.5	63.9	40.4	60.4	55.5
2. Did not get along with kids.	15.3	26.7	12.8	20.8	18.8
3. Were unable to keep up with school work.	55.0	70.0	53.2	61.8	59.7
4. Did not get along with teachers.	50.4	55.2	46.8	53.5	51.9
5. Felt generally they did not belong in school.	48.1	63.3	44.7	55.6	52.9
6. Had other personal problems which affected school experience.	60.3	83.3	57.4	70.8	67.5
(N)	(130)	(61)	(47)	(146)	(191)

Runaway Experiences

The young women could be grouped into three categories: those who never left home without permission for at least one night (19%), those who ran away once or twice (25%) and those who ran away three or more times (56%). Eighty-two percent of the young women who ran away from home identified family problems as a primary reason for leaving. In addition, 66% identified a general feeling of depression and 46% identified school problems as reasons for leaving home.

The majority of these young women tried to get help both before and after they left home, however they seemed to turn to friends and/or relatives more often than professionals. Thirty-four percent of the young women turned to their social workers for help. Less than one-fourth of those who ran away went to people at school, telephone counseling services, or runaway centers. Once the young women had left home, they were less likely to feel that friends, relatives or their social workers were helpful than was true before they left. In contrast, while small numbers of young women went to runaway centers, 91% of those who did indicated that the people there had been very helpful.

Since 123 of the young women had been placed outside their homes, we also examined the nature of runs from placements. Contrary to our expectations, we found that many young women either never ran from placements or ran just once or twice. Among the young women who were placed, 30% had never run from a placement, 31% had run once or twice, and 39% had run three or more times. The most common reasons for leaving placements were problems they were having with foster parents or placement staff (68%) and/or general feelings of depression (59%).

Once they had left home or placements, the young women encountered survival problems or harms or both. This has been noted by other researchers, who have concluded:

Those who leave home for extended periods almost immediately face basic problems of survival... Burdened with the status of an 'illegal alien', without protection and without rights, the runaway is often obliged to turn to deviant behavior in order to weave his way... (Miller, et al, 1980)

Indeed, sizable proportions of the young women reported encountering such problems as hunger (51%), lack of a place to sleep (44%) and loneliness (48%). Over one-half of them (54%) had found it necessary to steal money, clothing, or food in order to survive. In addition, 17% found it necessary to exchange sexual contacts for food or a place to stay, and 14% reported doing so for money in order to survive.

Sizable proportions of young women also experienced serious harms while on the run. For example, 38% reported that they had attempted suicide while

on the run. Over one-half of these young women had done so more than once. Difficulties with drugs were also experienced by many young women. Thirty-three percent reported frightening drug experiences, and 19% reported that they had accidentally overdosed on drugs while on the run. The young women were also vulnerable to assaults while on the run. Twenty-one percent of them indicated that they had been sexually assaulted ('raped') and 18% physically assaulted ('beaten up') while on the run.

We then examined some characteristics of runaways. Repeat runaways (those who ran three times or more) were more likely to be White (63%) or one of the 'Other Minorities' (63%) than Black (32%). This was also true among those who repeatedly ran from placements. The Black young women who did run away were more likely to attribute their leaving to school problems than were the others. Also, once they ran, Black young women were somewhat less likely to seek help and less likely to face survival problems such as shelter or the need to steal money, food or clothes.

The Native American, Hispanic, and mixed racial backgrounds young women were substantially more likely than both Whites and Blacks to have accidentally overdosed on drugs, been beaten up, and/or sexually assaulted, and to have attempted suicide while on the run.

We also found a relationship between running away and victimization in the home. Repeat runners were more likely than those who never ran or who ran once or twice to have been sexually and/or physically abused at home. Thirty-eight percent of the repeat runners had been sexually abused as compared to 27% of the infrequent runners and 17% of those who never ran away. Similarly, 85% of the repeat runners had been physically abused as compared to 50% of those who had never run away.

In addition, these victims were more likely than non-victims to experience problems and harms while on the run. This was especially true for the victims of sexual abuse. For example, 65% of the sexual abuse victims reported hunger and 60% reported problems finding a place to stay, as compared to 42% and 35% of those who were not sexually abused. In addition, 68% of the sexual abuse victims had stolen money, clothes or food while on the run, as compared to 46% of the non-victims. Sexual abuse victims were much more likely than non-victims to have exchanged sex for money or food and shelter. While 33% of the sexual abuse victims had sexual contact for shelter or food and 23% for money, these experiences had happened to just 8% and 9% of non-victims. Victims of physical and/or sexual abuse were also more likely to be sexually assaulted and to have attempted suicide while on the run.

Table 07. Number of Times Ran Away from Home or Placements in the Two Years Prior to the Study by Current Status in the Juvenile Justice System by Racial Origin

Number of Times Ran Away	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders-- County Supervision	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision					
A. From Home:							
0	10.7	20.3	20.2	13.0	36.6	18.5	18.8
1-2	10.7	31.1	24.7	24.4	31.7	18.5	25.1
3-5	10.7	8.1	21.3	17.1	7.3	14.8	14.7
6+	67.9	40.5	33.7	45.5	24.4	48.1	41.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(28)	(74)	(89)	(123)	(41)	(27)	(191)
B. From Placement:*							
0	20.7	29.7	35.1	30.0	47.6	13.6	30.1
1-2	17.2	32.4	36.8	28.7	33.3	36.4	30.9
3-5	13.8	13.5	8.8	13.7	4.8	9.1	11.4
6+	48.3	24.3	19.3	27.5	14.3	40.9	27.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(29)	(37)	(57)	(80)	(21)	(22)	(123)

*Excludes those who were not placed outside the home in the last two years.

Table 0-18. Among Those Who Ran Away, Reason(s) for Running Away from Home (Most Recent Time) and Placements the Most Recent Time by Current Status in the Juvenile Justice System and by Racial Origin

Reason(s) for Running Away	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders-- County Supervision	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision					
Percent Who Ran Away Due to Problems with							
A. From Home:							
1. Family	79.2	71.4	91.3	89.2	61.5	71.4	81.9
2. School	42.9	41.2	51.5	45.4	57.1	40.0	45.4
3. Peers	19.0	30.6	15.6	20.0	25.0	26.3	21.6
4. Social Worker, Police, or Judge	66.7	51.0	15.6	40.2	14.3	47.4	37.2
5. Drug/Alcohol	66.7	41.2	24.2	36.4	38.1	42.9	37.6
6. Depression	69.6	58.0	69.7	63.3	70.0	71.4	65.5
(N)*							
Average Number of Different Problems	3.3	2.8	2.6	2.9	2.5	2.8	2.8
B. From Placement:							
1. Missed Family	50.0	50.0	25.0	29.6	54.5	57.9	39.3
2. Family Conflicts	33.3	34.6	42.9	39.6	45.5	27.8	37.8
3. School	30.0	20.0	22.2	24.5	27.3	17.6	23.5
4. Problems with Foster Parents/ Staff at Placements	72.7	73.1	61.1	72.2	63.6	57.9	67.9
5. Peer Problems	45.5	32.0	36.1	30.2	54.5	47.4	37.3
6. Social Worker, Police, or Judge	47.6	60.0	30.6	49.1	27.3	38.9	43.9
7. Drug/Alcohol Problems	57.1	40.0	30.6	42.3	45.5	31.6	40.2
8. Depression	70.0	53.8	57.1	56.9	63.9	53.2	59.2
(N)*							
Average Number of Different Problems	4.1	3.7	3.1	3.5	3.8	3.3	3.5

NOTE:

* Vary due to nonresponses to each item. N = from 137 to 149. Nonresponses excluded.

Table 0-19. Among Those Who Ran Away, Problems and Harms Which Occurred While on the Run (from Home and/or Placement) by Current Status in Juvenile Justice System and by Racial Origin

Type of Experience	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders--	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision	County Supervision				
A. Percent Who Had Survival Problems:							
1. Hunger	57.1	51.7	47.3	51.4	45.2	54.2	50.6
2. No shelter	67.9	39.0	39.2	46.2	32.3	50.0	44.1
3. Lonely	44.4	50.8	47.3	50.9	40.0	45.8	48.1
4. Stole money, clothes, food	82.1	57.6	41.1	57.1	35.5	66.7	54.4
5. Exchanged sex for food/shelter	39.3	15.3	9.6	15.2	12.9	29.2	16.9
6. Exchanged sex for money	32.1	13.6	7.0	10.5	24.1	16.7	13.9
B. Percent Who Had Experienced Harms:							
1. Frightening drug experience	26.4	30.2	43.4	34.0	26.7	37.5	33.1
2. Accidental drug overdose	50.0	13.6	11.0	18.1	3.2	41.7	18.8
3. Beaten up	32.1	8.5	20.5	12.4	25.8	33.3	18.1
4. Sexually assaulted/raped	50.0	13.6	16.4	21.0	12.9	33.3	21.2
5. Attempted suicide	61.5	16.9	38.4	34.6	23.3	45.8	38.4

NOTE:

* Number varies with item: N=158-161.

Table 0-20. Incidence of Sexual Abuse by Frequency of Running Away From Home

Sexual Abuse	Times Ran			Total
	0	1-2	3+	
No	83.3	72.9	61.7	68.6
Yes	16.7	27.1	38.3	31.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(36)	(48)	(107)	(191)

Table 0-21. Incidence of Physical Abuse by Frequency of Running Away From Home

Physical Abuse	Times Ran		
	0	1-2	3+
No	50.0	27.0	15.0
Yes - Bruises/Welts	47.2	56.3	51.4
Yes - Severe	2.8	16.7	33.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(36)	(48)	(107)

Table 0-22. Among Those Who Ran Away, Problems and Harms Which Occurred While On the Run by Type of Victimization

Problems/Harms While On Run	Sexual Abuse			Physical Abuse		
	Non-Victim	Victim	Total	Non-Victim	Victim	Total
A. Percent Who Had Survival Problems:						
1. Hunger	42.3%	64.9%	50.3%	48.4%	50.8%	50.3%
2. No shelter	34.6	60.3	43.8	32.3	46.6	43.8
3. Lonely	43.3	56.1	47.8	51.6	46.9	47.8
4. Stole money, clothes, food	46.2	68.4	54.0	41.9	56.9	54.0
5. Exchanged sex for food/shelter	7.7	33.3	16.8	16.1	16.9	16.8
6. Exchanges sex for money	8.8	22.8	13.8	16.7	13.2	13.8
B. Percent Who Had Experienced Harms:						
1. Frightening drug experience	34.0	31.0	32.9	26.7	34.4	32.9
2. Accidental drug overdose	15.4	24.6	18.6	16.1	19.2	18.6
3. Beaten up	17.3	19.3	18.0	12.9	19.2	18.0
4. Sexually assaulted	17.3	28.1	21.1	6.5	24.6	21.1
5. Attempted suicide	28.4	43.9	34.0	22.6	36.7	34.0

NOTE: N=159-162 (varies with response)

Services Desired and Those Received

The young women did seem to feel that a number of different types of services would be very helpful for them. The one type of program which was desired by the majority of the young women (72%) was a job skills program: "a program that would teach me things that would help me to get a job in the future". This was desired by 93% of the Black young women. Other types of services which were frequently desired included: "a shelter home where I could go whenever I need a place to stay" (45%), "a program that would help me with school problems" (45%), "a program that would be available to help me any hour, any day of the week--whenever I need it" (41%), and "a program that would work with me and my family together--to help us get along better" (40%). In addition, a sizable number of the young women desired services which would help them improve themselves or their feelings about themselves. Thirty-five percent desired "an activity that would help me feel like I count--that I can contribute something good to other people". Thirty-two percent desired "help getting better at dealing with other people (both adults and young people)". Twenty-nine percent wanted help dealing with drug or alcohol problems.

Most of the young women (88%) had received at least one of the following types of services: help from a crisis center, counseling at a mental health center, group counseling, organized recreational activities, restitution program, or job skills preparation. However, most of them (53%) had only experienced one or two of these types of services--most commonly: group counseling and/or recreation programs. Rural young women (70%) were much more likely to have received mental health services than were those from semi-urban counties (36%) or Milwaukee (40%).

Placements outside their homes were a predominant form of services. Sixty-one percent of the young women had been placed outside their homes in: relatives' homes (excluding family arrangements), foster homes, group homes, and child caring institutions. A majority of the young women within each racial category had been placed. However, a much larger proportion of the Native American, Hispanic and mixed racial group (81%) had been placed as compared to Whites (59%) and Blacks (54%). While the numbers of 'Other Minority' young women was small, this pattern should be investigated further to see if the needs of such families are different from others.

About one-half of the young women had been in three or more different placements. Black young women were the most likely to have been placed in three or more different placements. Although the Black young women were found to be the least likely to run away from placements, those who did often attributed their running to the fact that they missed their own families--suggesting a different set of concerns for service providers when Black young women are placed.

Rural young women (73%) were the most likely to be placed outside their homes and to have been in six or more different placements (36%). While the young women from Milwaukee were the least likely to be placed outside

their homes (57%), once placed, the majority (58%) experienced three or more different placements.

The data suggest that victimized young women experience more problems in placements. Perhaps this is due to the fact that so many of them have not adequately dealt with the consequences of their abuse. Victims of sexual and/or physical abuse were more likely than non-victims to be placed and, once placed, were more likely to experience a larger number of different placements. For example, the sexual abuse victims who were placed averaged 5.5 different placements, as compared to 2.6 for those who were not sexually abused. The physical abuse victims who were placed averaged 3.9 different placements, as compared to 2.6 for those who were not physically abused.

Table 0-23. Young Women's Opinions About the Types of Services Which Would Be Very Helpful to Them by Status in the Juvenile Justice System and by Race

Service Types	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders-- County Supervision	White	Black	Other	
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision					
Percent who felt service would be "very helpful" to her:							
1. job skills program	75.9	73.0	70.8	66.1	92.7	70.4	72.4
2. round-the-clock-access to help	48.3	40.5	39.8	36.6	70.7	18.5	41.4
3. program to help with school problems	44.8	43.2	46.1	37.9	70.7	37.0	44.8
4. program to help with family problems	37.9	37.8	42.7	40.3	41.5	37.0	40.1
5. daily supervision program to keep out of trouble	34.5	19.2	15.7	12.1	39.0	26.9	19.9
6. shelter, when have nowhere to stay	48.3	45.9	43.8	46.0	43.9	44.4	45.3
7. program to help with physical/sexual abuse	37.9	32.4	33.0	32.3	46.3	19.2	33.5
8. social skills program	46.4	32.4	28.1	29.0	50.0	22.2	32.5
9. self-esteem building program	28.6	31.1	40.4	26.6	55.0	44.4	35.1
10. program for drug/alcohol problems	35.7	30.1	25.8	25.0	46.2	22.2	28.9

NOTE:

Nonresponses are excluded.

Table 0-24. Total Number of Placements (Excluding Lincoln Hills and Shelter Homes) by Current Status in the Juvenile Justice System and by Racial Origin

Total Number of Different Placements	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders--				
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision	County Supervision	White	Black	Other	
0	3.6%	52.7%	39.3%	41.1%	46.3%	19.2%	39.3%
1-2	32.3	31.1	30.3	31.5	19.5	46.2	30.9
3-5	32.1	8.1	19.2	14.5	22.0	19.2	16.8
6+	32.1	8.1	11.2	12.9	12.2	15.4	13.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(28)	(74)	(89)	(124)	(41)	(26)	(191)

Table 0-25. Among Those Placed, Total Number of Different Placements (Excluding Lincoln Hills School and Shelter Care) by Current Status in the Juvenile Justice System

Number of Different Placements	Status in the Juvenile Justice System			Race			TOTAL
	Delinquents		Status Offenders--				
	Correctional Institution	County Supervision	County Supervision	White	Black	Other	
1-2	33.3%	65.8%	50.0%	53.4%	36.4%	57.1%	50.9%
3-5	33.3	17.1	31.5	24.7	40.9	23.8	27.6
6+	33.3	17.1	18.5	21.9	22.7	19.1	21.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(27)	(35)	(54)	(73)	(22)	(21)	(116)

Table 0-26. Total Number of Placements (Excluding Lincoln Hills School and Shelter Homes) by Type of County of Residence

Number of Placements	County Type			Total
	Rural	Semi-Urban	Urban	
0	26.7%	39.7%	43.2%	39.3%
1-2	36.6	37.0	23.9	30.9
3-5	10.0	12.3	22.7	16.8
6+	26.7	11.0	10.1	13.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(30)	(73)	(88)	(191)

Table 0-27. Among Those Placed, Total Number of Different Placements by Type of County of Residence

Number of Placements	County Type			Total
	Rural	Semi-Urban	Urban	
1-2	50.0%	61.4%	42.0%	50.9%
3-5	13.6	20.5	40.0	27.6
6+	36.4	18.1	18.0	21.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(22)	(44)	(50)	(116)

Characteristics of Delinquents and Status Offenders

The delinquents in the institution presented a different profile from the other delinquents and the status offenders. First, they were more likely to be from rural counties than were those in the other groups. Also, a smaller proportion of them were from families with unemployed heads of households. With regard to victimization, these young women were more likely than the others to have experienced more extreme forms of punishments, severe injuries as a result of punishments, and more different types of injuries. The other delinquents, in turn, were more likely than status offenders to have received severe injuries. The reasons given by the institutionalized delinquents for not seeking help for physical punishment were also different. More of these young women reported that they were afraid of repeated beatings, were afraid they would be removed from home and/or were just scared in general. The most common reason given by the institution delinquents was that they didn't want to cause more problems. This was similar for status offenders. However, delinquents on county supervision and status offenders both most frequently reported that they didn't think this was a problem someone could help with.

They also were more likely--as a group--than the others to have been sexually abused and at younger ages. They, and the other delinquents, were less likely than status offenders to have talked about their sexual abuse experiences. The delinquents in general were more likely than status offenders to avoid talking with others out of embarrassment or the fear that their families would be broken up.

The young women in the correctional institution were also more likely to have been sexually assaulted. They and the other delinquents were more likely than the status offenders to have been assaulted more than once. The delinquents were less likely than the status offenders to have ever talked to anyone about their sexual assault experiences. While the most common reasons in the whole group for not seeking help were embarrassment and general fear, the delinquents were more likely than the status offenders to state that they did not know of anyone whom they could talk to.

Furthermore, the delinquents in the correctional institution were more likely than the others to have attempted suicide and to have done so more than once. They also were more likely to have planned their first attempt and to evaluate it as a 'very serious' attempt. More of the delinquent young women than the status offenders said that they were still bothered enough by problems to attempt suicide in the future.

The institutionalized delinquents were more likely than the others to have run away from home repeatedly (three or more times). In addition, they and the other delinquents were more likely to attribute their running away to problems they were having with social services or court personnel than were status offenders. They, and the other delinquents, were more likely than status offenders to have run repeatedly from placements. This may be explained in part by their more frequent reports that they missed their

families and therefore ran away. Status offenders were the least likely to report this as a reason for running away from placements.

The profile of the delinquent young women--as compared to status offenders--reveals that they were more likely to report severe physical abuse. The delinquents in the correctional institutions were particularly more likely to have been victimized by physical and sexual abuse and sexual assaults. The delinquents in general seemed to be less likely than the status offenders to seek help for such experiences, usually because they were embarrassed, afraid, or they didn't know where to go for help. While the delinquents on county supervision were less likely to have been placed outside their homes than those in the institution and status offenders, the data suggest that, once placed, the delinquents experience different sets of problems.

CHAPTER THREE.

EXPLORING THE ISSUE OF DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT: EXISTING DATA

Apprehensions

Wisconsin's law enforcement agencies reported 22,272 apprehensions of females under the age of eighteen in 1978 and 21,712 apprehensions in 1979 (Crime Information Bureau). Young women accounted for approximately one-fourth of all apprehensions of juveniles in both years.

Young women are apprehended for offenses which are considerably less dangerous to the community than those committed by young men. In 1978, only 9% of all apprehensions of young women were for violent or other crimes against persons, as compared to 16% of the apprehensions of young men.* In 1979, this pattern was similar. Twenty-seven percent of all apprehensions of young women in 1978 were for offenses against property as compared to 41% for young men.** This pattern also was similar in 1979. In addition, the young women who were apprehended for property offenses were more likely than the young men to have been apprehended for theft (including shoplifting) and forgery. In contrast, the young men were much more likely to have been apprehended for burglary, car theft, arson, and vandalism.

On the other hand, 44% of the 1978 apprehensions of young women were for misconduct offenses, including: running away, liquor law, vagrancy, and curfew violations. These offenses accounted for only 21% of all apprehensions of young men. The offense type which accounted for the largest proportion of apprehensions of young women was running away. Young women were over four times more likely than males to have been apprehended for running away in 1978 and 1979. In both years, running away accounted for 25% of all apprehensions of young women, as compared to only 6% of those of young men.

These patterns take on even more meaning when compared to offense patterns which have been found in self-report studies of adolescent violative behavior. Consistent with official data, young women reported fewer offenses than young men (although the difference is usually smaller). However, these studies have also repeatedly found that the patterns of offenses which are reported by young women and young men themselves are much more similar than the patterns which are reflected in official statistics (Clark and Haurek, 1966; Elliot and Ageton, 1980; Hindelang, 1971; Short and Nye, 1958; Williams and Gold, 1972; and Gold, 1970). For example, young women do not report having run away or being sexually active in greater numbers than young men. These data are very different from Wisconsin's official data,

* Violent crimes include: murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Other crimes against persons include: non-aggravated assaults, fraud, illegal weapons, sex offenses, family, operating motor vehicle while intoxicated, and disorderly conduct.

**Property crimes include: burglary, theft, car theft, arson, forgery, embezzlement, stolen property, and vandalism.

which show greater proportions of young women being apprehended as runaways. Such a difference may result from sex-based differences in the nature of referrals to police (i.e., parents more likely to refer daughters than sons for some behaviors), or due to sex-based differences in law enforcement practices, or both. Findings from the few prior studies of law enforcement practices suggest both possible explanations, but are generally inconclusive.

Table E-1.

Percent of Youth (17 and Under)
Apprehended in Wisconsin During :
1978 and 1979 by Type of
Offense and Sex

Type of Offense	1978		1979	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Part I Offenses Against Persons	1.46	0.34	1.73	0.73
Part I Offenses Against Property	30.72	23.81	32.69	24.53
Part II Offenses Against Persons	14.18	8.24	16.18	9.49
Part II Offenses Against Property	10.33	2.96	10.38	3.41
Prostitution	0.03	0.42	0.02	0.42
Drug Offenses	7.55	5.85	5.59	4.98
Gambling Offenses	0.02	0.01	0.05	0.00
Violation of Ordinances	14.77	19.22	15.25	20.45
Other (Excluding Motor Vehicle Offenses)	14.46	14.40	11.84	11.05
Status (Runaway)	<u>5.99</u>	<u>24.74</u>	<u>6.16</u>	<u>24.94</u>
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
(N)	(62,798)	(22,272)	(64,257)	(21,712)

SOURCE: Crime Information Bureau (CIB), Wisconsin Criminal Justice Information: Crime and Arrests, 1978 and 1979. Madison, WI: Department of Justice.

Custody Intake

Once a young woman has been apprehended, a decision must be made regarding whether to release her or to hold her in custody. While police have the discretion to release youth, the decision to hold and the determination of a facility for holding must be done by a designated court intake worker

(in accordance with the law). Statewide data is not available regarding all facets of the custody decisions--that is, we could not locate data regarding all youth referred for custody intake including: reason for referral, notice of prior referrals, and the intake disposition (release, non-secure custody, or secured detention). However, we were able to obtain such data from one urban county and we also obtained statewide data regarding youth held in jails and detention centers.

Based on these data it is clear that young women are far more likely than young men to be referred to custody intake units, held in custody, and securely detained for non-dangerous and status offenses. In 1979, in the one county studied, young women represented 26% of all juvenile apprehensions and 34% of all referrals to custody intake. Seventy-one percent of the offenses attributed to young women involved allegations that they needed protection or services, as compared to 33% for the young men. Most of these offenses (76%) involved alleged running away. In contrast, 72% of the offenses for which young men were referred involved alleged violations of state or federal laws.

Furthermore, the young women averaged somewhat fewer prior referrals to custody (2.7 as compared to 3.0 for males), slightly fewer current offenses (1.3 as compared to 1.6 for young men), and were only slightly more likely to be currently receiving services from human services agencies at the time of their referral (60% of the young men and 63% of the young women). Even so, they were almost as likely as the young men to be held in custody. Fifty-six percent of the young women and 59% of the young men who were referred were held in custody. These young women (47%) were less likely than the young men (66%) to be held in the secured detention facility. However, those young women who were securely detained were held an average of almost 34 hours longer than the young men. The young women who were placed in the county's shelter home experienced shorter lengths of stay on the average than the young men (by about 36 hours).

These data show that young women come to the custody units' attention for different reasons than do young men. Even so, they seem to move through the court process in a manner which is similar to the young men. For example, they were almost as likely as young men to be held in custody. In addition, while they were less likely to be detained, they were detained for longer periods of time.

A statewide study project on juvenile detention practices in Wisconsin in 1974 concluded that young women were "more likely to be detained once they are apprehended and usually for relatively minor charges" (DHSS, 1975). Subsequent changes in the laws and in available resources have greatly reduced the numbers of young women who are detained. However, young women continue to be more likely than young men to be detained for non-dangerous and status offenses. In 1980, alleged crimes that would be felonies for adults accounted for just 10% of the detentions of young women, as compared to 29% for young men. In addition, of all detentions of young women, 21% were for misdemeanor offenses, as compared to 29% for young men.

On the other hand, 17% of all detentions of young women were for drug possession, prostitution, loitering, curfew, liquor law violations, littering and hitchhiking (as compared to 11% for young men). In addition, 34% of all detentions of young women were for running away, truancy, uncontrollability, running away from an institution or training school, and violating terms of supervision. These alleged offenses accounted for only 11% of the detentions of young men. While detentions of youth for status offenses were reduced considerably since 1974 (from 32% of all detentions to 7% in 1980), young women continue to be almost four times more likely than young men to be detained for such reasons. In 1980, status offenses alone accounted for 17% of all detentions of young women, as compared to 4% of the detentions of young men.

Table E-2. Alleged Reasons for Referrals to the Custody Intake Unit in One Urbanized Wisconsin County for the Years 1977 to 1979 by Sex

Alleged Reasons for Referral	1977			1978			1979		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1. Violation of criminal statutes									
a. Against persons	10.1	3.8	7.7	9.8	5.3	8.2	15.0	9.1	13.0
b. Against property	47.5	16.5	36.1	41.5	15.9	32.7	45.1	22.7	37.4
c. Drug offenses	3.7	0.7	2.6	4.8	3.0	4.2	4.7	4.0	4.4
d. Prostitution	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.0	1.2	0.4
e. Resisting arrest/ eluding officer	5.9	2.6	4.6	4.4	3.0	3.9	5.4	1.2	4.8
f. Miscellaneous	1.3	0.2	0.9	0.8	0.4	0.7	1.7	1.0	1.4
Subtotal	68.5	24.0	52.0	55.1	26.7	45.3	72.0	41.4	61.5
2. Traffic violations	11.1	2.6	7.9	15.4	4.6	11.7	25.0	4.7	18.0
3. Violation of law applicable to juveniles only (curfew and drinking)	15.2	11.3	13.8	17.7	9.0	14.9	18.2	9.8	15.3
4. Allegation of CHIPS									
a. Runaway from home	10.1	35.1	20.1	12.7	31.6	19.1	11.8	33.3	19.2
b. Runaway from group/ foster home	6.9	13.4	9.3	6.8	10.1	7.9	4.7	12.9	7.5
c. Runaway from institu- tions/hospitals	10.5	9.7	10.2	5.4	6.2	5.7	7.3	8.0	7.5
d. Other	13.9	16.7	15.0	13.3	21.9	16.7	9.4	16.8	12.1
Subtotal	41.5	75.0	53.9	38.9	69.8	49.5	33.2	71.0	46.2
5. Others	18.2	20.0	14.9	16.7	23.9	19.1	8.6	1.3	1.5
(N)	(974)	(575)	(1549)	(1075)	(566)	(1641)	(813)	(427)	(1240)

NOTE: Adds to more than 100.0 due to multiple offenses.

SOURCE: Dane County Juvenile Reception Center, Annual Reports

Table E-3 Selected Aspects of the Custody Intake Experiences of Youths
in One Urbanized Wisconsin County in 1977, 1978, 1979 by Sex

Selected Aspects	1977			1978			1979		
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
1. Apprehensions	71.5	28.5	(100)	71.2	28.8	(100)	73.6	26.4	(100)
2. Referrals to Custody Intake	62.9	37.1	(100)	65.6	34.4	(100)	65.5	34.5	(100)
3. Custody Holds	62.3	37.7	(100)	64.3	35.7	(100)	66.5	33.5	(100)
4. Secure Detentions	64.1	35.9	(100)	66.7	33.3	(100)	73.5	26.5	(100)
5. % Decrease in Referrals over Previous Year	-----	-----	-----	+10.4	1.6	(+5.9)	24.4	24.6	(24.4)
6. % Held of Those Referred	67.2	69.0	(67.9)	55.7	58.7	(56.7)	58.9	56.4	(58.1)
7. % Decrease in Holds over Previous Year	-----	-----	-----	8.5	18.9	(12.4)	20.0	25.0	(21.8)
8. % Detained of Those Held	92.2	85.1	(89.5)	92.5	85.7	(89.2)	65.6	46.9	(59.3)
9. Mean No. of Days in Secure Detention	5.2	5.6	(5.3)	6.4	7.0	(6.7)	2.3	3.7	(2.7)
10. Mean No. of Days in Shelter Home	19.3	17.9	(18.6)	22.6	16.8	(19.4)	14.6	13.1	(13.9)
11. % Released from Hold to Home, Relative, Responsible Adult or Self	60.6	53.0	(57.8)	70.5	62.9	(67.9)	73.7	67.2	(71.4)
12. % Released from Hold to Foster or Group Home	8.8	15.5	(11.3)	9.5	13.9	(11.0)	7.4	14.8	(10.0)
13. % Released from Hold to Institution or Hospital	6.7	4.5	(5.9)	7.2	7.2	(7.2)	9.7	6.8	(8.7)

SOURCE: Dane County Juvenile Reception Center, Annual Reports.

Table E-4. Detentions for Status Offenses in Wisconsin in 1974, 1978, 1979, and 1980 by Sex

Year	% of All Detentions Which were for Status Offenses	% of Detentions For Status Offenses by Sex	
		Males	Female
1974	31.6	21.4	56.1
1978	24.2	15.6	48.5
1979	8.8	5.9	25.9
1980	6.8	4.4	17.2

SOURCE: Data furnished by Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice.

Table E-5. Size of Difference Between Sex Groups in the Proportions of Detentions Which were for Status Offenses in 1974, 1978, 1979, and 1980

Year	Proportion (%) of Detentions for Status Offenses by Sex		Relative Difference (Proportion of Detentions of Females Divided by Those for Males)
	Male	Female	
1974	21.4	56.1	2.6
1978	15.6	48.5	3.1
1979	5.9	25.9	4.3
1980	4.4	17.2	3.9

SOURCE: Data furnished by Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice.

Table E-6. Youths Incarcerated in Wisconsin's Jails, Detention Centers and Police Lock-ups for the Years 1974, 1978, 1979, and 1980, by Type of Offense and Sex

Offense Type	1974		1978*		1979		1980	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1. Person-felony	4.1	0.7	4.6	1.2	7.2	3.5	7.3	2.6
2. Property-felony	15.8	2.5	17.7	3.4	22.0	4.9	21.6	6.9
3. Person-misd	7.7	4.4	12.4	10.5	12.1	11.4	13.5	11.9
4. Property-mis- demeanor	14.4	7.7	14.7	7.4	16.0	11.4	14.3	9.4
5. Drug Offenses	6.7	2.7	7.9	7.1	10.0	12.1	9.3	11.8
6. Prostitution	0.0	1.7	0.1	1.4	0.1	4.4	0.0	2.9
7. Minor Offenses	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.3
8. Ordinance Violations	6.0	5.4	4.2	4.8	1.1	2.5	1.1	2.1
9. Status Offenses	21.4	56.1	15.6	48.5	5.9	25.9	4.4	17.2
10. Violations of Dispositional Orders	5.8	5.1	4.4	3.2	3.5	7.0	6.4	16.3
11. Court Orders/ Administrative Holds	9.5	9.0	8.2	6.7	9.8	10.4	12.8	12.9
12. Others (incl. Motor Vehicle Violations)	7.4	4.9	9.4	4.8	8.9	4.8	8.8	4.5
13. Not Available	.8	.5	.6	.6	1.0	1.1	.3	1.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(15793)	(6582)	(14797)	(5280)	(8723)	(2018)	(10157)	(2416)

*1978 data excludes detentions of 15 minutes or less.
SOURCE: Data furnished by WCCJ.

Court Intake

Most referrals to juvenile court are screened by intake workers who may close a case, refer for voluntary services, enter into an informal disposition agreement, or recommend formal court intervention. There is currently no statewide data system which tracks cases from their referral

to court intake to the intake decision. Available statewide data describe one outcome of court intake (and legal counsel action): petitions filed. In addition, a search for more complete intake data provided us with some information on intake decisions in six Wisconsin counties.

Data furnished by the Wisconsin Supreme Court Information System suggests that young women are referred to court for different types of offenses than young men. A total of 5,516 juvenile petitions were filed in a six-month period in 1980 (excluding Milwaukee County). Twenty-two percent of the petitions were filed for females. Over one-half (57%) of the petitions which were filed for females involved no law violation as compared to just 23% of the petitions for males. While females represented 22% of all juveniles for whom petitions were filed, they represented 64% of all petitions for running away, 52% of the petitions for truancy from school, and 42% of the parent-initiated petitions involving youth who were thirteen years of age or older.

In the sample of six counties which volunteered data regarding court intake, it was consistently found that young women were more likely to be referred to intake and then petitioned to court for status offenses than young men. In one semi-urban county, among the young women who were handled through formal court petitions, 56% were petitioned for running away as compared to 6% of the young men. In another semi-urban county, 75% of the referrals for status offenses involved young women. In a rural county, 31% of the young women referred to intake were referred for status offenses as compared to 12% of the young men.

Table E-7. Reasons for Juvenile Court Petitions for the Period July 1 to December 31, 1980 by Sex - All Counties but Milwaukee*

Reasons	Sex	
	Male(Percent)	Female(Percent)
1. Person - Fel	321 (7.5)	53 (4.3)
2. Prop - Fel	1055 (24.6)	125 (10.1)
3. Person - Misd	216 (5.0)	37 (3.0)
4. Prop - Misd	1226 (28.6)	184 (14.8)
5. Drug Offenses	124 (2.9)	18 (1.4)
6. Ordinances	229 (5.3)	77 (6.2)
7. Disord Conduct	131 (3.0)	35 (2.8)
8. Runaway	49 (1.1)	89 (7.2)
9. Truancy	43 (1.0)	46 (3.7)
10. Abuse	36 (0.8)	42 (3.4)
11. Neglect	313 (7.3)	159 (12.8)
12. Par Request	293 (6.8)	192 (15.5)
13. Self-Request	23 (0.5)	31 (2.5)
14. Other CHIPS	220 (5.1)	149 (12.0)
15. TOTAL	4279 (100.0)	1237 (100.0)

*Excluding Motor Vehicle, TPR, Adoptions, Mental Health.

SOURCE: Wisconsin Supreme Court Administration, Juvenile Court Information System.

Court Decisions

Once a young woman is brought before the court, a judge must first decide whether the allegations establish jurisdiction, or the court's authority to intervene. Then the judge decides what should happen--usually with the advice and views of a number of people. While at one time in Wisconsin there was an information system which "tracked" court referrals through disposition; such data is not currently available. As a result, we again looked at one decision outcome about which some data was available by sex: the characteristics of youth in the state's secured correctional institutions. We also examined data which was voluntarily provided to us from a few courts.

In one rural county we found that youth who were adjudicated delinquent were quite different from one another when separated into groups by gender. For example, status offenses and liquor law violations accounted for 58% of the prior referrals for young women as compared to 35% of those for young men. Eighty-eight percent of the youth who were adjudicated for running away were female. Furthermore, while small numbers of youth (6) were placed in the secured correctional institution in the data year, one-half were female. These young women represented 38% of the females who were adjudicated delinquent. In contrast, 7% of the males who were found delinquent were placed in secured institutions.

In an urban county in 1980, a study of juvenile court cases found that over one-half of the offenses for which young women were brought before the court involved curfew violations, running away, and eluding or obstructing an officer. Overall, the court dispositions of young men and women were similar. However, young women (37%) were somewhat more likely to be placed in foster or group homes than young men (26%). Interestingly, psychiatric or psychological counseling and residential treatment were ordered for a larger proportion of young men (45%) than young women (29%).

Another way to examine court decisions is to focus on those cases in which a judge has ordered the most restrictive alternative: placement in a secured institution. We were able to analyze data which had been collected from the records of 808 youth who were in those institutions on June 30, 1977 (YPLC, 1977). This data was similar to other data which was collected somewhat later (DOA, 1978). While the criteria for correctional commitments were substantially changed by the legislature in 1978, these data enable us to examine patterns of commitments.

Young women represented only 8% of the population in the correctional institutions. These young women were committed for less serious offenses than the young men. When the most serious offense for which the youths had been committed was examined, just 24% of the young women had been committed for offenses which would be a felony for adults, as compared to 47% of the young men. Young women (22%) were much more likely than the young men (6%) to have been placed in the institution for status offenses which were committed while on a prior release from the institution or a

"stay of commitment". Looking only at "new" admissions (excluding revocations and replacements), official data for 1977, 1978, and 1979 revealed that young women were almost or more than twice as likely as males to be committed for property misdemeanors including: shoplifting, trespassing, criminal damage to property, worthless checks, theft (less than \$500.00) and operating a motor vehicle without owner's consent (up to 24 hours, with no damage). In 1979, property misdemeanors accounted for 46% of the commitments of young women as compared to 18% of those for young men. In that same year, felony offenses accounted for 77% of all commitments of young men as compared to 44% of the commitments of young women.

When these youths' offense histories were examined, it was clear that young women are also committed following fewer and less serious prior offenses. While the young men averaged 6.8 prior offenses, the young women averaged 4.2. Notably, the young women had a greater number of status offenses in their prior record (an average of 4.7) than did the young men (1.6). In addition, felonies accounted for only 9% of the first alleged offenses and 22% of the offenses for first adjudications of young women. In contrast, felony offenses accounted for 24% of the first alleged offenses and 41% of the offenses at first adjudication of young men. On the other hand, the young women in the correctional institution (42%) were three times more likely than the young men (14%) to have first come to the attention of juvenile justice officials for status offenses. They were also almost three times more likely than the young men to have been first adjudicated for status offenses.

The young women in the correctional institution progressed through the juvenile justice system in much shorter time periods than did the young men. The average amount of time which passed between the date of a first alleged offense and commitment to a correctional institution was 20 months for the young women as compared to 31 months for the young men.

Table E-8. Type of Offenses Committed by Youth Who were in Correctional Institutions of Wisconsin Mid-year 1977, by Sex

TYPE OF OFFENSE	First Allegation		First Adjudication		Current Admission			
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	Most Serious Offense		Three Most Serious Offenses ^a	
					MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
1. Person - felony	2.9%	0.0%	9.1%	4.0%	14.4%	9.0%	17.7%	10.2%
2. Property - felony	21.2	9.4	31.6	18.5	32.7	14.9	49.2	23.5
3. Person - misdemeanor	10.0	7.8	6.4	12.3	6.8	13.4	11.2	4.4
4. Property - misdemeanor	47.4	31.3	40.7	30.8	33.6	26.9	55.3	26.5
5. Drug offenses	1.1	4.7	1.1	0.0	2.0	6.0	4.3	7.4
6. Prostitution	0.0	1.6	0.1	3.1	0.0	6.0	0.0	13.2
7. Violation of ordinances	2.4	1.6	0.3	1.5	0.8	0.0	4.1	1.5
8. Status offenses	14.3	42.2	10.1	27.7	6.4 ^b	22.4 ^b	18.0	39.7
9. Violation of dispositional orders	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.5	3.3	1.5	6.2	0.0
10. Other/not classifiable	0.7	1.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	4.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	---	---
	(713)	(64)	(705)	(65)	(740)	(68)	(740)	(68)

NOTE: ^aPercentages will add to more than 100.0 due to multiple offenses.

^bIncludes revocation, replacement, or "stay of commitment" cases, although it appears that a few were admitted for status offenses who were not revoked, replaced or under pending commitment order.

Table E-9 Major Delinquent Act just prior to Admission to Juvenile Correctional Institutions (new admissions only) for the Year 1977 to 1979

Delinquent Act Prior to Admission	1977		1978		1979	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Person - felony	12.9%	12.7%	12.8%	11.2%	15.0%	16.0%
Property - felony	63.5	25.2	62.5	31.4	62.1	28.0
Person - misdemeanor	2.2	2.1	1.1	0.9	1.6	8.0
Property - misdemeanor	17.3	32.6	15.1	34.2	17.9	46.0
Drug offenses	0.5	3.2	1.9	5.6	0.0	0.0
Prostitution	0.0	7.4	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0
Disorderly conduct	0.8	2.1	1.0	6.5	0.7	2.0
Traffic offense	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others & Not Available	2.5	14.7	0.9	0.0	2.7	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(759)	(95)	(670)	(108)	(563)	(50)

SOURCE: Division of Corrections, Admissions to Juvenile Institutions. Statistical Bulletin C-41. Madison, WI: Department of Health and Social Services.

Table E-10. Selected Aspects of Offense History of Youth in
Correctional Institutions in Wisconsin, Mid-Year 1977

	Male	Female
A. <u>Offense History</u>		
1. Mean number of criminal and ordinance offenses prior to current admission*	6.84	4.21
2. Mean number of all criminal and ordinance offenses (including current admission)*	8.62	5.52
3. Mean number of status offenses prior to current admission*	1.64	4.71
4. Mean number of all status offenses (including current admission)	2.81	5.65
5. Mean number of all criminal and ordinance offenses committed for current admission	2.01	1.90
B. <u>Prior Admissions History</u>		
1. Percent without prior admissions to correctional institution	73.4	63.2
2. Mean number of prior admissions to correctional institutions	0.31	0.53
C. <u>Age at Stages in Juvenile Justice Process</u>		
1. Mean age (in years) at first allegation of an offense (status or delinquent)*	12.59	13.41
2. Mean age (in years) at first adjudicated offense*	13.93	14.23
3. Mean age (in years) at first admission to correctional institution	15.17	15.16
4. Mean age (in years) at current admission to correctional institution	15.52	15.59
D. <u>Time Periods for Juvenile Justice Process</u>		
1. Mean interval of time (in months) between first allegation of an offense (status or delinquent) and first adjudication*	15.72	9.84
2. Mean interval of time (in months) between first adjudication and first admission to correctional institution*	15.42	10.06
3. Mean interval of time (in months) between first allegation of an offense and first admission to correctional institution*	30.90	19.70

NOTE: *Excludes not applicable.

Administrative Decisions

Once a youth is placed in a secured correctional institution, the Division of Correction's staff determines whether and when the youth could benefit from other types of placements. If a youth is placed outside the institution, s/he may be returned if new offenses are committed. Data for 1979 which was released by the Division of Corrections revealed that young women (40%) were more likely than young men (27%) to be revoked or replaced back in the institution. Furthermore, 34% of the young women came back to the institution as a result of status offenses as compared to 25% of the young men.

Table E-11. Reasons for Termination of Aftercare Placements, and Admissions to Correctional Institutions, Mid-Year, 1977 by Sex

	Male	Female
A. <u>Reasons for Termination of Placements*</u>		
New Offenses(s)	72.8	65.6
Runaway from Placement	19.4	31.3
Uncontrolled or Behavior Problems	5.8	3.1
Other	1.6	0.0
Total	100.0 (258)	100.0 (32)
B. <u>Reasons for Current Admissions to Correctional Institutions</u>		
New Admission - Offense	65.8	54.4
Violation of Juvenile "C" Probation	7.3	4.4
Released to Aftercare and Revoked	23.5	30.8
Replacement	3.4	8.9
Others	0.0	1.5
Total	100.0 (740)	100.0 (68)

*Excludes those whose placements were not terminated.

CHAPTER FOUR.

PROFILE OF RESOURCES FOR YOUNG WOMEN IN WISCONSIN'S JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

Are We Providing Relevant Services?

The study data, when considered as a whole, demonstrates a number of areas in which young women receive little support regardless of the severity of their situations. While this study did not closely evaluate programs or services, when the experiences shared by the young women and the professionals who work with them are considered in the context of the types of services that are available, it is possible to form impressions about the relationship between needs and responses. It is important to note that our study does not compare the experiences of young women in the juvenile justice system with those of young men. We purposefully do not assert that certain types of programs/services are needed more by young women than by young men. Indeed, we feel that this study should raise questions in the minds of planners and decision-makers whether any young person's problems and capabilities are adequately considered in the course of juvenile justice. Still, it is clear that Wisconsin's young women progress through services and the court process differently and for different reasons than young men. While we can only speculate as to the reasons for the differential patterns, we can feel confident that a special focus on young women's needs is merited regardless of one's perspective.

The reader is exhorted to consider a few facts when considering the subject of adequacy of resources. First, young women comprise a minority population at most every stage of the juvenile justice system. Throughout the course of this study, it has been evident that their small numbers relative to males tends to make them and their needs easy to dismiss, and/or difficult to plan for. Furthermore, young women offenders tend not to be violent or to present much of a risk to others. They are therefore not high on the list of public issues. In fact, at least one prominent juvenile justice official has asked us, "What is all the uproar about? There are only 30 girls at Lincoln altogether and we don't deal with many girls." The reader is therefore reminded that numerous young women are involved in the juvenile justice system. There were almost 22,000 apprehensions of young women by Wisconsin's law enforcement agencies (1979). About 2,500 young women were locked in Wisconsin's jails or detention centers (1980). An estimated 2,500 young women and girls were brought before Wisconsin's juvenile courts in 1980--and this figure does not include Milwaukee County.

Service Providers' Perspectives on Resources

Young women on court-ordered or informal supervision made up a small proportion of the caseloads of those from public agencies who replied to the questionnaire. Among those they worked with, more were on supervision for status offenses than delinquency.

One finding of our survey of social workers should be mentioned at the outset of this discussion, since it holds implications for all services. Few efforts are made to coordinate the planning and implementation of services to both young men and women in the juvenile justice system--except on a case-by-case basis. The only coordinated planning efforts we found in the sample counties were those mandated under the state's Youth Aids Funding Program. These efforts have, in the words of a Department of Health and Social Services bureau chief, "helped to make young women's needs more visible."

Since the needs of young people in the juvenile justice system are rarely addressed within a community or even broad multi-disciplinary context, public understanding of the juvenile justice system can be expected to be seriously limited. This is especially true for female juvenile offenders who--by their minority in numbers and their offense histories--are not seen as a priority even within this existing planning process.

General Services Profile. The basic methods of providing services to young people who are involved with the juvenile justice system is probation or supervision and placements. Based on our interviews and survey of young women, it was apparent that the nature of supervision services varies greatly among workers and clients. This was true for the frequency with which the young women saw their workers--sizable numbers were in touch with their workers monthly or less often. In addition, a number of other types of services were experienced by sizable numbers of young women, although they were not routinely provided and/or used. Social workers in our sample counties reported that mental health services, crisis services (after-hours), and drug and alcohol counseling, were generally available. Other services providing for restitution, recreation, group counseling, and job preparation were not routinely available and/or accessible to court-involved youths. The majority (61%) of these social workers felt that these types of programs and services were not meeting the needs of young women. Some of them offered explanations such as:

- They need jobs, other school programs.
- I feel there could be more career training and special educational training.
- More involvement is needed by professionals working with kids in their home settings.
- We lack resources directly in this county that can deal with special needs of females.
- There are not enough preventive programs.
- Much time is spent in trying to remedy the child's situation as opposed to helping them learn how to cope with their problems.
- There need to be more alternatives for young women with children.

Interestingly, many who responded that their county services were meeting the needs of young women seemed also to feel there were problems with resources.

- To the fullest extent of which the system allows for now. The system could be better.
- We have just a few resources--could use more.

- They are meeting the needs of girls who want to be in these programs.
- However, a supervised work program, employment, and recreational opportunities are needed.
- Minimally -- few resources available locally.

Focus on Selected Types of Services. Our exploratory study and literature review revealed that career and vocational services are needed by young women and that group experiences and skill-based services are very helpful to them. The service providers thus were asked to estimate the proportion of the young women on their caseloads who needed such services. They were also asked whether these services were available in their county.

Job preparation services were divided into three components: those which teach assertiveness/communication skills, those teaching actual job skills, and those teaching about the work-place (salaries, work demands, education needed, etc.). The service providers generally agreed that "most" or "all" of their female clients needed such services. When asked if these services were actually available in the sample counties, six of the eight counties were said to have an assertiveness training/communications program, four of the eight had job skills programs and work-place information programs. It thus seemed that basic resources exist in some counties, regardless of whether they are rural, semi-urban, or urban. Yet, when they were asked to describe these programs, it was evident that a young woman's participation in them would depend on a number of factors: her age, whether she was referred, the school she attended, a particular program she might be involved in, or the individual bias of the worker or counselor. In just one county did there seem to be evidence of a considerable effort to address these needs in a comprehensive way.

Group work experiences--defined as opportunities for young women to "share problems with other young people and learn new ways to handle situations"--were also felt to be needed by "most" or "all" of the young women they served. When asked whether there were opportunities for such experiences in their counties, it was found that four of the sample counties provided such opportunities and four did not. Furthermore, the descriptions of available group programs indicated that a young woman's involvement or opportunity to participate depended on the individual social worker or counselor they saw, or upon their participation in specific programs. Group experiences did not seem to be a priority for young women even in those counties in which some form of opportunity exists. Only one social service agency provided such services routinely and one was planning to do so in the future.

A comparison study of the social skills of juveniles in Wisconsin's correctional institutions and "non-delinquent" youths revealed that delinquents of both sexes could be differentiated from non-delinquents based on their social skills for interacting with peers and adults. Further, the study found that the female delinquents had lower social skills than the males. This evidence and the reality that the young women are approaching independence, led us to inquire about the availability of programs which address basic decision-making and problem-solving skills and skills for independent living. Almost all of the service providers felt that these services were needed by "most" or "all" of the young women they work with. Three of the sample counties reportedly offered such services and five did not. The descriptions of those which were offered again raised the issues of general access to such programs.

Opinions About Why Placements of Young Women Are Unsuccessful. Another predominant feature of services involved placements outside the young women's homes. Excluding shelter home placements, 61% of the sample had been placed in alternate care, and almost one-half of these young women had been in three or more different placements.

The social workers who were surveyed identified a number of problems which contribute to the lack of success of many placements of young women. A majority of the social workers indicated that young women experience anger at the time of their placement due to their perception that it represents rejection by their parents. The majority of the respondents also reported that in one-half or more of the placements they have been involved with, problems arose due to a foster parent's concern over sexual conduct and/or related issues. Other common problems which were reported by a majority of the social workers were: the lack of support for foster parents in handling day-to-day problems and a lack of options for placing young women.

A few social workers felt that placements should be avoided whenever possible. For example:

Out-of-home placements are often unsuccessful because the child's ties are to her own family. The same problems with her family tend to reoccur in alternate placements. Kids need to stay with their own families and resolve problems there. In the past, agencies have been too willing to provide placements and they are viewed as some type of magic solution...

Professional Training. Since one important source of influence on professional practice is the type of training received, we asked service providers in both public and private agencies to describe the training they had received. The training topics were chosen to correspond to both the general and specific topics which were addressed in our survey of young women.

The majority of these professionals had either never received any training or just a little regarding the unique issues facing adolescent young women. This was also true with regard to training on the various services implications of sexual abuse--from investigation to treatment. Training regarding how to help adolescents who are (or have been) victims of physical abuse was similarly experienced by only a small proportion of these professionals. This was true also for training regarding depressed or suicidal adolescents; only four professionals felt they had received adequate training in this area. Special issues when working with female runaways and sexual assault victims received even less attention in training. Almost one-half of these professionals had never received any training on these topics.

Literature and training on treatment approaches for depression and drug/alcohol abuse increasingly address unique issues regarding the types of intervention needed for women. The rationale for this special focus is based on the need to consider how new values, changing women's roles, and different life expectations affect emotional well-being and behavior. Since women still experience different role expectations and social-cultural norms, it is logical that any treatment of their problems must take these differences into account. The importance of this point has been emphasized by others.

Treatment staff and social planners should be especially concerned about the degree to which they may be reinforcing rather than resolving social and intra-psychic conflicts in their clients by steering them toward an adjustment model of mental health that is based on traditional sex role stereotypes. (Harris and Lucas, 1976)

Similarly, when adolescents are the target population of services, their social, economic and psychological differences and perspectives must also be considered. A great deal of research describes some general differences in the way adolescence is experienced depending on the sex of a youth. After a review of research on sex-related differences, some researchers have concluded:

On reaching adolescence, the child enters the foyer of adulthood, a crucial time, because now the future is so close...All along, girls are allowed much more passive, dependent behavior. That being so, we might expect that girls in adolescence have a more difficult time separating from parents, and this turns out to be the case. (Rivers, Barnett and Baruch, 1979)

Research has also revealed a "dropping back" phenomenon for young women during adolescence--they start to lower their expectations of their futures. This has been demonstrated in academic performance--with "under-achieving" girls tending to experience drops in grades at puberty rather than having a history of academic problems. Ambivalence toward achievement is more characteristic of young women than young men. Given these demonstrated differences and the problems we learned about through our survey of young women, a special training focus is important. Yet as can be seen, many of the service providers had received no training on the various topics and most had--at best--"little" to "some" training.

Problems/Barriers Experienced When Responding to Needs. Thirty-two percent of the young women participating in our survey had been sexually abused by parents or other persons closely connected to their families. About one-half of these victims had not sought help regarding their situation, usually out of fear and/or embarrassment. When asked about problems/barriers social workers frequently encounter when trying to help young women, one of the most frequently mentioned case types involved sexual abuse. Social workers found it difficult to overcome the client's fear regarding disclosure and/or potential actions which might be taken in response to the disclosure. The other frequently cited problem involved the workers' own feelings that "I don't have enough experience with this problem to be comfortable knowing what is needed."

Many of the young women we interviewed reported persistent feelings of depression. Many of them had harmed themselves purposefully by cutting their wrists or by taking large amounts of drugs. They usually attributed their depression to their perception that their parents had rejected them or to a general self-contempt. Our survey of young women revealed similar patterns. For example, depression was cited as one of the most prominent reasons for running away. In addition, 58% of them had intentionally harmed themselves; over one-third had done so more than once. About one-half of

these young women had never talked with anyone about their problems prior to harming themselves--generally because they feared being thought of as "crazy" or because they "just didn't want anyone to know". In addition, over one-half of the young women indicated that they continue to be bothered enough by their problems that they might consider harming themselves again.

Information from our survey of social workers may help us to understand some facets of this alarming problem. First, while mental health centers serve all areas of Wisconsin, access to and availability of after-hours, or crisis lines, vary from county to county. Social workers in one-half of the sample counties indicated that they knew of no suicide prevention programs. In fact, these social workers frequently indicated they had problems working with depressed and/or suicidal young women. Significantly, the most frequently mentioned problem was that of not feeling experienced enough to be comfortable knowing what these young people need. Other social workers mentioned resistance on the part of the young women themselves, lack of cooperation by parents, and a general lack of resources in the county to address the needs of young women. In addition, sizable numbers of the professionals in our survey reported they had received little or no training regarding how to help severely depressed adolescents.

Seventy-nine percent of the young women surveyed had suffered injuries as a result of physical abuse. While we do not know the age at which those injuries were received, we do know that sizable numbers of the young women who participated in our in-depth interviews reported recent and continuing physical punishment. In spite of the frequency and seriousness of physical punishment, we learned that over one-half of them did not seek help--often because they didn't perceive this as a problem they could get help with. The consequences of physical abuse were still felt by many of the young women.

Many of the professionals who participated in the study indicated that they experienced problems when they try to help young women who were physically abused. The major problem which was cited was that the workers "can't get parent's cooperation to help with this problem". That service delivery concern was followed (in frequency of reports) by the client's fear of having the worker confront her parents and the fact that "little is available to help a person cope with this problem after regular business hours." A sizable number of professionals had not received much or any training regarding working with adolescents who were victims of physical abuse.

Resources Inventory of One Wisconsin Community

In order to assess the availability of resources for young women, we also developed an inventory of human services which were available for young women in one community. Since the data gained from the service providers provided only a profile of services by category or type, we felt it would also be important to focus in more depth upon the extent to which programs either aim to serve a primarily female population or adjust their programs to meet the needs of young women in addition to those of young men.

The study staff decided to focus on one community. The Madison area was selected for study due to its history of active women's organizations, its wide variety of youth serving agencies, its accessibility to project staff, and the existence of base data regarding programs. While not chosen to be representative of the state, it was expected that such a community would be more likely to have programs and services which would focus on the needs of young women. Thus, we felt it would be a good base for gathering such information.

The inventory illustrated the existence of few resources which emphasized the needs of adolescent or court-involved women. Those programs which serve both male and female adolescents reported that they did no special outreach to attract young women to their programs, nor did they adjust their programs in any way for female clients. In addition, programs which were aimed at women clients tend to serve adolescent women only occasionally--although none would deny their services due to a person's age. As was true for coed programs, none of the women's programs did outreach or tailored their services for adolescent females. It thus appears that teenage women are a forgotten client group even within a community with relatively strong women's resources and varied treatment resources for youths. Even those programs which served an equal proportion of young women had not thoroughly assessed how their program might be adjusted in order to reach and/or respond to any unique needs they might hold.

A Statewide Focus on Selected Resources

Vocational Training/Career Preparation. The United States Department of Labor projects that 90% of our teenaged women will be employed for significant porportions of their adulthood. Most will be working out of economic need. While the proportion of women-headed families is growing, women continue to earn about 59% of what men earn. Minority women workers have the lowest average annual income of all population groups.

The young women in our study seemed to have realistically assessed these challenging facts: almost three-fourths of them desired job preparation programs. Yet only about one-third of them had been in some form of job skills program. As we have discussed, the young women's social workers also see their clients' needs for these services, but their descriptions of local resources imply less than routine availability or access to such services.

The Governor's Employment and Training Office (GETO) and the State Employment and Training Council have identified the need to increase access to vocational education and to develop stronger relationships between work programs and secondary education. Professionals within the Department of Public Instruction and the vocational-technical system also recognize the need to increase the availability of employment preparation and job skills programs to children and youth in our public education settings.

A few legislative actions have addressed some aspects of these concerns. The Wisconsin Youth Initiative, for example, was enacted to promote school-based work experience programs and to combat the causes of youth dropping out of school. Yet, in spite of the different challenges of employment and education for young women, there is currently no plan to keep data regarding the extent to which Youth Initiative Projects meet their needs. In addition, the 1978 revisions to the Children's Code enacted a requirement that every youth coming before the juvenile court for a disposition be the subject of an investigation and plan (a court report) which must include educational and vocational plans. While no data exists regarding the contents of these reports, many professionals believe that the vocational/educational components of court services are generally not a priority.

A few resources exist which provide helpful materials and/or models for how young women in the juvenile justice system can be helped. A curriculum manual for guiding group participation activities has been developed in order to teach life/work planning to junior and senior high school students. It is easily adaptable to group sessions of court-involved youth. Inspired by the problems of pregnancy, drop-outs, and truancy, this manual is called: "Increasing Options Through Life/Work Planning" (by Roberta Gassman and Nancy Deutsch) and is available from: Women's Education Resources, University of Wisconsin-Extension, 430 Lowell Hall, 610 Langdon Street, Madison, Wisconsin, 53706. Another manual which is useful when working with young women regarding job preparation focuses on assertion skills. This manual was designed to help group leaders conduct sessions which build basic self-respect and self-determination in adolescent young women, including those in conflict with the law (Assertion Skills for Young Women: A Manual is available for \$6.20 from New Directions for Young Women, 376 South Stone Avenue, Tucson, Arizona, 85701, 602/623-3677).

Intrafamily Sexual Abuse. Intrafamily sexual abuse has become a recognized problem in our society. Sexual abuse is perhaps most comprehensively described as any sexual contact between a child and a parent, sibling, a member of the extended family, or any other person who holds a position of trust with the family (such as a close family friend, a babysitter, or a neighbor). Because of the sensitive and complex nature of sexual abuse, attention to the problem has been minimal and it continues to a large extent to be held as this society's deep and dark secret. Of all age/sex groupings, adolescent females represent some of the highest numbers of sexual abuse victims. Why this is true is not entirely known, but there are some possible reasons for this pattern. The sexual abuse of a young woman may actually have begun when she was a child and continued over several years. Then, when she reaches adolescence, she begins to discover some things that suggest that something is wrong at home. It is with this new awareness that she may reveal the sexual abuse to someone.

There is no clear-cut evidence on what effects sexual abuse may have on a child or young person. Much has to do with the victim's age at the time of the abuse, the relationship of the abuser to the child, whether force or violence was used, and the reactions of the child's nonabusing parent and professionals who become involved in the case. However, experts strongly believe that the earlier intervention is introduced, the more positive is the victim's prognosis.

Some researchers have reported that during adolescence--with its increase in both psychological and physical anxiety--the female sexual abuse victim becomes even more desperate to find relief from the abusive situation (Muselman, 1978). Thus, she is especially prone to seeking outlets and relief from the actual abuse by running away, use of drugs, and/or suicidal attempts. Other findings indicate that if an individual was sexually abused as a child--and as a result experienced her social environment as unprotected--she may exhibit a marked inability to protect herself from self-destructive behavior and exploitive relationships as an adolescent and later as an adult. In short, the effects of sexual abuse are often long-lasting, psychologically destructive, and can follow the victims throughout their adult lives.

It is difficult to learn about the existence of programs focused on the problems of sexual abuse, since there is no central organization or office to coordinate them. We were able to locate relatively few (not more than 10) programs in Wisconsin which serve victims of sexual abuse and/or their families. Most of these programs are parts of larger organizations or agencies (such as hospitals and sexual assault/domestic abuse crisis centers). We contacted a number of state and private child-serving agencies about the existence of sexual abuse programs. Interestingly, there was little information available other than from the few programs that really specialized in treatment for sexually abused children. This confirms the suspicion that there are few specialized treatment services for victims of sexual abuse and even less for offenders in our state.

Of special concern is the fact that few service providers are sensitized to the problem of sexual abuse or are adequately trained to recognize and intervene in sexual abuse cases. Because sexual abuse often does not present obvious symptoms, professionals in contact with young women may not explore the possibility of sexual abuse as the source of her presenting problem. These cases are often ignored or misidentified at the point of intake. Little specialized training has been made available in the area of sexual abuse. Because the case often ends up in court and/or a treatment plan for the family is indicated, a complete information gathering approach and sensitive interviewing are critically needed skills. Until the basic training is provided to at least access and refer cases, effective treatment remains an unreachd goal, by and large, in this state.

Runaway Programs and Services. One type of behavior which is common to most young women who became involved in the juvenile justice system is running away--leaving home or placements without the consent of parents or authorities. We also discovered that a sizable number of young women defined themselves or were defined by others as runaways even though they were on the streets seemingly with their parents' consent or at least without their concern. Running away is a behavior for which young women frequently find themselves apprehended, detained, and referred to court in Wisconsin.

Our data suggest a stark contrast between the needs of young women who run away and the routine ways in which services are provided across the state. In spite of often severe abuse in their homes, relatively few of the young women turned to public agencies for help. A young woman who has run away faces difficult challenges. In addition to having needs related to her basic survival, she is often lonely, depressed, and at risk of harm. While she is often leaving home to avoid severe abuse, she is usually faced with limited choices. In Wisconsin, many young women are apprehended, held in jails and detention centers, and referred to court for running away (see Chapter I). Public agencies such as county social services departments offer protection, shelter and counseling to such young women, but it seems that they are sometimes feared or distrusted--possibly due to the ambiguity surrounding runaway behavior or due to their authority to act in ways over which young women may have little control.

While runaway programs are not used by all runaways--even when available--they currently provide the least threatening as well as only other recognized alternative to young women on the street. Since, unlike many other countries, we do not provide youth hostels for young people who are traveling, these programs offer one model for helping meet the serious needs which we learned about in our study. It is important that such services be studied further with regard to ways they can expand their services to meet more varied types of needs and to attract young women who are not currently being helped.

According to a survey conducted by the Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services in 1980, there were eleven runaway programs operating in Wisconsin. At the time of this report, there are nine programs in operation, and about four others being organized. Among those which are currently providing services to runaways are: Pathfinders for Runaways (Milwaukee), Walker's Point (Milwaukee), Briarpatch (Madison), Racine Runaway Center (Racine), Alpha House (Menominee), and Family Services Crisis Intervention and Street Worker Program (Green Bay).

One of the most important elements of the approach of these programs is the attitude which is taken toward the youth who come for assistance. Since it is essential to the success of any counseling relationship to establish trust and respect, they view each young person as being capable of making rational and responsible decisions. Their counseling approach thus centers around the interaction between a youth, the counselor, and parent, which can be characterized as problem-solving or conflict resolution rather than traditional counseling. Each party, including the young woman, is an active participant in decision-making. Such an approach may require the staff to actually teach the youth how to participate in problem-solving. As a result, responsibility is placed on the youth as well as on the parent or other responsible persons. The advantage of such an approach--at its best--is to make the experience one which the young person becomes invested in personally. There is no "higher authority" who will come in and make decisions for everyone involved.

Resources for Social Change

While most of our data on resources relates directly to certain needs which were raised by young women in interviews and the survey, we should not focus solely on the treatment of individuals or even on specific problems that are experienced by groups of individuals. Equally important are those resources which aim to promote social change regarding sex-role biases and stereotypes which cause negative consequences for men and women alike. Female juvenile offenders--as all of us--live and develop within a social, economic, and political context. Such factors must be explored and addressed actively when programs and policies are considered.

In Wisconsin, some resources have been developed to promote social change for young women--including those who become involved in the juvenile justice system:

Action for Young Women (AYW). This is an organization which has recently been formed in order to advocate for a variety of concerns facing young women. With a grant from the Milwaukee Junior League, the Wisconsin Council on Human Concerns initiated this organization. To date, AYW has assisted with the planning of a conference sponsored by Alverno College-Milwaukee on issues and potentials of young women. AYW is currently developing a strategy for expanding the resource network for young women in the Milwaukee area.

Advisory Committee to DHSS. A different type of effort to promote social change with respect to young women is presently taking place within the Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services. Secretary Donald Percy of that department appointed a Special Advisory Committee on the Female Adolescent which has been asked to develop recommendations regarding departmental priorities and strategies for such areas of concern as: adolescent pregnancy, sexual abuse and assault, vocational/career preparation, and correctional services.

Wisconsin Women's Network. In addition, the Wisconsin Women's Network has recently formed a Task Force on Women and the Criminal Justice System. That group is focusing activities on the needs of women in both the criminal and juvenile justice systems. Included in their future plans are public education, advocacy, and resource development. The Women's Network has a well-established history of political action in behalf of women and their current focus on justice concerns is expected to be an important part of a strategy to bring social change in Wisconsin.

National Organizations. There are also a few national organizations which focus on the needs of teen-age women in the juvenile justice system. Since 1976, New Directions of Young Women has advocated changes in the juvenile justice system and other social institutions with respect to their treatment of young women. This project has been very effective in reducing the institutionalization of female juvenile offenders in both Arizona and Oregon. In addition, they provide public education and technical assistance to projects and organizations across the United States. Their publications are considered to be unique since they articulate a broad view of the chal-

lenges facing young women in our society. New Directions continues to be a visible and effective catalyst for social change on a national level.

In addition, the National Council of Jewish Women--a voluntary organization--is currently conducting a study of ways to improve community systems and how they affect young women who are involved in the juvenile justice system. Recognized for their earlier study and publication regarding status offenders, this organization continues to perform a vital role in the national effort to improve conditions for young women.

Other Types of Programs for Youth Women

Crossover Program, Milwaukee. In response to the need for resources for young women who are involved in prostitution, the Metropolitan Milwaukee Council on Criminal Justice has sponsored the Crossover Program. Directed by Marcena Harris and based at the Milwaukee Children's Court, this program offers an exciting model for how young women can be assisted to develop increased lifestyle options. The program's approach is primarily focused on group counseling sessions, although staff is available "as needed" for individual attention and/or crises. Temporary shelter is also available when needed. In order to participate in this program, a young woman must be interviewed by Ms. Harris, must either admit or have a police referral for prostitution, and must be willing to participate in the program. To date, the young women and staff have formed a very close relationship and commitment to the goals of the project.

Project Hope, Albany, New York. Project Hope is a non-residential treatment program designed as a dispositional alternative for teenaged women who are involved with the juvenile justice system. According to Mary Ann Finn, the Project's director, their program goals are to: decrease long-term placements of young women, decrease their involvement in further delinquency or status offenses, to increase their life options, increase their proficiency in math and reading, and their ability to deal positively with public school programs. Located in a public school, it operates Monday through Friday from 3:30 to 5:30 p.m. In addition to providing individual and group counseling, tutoring, and recreation, the program monitors each young woman's school behavior. Weekly family counseling sessions are held in the evenings or on weekends in the young woman's home.

Sojourn, Inc., Northhampton, Massachusetts. Open since 1974 in response to a lack of resources for young women, this program is based on a self-help and advocacy model: it teaches young women to develop their own resources. Independent living skills are thus a focus of their intervention. The program's services include foster care, individual and family counseling, educational/vocational support services, and one-on-one volunteer support services.

Young Women's Resource Center, Des Moines, Iowa. This project has offered support services for teenage women since 1975. Many--but not all--of the young women have had court contact. The main thrust of the program is to teach problem-solving skills in the areas of family, employment, education, alcoholism, incest, and pregnancy. Communications skills are also taught when needed. In addition to on-going support groups, a number of special support groups are offered for minority women and young mothers.

CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This concluding chapter will present a brief summary of the major findings of this study, and the recommendations which were developed in response to those findings.

THE FINDINGS

1. Victimization was common and serious problems were found regarding the services which might offer to help them.

--Physical Abuse

- a. The majority had been subjected to physical punishment and 79% had suffered injuries as a result of such punishments, including broken bones and being knocked unconscious.
- b. Over one-half of those who were physically abused did not seek help, often because they didn't perceive this as a problem that they could get help with.
- c. Victims of physical abuse were found in all socio-economic groups and from all sizes of counties.
- d. White young women were somewhat more likely to have been physically abused than minority young women.

--Sexual Abuse

- a. 32% had been sexually abused by parents or other persons who were closely connected to their families.
- b. About one-half of these victims had never told anyone about these experiences, often due to fear or embarrassment.
- c. 89% of these victims had been sexually abused by the time they were thirteen years old.
- d. Victims of sexual abuse were found in all socio-economic groups, were from all sizes of counties, and in all racial groups.

--Sexual Assault

- a. 50% had been sexually assaulted--'raped' and/or forced to participate in sex acts.
- b. The majority of these victims had been assaulted more than once.
- c. Over one-half of these victims had never talked with anyone about the assault, often because of fear and/or embarrassment.
- d. The young women from rural counties and from Milwaukee were somewhat more likely to have been sexual assault victims than those from semi-urban counties.

2. Severe depression and suicide attempts were reported by 58% of the young women.

- 62% of these young women made more than one attempt, with the most recent one being characterized as "very serious".
- Suicide attempts were more often planned than not.
- Although the majority of these young women were involved with human services professionals, only a few talked to these people about the feelings which led to their attempt, often because they were afraid to be thought of as 'crazy'.

- Daughters of parents in higher socio-economic groups were somewhat more likely to have attempted suicide.
- White young women were more likely than the minority young women to have attempted suicide, although a majority of Native American, Hispanic, and 'mixed race' young women had also made attempts.
- Suicide attempts were related to victimization experiences--those who had been severely physically punished and/or sexually abused were more likely than others to have attempted suicide.

3. The young women experienced numerous problems in school.

- The quality of relationships with teachers was found to be a major determinant of both positive and negative school experiences.
- School problems were often made worse by personal problems which affected their school performance and/or experiences.
- The majority reported that they just didn't feel they belonged in school the last year and also that they couldn't keep up with the pace of work. The majority also reported problems with other students and teachers.
- A sizable proportion felt that no one had tried to help them with these problems.
- 43% identified transition grades--6th or 9th--as being the most difficult year for them.
- Victims of physical and/or sexual abuse were more likely than others to have reported school problems, including: physical fights with other students, and being unable to keep up with school work.

4. The young women were confronted with serious problems when they tried to cope with their situations by running away.

- The majority of young women tried to get help before and after they left home, and found it more difficult to get help once they left.
- The most common reasons for running away from home were: family and/or school problems and feelings of depression.
- 61% of those who had been placed outside their home either never ran or ran once or twice.
- The most common reasons for running from placements was difficulty with foster parents or staff and depression, although the majority of minority young women reported that they ran due to missing their own families.
- Sizable proportions of them encountered repeated survival problems while on their own, including: lack of shelter, hunger, and loneliness.
- 54% of those who ran away had found it necessary to steal money, food, or clothing in order to survive and a few exchanged sexual contacts for money or food and shelter.
- 38% reported attempting suicide, 21% had been sexually assaulted, and 18% physically assaulted while on the run.
- The Black young women were the least likely to be 'repeat runners'.
- Repeat runners were more likely to have been physically and/or sexually abused than the others.
- Victims of physical and sexual abuse were more likely to encounter survival problems than non-victims, including the need to steal and/or to exchange sexual contacts for money, food, shelter, or clothing.

5. Their experiences with services varied greatly but the majority had been placed outside their homes.

- Rural young women were much more likely than others to have received mental health services.
- 61% of the young women had been placed outside their homes--particularly true for Native Americans, Hispanics, and those of 'mixed racial backgrounds' and for those from rural counties.
- About one-half had been in three or more different placements, especially true for Black young women.
- Victimized young women were more likely to have been in multiple placements than non-victims.

6. Most of the young women could identify programs or types of services which would help them.

- 72% wanted help from "a program that would teach me things to help me get a job in the future"; this was true for 93% of the Black young women.
- Sizable proportions also desired shelters, help with school problems, crisis services, family counseling and self-esteem building activities.

7. Services for young men and women who are involved in the juvenile justice system are generally not well organized, planned, or coordinated and not visible to the public.

- The only organization efforts which were routinely found were those required by the Youth Aids Program.

8. People who work with such young women identified a range of problems in meeting their needs.

- Over one-half of the professionals interviewed who work with young women in the juvenile justice system believed that present services and/or programs are not meeting many of the needs of such young women.
- The majority of these professionals felt that most or all such young women need: employment preparation services, group counseling experiences, and skill-oriented services (to enhance independence and the ability to problem-solve). While these types of services existed in many of the sample counties, they were rarely routinely accessible to the court-involved young women.
- Service delivery problems were most often reported in relationship to working with victims of sexual abuse and those who are seriously depressed. In many instances, the problems involved the professional's own feeling that he/she did not "have enough experience with the problem to be comfortable knowing what is needed" and that after-hours services were lacking.
- Many of the professionals encountered problems when placing young women outside of their homes, including: concern by foster parents over sexual conduct and related issues, the young woman's anger over her situation, and lack of support services for foster parents.

- While most of the professionals had received at least a little training regarding various issues of importance to young women, sizable numbers had not received any training in the various areas and very few reported receiving a significant amount of training in these areas.
- A resource inventory of one urban community in Wisconsin revealed that among a wide variety of youth services there were few which focused predominantly on female adolescents' needs and few which had made efforts to alter their co-ed programs any differently for young women. Among those programs which were established to serve women, the populations served were primarily adults.

9. Young women appear to be subject to differential treatment in Wisconsin's juvenile justice system.

- They are more likely than young men to be taken into custody for running away and their other offenses are less serious.
- They are more likely than young men to be jailed or held in detention centers for status offenses, minor law violations, and misconduct.
- They are more likely than young men to be brought before juvenile courts for problems/behaviors other than alleged law violations.
- They are placed in secured correctional facilities for less serious offenses and following fewer prior law violations than their male counterparts; also, such secured placements occur sooner -- following their first alleged offense -- than is true for young men.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations represent the views of the study staff and reflect the advice and consultation from an active advisory committee. The advisory committee agreed that three basic strategies should be immediately undertaken in response to the study's findings. These are aimed at addressing the broad issues which were raised by the study and are described below. Some of these activities are presently being organized by committee members and Youth Policy and Law Center staff.

- The 'Profile of Young Women in Wisconsin's Juvenile Justice System--Summary Report' should be widely disseminated among juvenile justice and human services professionals as well as to the general public.

Rationale: Since young women are a minority within the juvenile justice system and are so infrequently involved in violent crimes, they generally do not command much attention. As a result, their needs are often overlooked and/or misunderstood. The study's findings provide a profile of the needs of young women. This profile would provide a foundation for the development of rational and relevant policies as well as intervention strategies.

- Public forums should be held in communities around the state for the purpose of heightening public and professional awareness of the needs of young women in trouble.

Rationale: Sex-role stereotyping pervades many community services--and young women are counseled to 'know their place' and/or to accept a traditional female role. Other services are based upon experiences with male offenders. Further, the study findings demonstrate that a sizable proportion of young women in the juvenile justice system are victims of abuse by adults and that they generally do not benefit from supportive services within their communities. It is thus important to initiate discussions of the challenges facing teenage women, as well as to draw attention to their capabilities.

- A practice manual should be developed which would provide guidelines for professionals who work with young women who come to the attention of the juvenile justice system. This manual should include standards for evaluating and responding to the needs of victimized young women.

Rationale: Our study found that a sizable number of professionals feel that they lack the knowledge and/or experience to respond effectively to the needs of young women. Some of the problem types which were found to be particularly difficult for these professionals were: depression and suicide, sexual abuse, physical abuse, and sexual assault. A manual would provide a basic reference for these persons regarding the "how-to's" of responsible intervention.

1. Every county should have a program for helping young women who have run away.
 - a. At a minimum, each program should provide: shelter which is easily accessible to young women and which is known to guarantee immediate protection (such as is provided in Wis. Stat. 48.227); immediate counseling regarding the young woman's options (information and assistance with decision-making)--whether or not she has already left home or placement; and the ability to provide an advocate to assist the young women with long-range planning and supportive services.
 - b. These programs should recognize the right of young women for supportive services and should routinely offer assistance for victimized young women without blaming the victim for her abuse or viewing her as a willing participant.
 - c. All juvenile justice professionals who work with runaways should be trained to understand the causes of running away and how to do positive problem-solving with runaways and their families.

Rationale: Some of the major findings of the study described the young women's extensive history of running away. Running away was found to be most often in response to family problems, school problems, and general feelings of depression. Often, the young women who ran away repeatedly had been seriously abused in their homes. Young women who ran from placements often were unable to resolve conflicts within the placement or their feelings regarding their own families. As a result, running away was seen as one way of responding to sometimes complex and usually difficult situations.

Yet, many young women--including those escaping abuse--find themselves disenfranchised from supports once they leave home. Routine service delivery systems are often fragmented or pose threats to these young women who may simply be afraid to seek help. As a result, it is crucial that communities take a broad view of these young women's needs for supportive options when they are in trouble. Supportive services must be accessible (both physically and psychologically). They should also be offered in a manner which clearly represents a respect for their needs as individuals and should attempt to place as much decision-making control with the young women as is possible.

When runaway programs already exist in a community, it is particularly important that they train their staff and volunteers to work effectively with young women and to know how to respond to victimization experiences. They should also provide outreach programs which include a focus upon reaching young women in trouble in addition to their usual outreach to youth and families.

2. Each juvenile court should include in its written intake policies the following requirements: (1) whenever a young woman is referred to juvenile court an assessment of her experiences within her family must be conducted (including at minimum: an evaluation of physical and sexual abuse and depression), and (2) policies regarding how to respond to victimized youth.

Rationale: A sizable number of the young women in our study reported that they had never disclosed the problems that they were experiencing as a result of victimization and/or severe depression. This was true in spite of the fact that most of the young women were receiving on-going services. Many professionals described their discomfort and identified specific barriers to responding effectively to such problems. As a result, some young women continue to be viewed primarily as offenders and to receive services directed at the behaviors which brought them into conflict at home, school or in the community. It is therefore important that an assessment and plan for responding to their victimization be made a routine part of planning at or before the intake stage.

3. The Department of Health and Social Services should actively promote the development or expansion of multi-disciplinary services networks in each county in order to address the needs of adolescent victims of abuse, assault, and depression.

Rationale: The Department has already been charged with this responsibility pursuant to §48.981. Yet in the course of our study we found it difficult to identify such projects across the state. While the Department has taken active steps in terms of training such groups, there clearly is a need for a centralized resource sharing and development function. The Department should therefore assert stronger leadership in terms of developing such networks and, then assuring that they meet the needs of adolescents as well as younger children and their families.

4. Every county should develop a network of agencies and/or organizations which can assist young women with preparing for future employment.
- a. Juvenile judges should direct persons who prepare court reports to address and plan for these needs pursuant to §48.33 including the expansion of educators' roles in dispositional planning when appropriate.
- b. Each court services program should coordinate the development of job preparation programs for their clients. When this type of program exists or is developed by others in the community, the court or social services staff should routinely inform their clients about these programs and promote their involvement in them.

Rationale: The study found that young women face difficult challenges regarding future employment--especially minority young women and those who have school problems. The majority of the young women we interviewed seem to be aware of this and to desire services which would promote their preparation and/or skills to support themselves in the

future. While §48.33 requires court reports to include educational and vocational goals for youths, the study findings suggest that only a small proportion of young women actually receive services which are directed at these concerns. In addition, social workers told us that these types of services are much needed by the young women they work with. When such resources were available, they often were not routinely accessible to young women who were court-involved. Many different strategies could be employed: assertiveness training, information about the workplace, job skills programs, tutoring or other educational services, and job experience programs. Since the young women seemed to be motivated to gain such assistance, it is important to create a mechanism for emphasizing this important need for services.

5. Responsive crisis services should be available in every community.
 - a. The quality of after-hours services should be studied by the Department.
 - b. The Department should create incentives for counties to pilot crisis intervention projects which are known about and easily accessed by youth and should disseminate information about current models which are effectively serving youth.

Rationale: In the course of our study, we learned that services are often not available after regular working hours. This seemed to be particularly true regarding suicide prevention services. While we did not study the nature of crisis services in an in-depth fashion, questions were raised by our data regarding: the availability of crisis services for youth, the access to such services, and the quality of the response received.

It appears that the most common form of in-person crisis services is provided by law enforcement officers. Other crisis services may either be specialized (i.e. rape crisis, child abuse crisis, custody intake) or made available only to current clients and/or local professionals. Many of these provide mainly telephone counseling. It is important for the state to promote the development of youth and family crisis projects which can respond immediately, including the capacity for in-person contacts. It is also important that these projects' services be broadly defined so that neither parents nor youths have to label their own problems in order to know how to get help.

6. The Department should study the extent to which publicly funded mental health centers are meeting the needs of children and youths--including young women--and develop recommendations for meeting those needs.

Rationale: In the course of our study, the question was raised regarding whether mental health centers should be providing services to more of these young women. While many of those that received such services found them to be helpful, many had not ever received such services--particularly in the larger counties. It is also important to assess whether mental health services appropriately address the needs of

victims and/or depressed young women without sex bias and sex-role stereotyping. In addition, it is important to evaluate the extent to which adolescents have access to help without parental consent or notification or when this would be a barrier to their seeking help.

7. Every county should provide support groups--for young women who are referred to court and/or human services agencies as a result of law violations and/or conflicts in the home, school or community--for the purpose of increasing their awareness of life options, enhancing self-esteem, and improving skills which will assist them in independent living.

Rationale: Sizable proportions of the young women in our study desired programs which would help them be more effective and/or help them feel more positively about themselves. Curriculum for conducting such groups are available and the group approach can be one way to provide services in a cost-effective, yet responsive manner.

8. A comprehensive advocacy effort should be developed in order to: (1) promote attention to issues facing the teenage women who are involved in the juvenile justice system and others who are not court-involved but who need human services, and (2) develop a budget agenda to achieve an equitable allocation of state and local resources.

Rationale: The study found that there are few statewide organizational efforts which prioritize the needs of young women. This exacerbates the lack of attention which characteristically is given to many issues facing young women. Those which exist are either focused on one community or upon a limited agenda of issues. There is a need to build a network between such agencies for the purpose of information sharing and mutual support. There is also a need to provide a centralized source of information and action on behalf of teenage women in trouble.

9. Counties should be required to routinely consider the needs of young women when they develop their human services plans and budgets.

Rationale: While certain problems which are faced by young women are addressed by general program planning, they often are not a priority target group. According to state and county planners, it is unusual for current planning efforts to focus specifically on the needs of adolescent women even though they may be unique. Since their needs are so easily overlooked when resources are allocated, it is particularly important to draw concerted attention to services for women and adolescent women in particular. At a minimum each county should be directed to demonstrate that their resources address issues of importance to young women. Minimum standards or objectives should be established by the Department of Health and Social Services.

10. Professional training should be expanded to include a special focus on the needs of adolescent women and separate training should be required regarding how to intervene with adolescent women who have been physically and/or sexually abused, sexually assaulted, and those who have run away and/or attempted suicide.
- a. The Department should require a minimum of 8 hours of introductory training for all publicly employed social services and mental health professionals regarding female adolescence and victimization.
 - b. The Department should develop and/or promote the development of on-going, in-depth training regarding specific issues of concern to young women.
 - c. The Department should require every county to have at least one person providing court services who has completed training in the above areas and who can act as a resource for other professionals and the community.
 - d. The University of Wisconsin's various social work departments should offer a basic practical curriculum for working with depression and suicide.
 - e. The University of Wisconsin's Continuing Lawyer Education Programs (CLEW) and the State Public Defender's training programs should annually offer training on resources available to youths in trouble and require that one component of the workshop focuses on resources for young women.
 - f. The Law Enforcement Standards Board should require that police officers receive training regarding how to effectively respond to women as well as adolescent women, including becoming aware of their attitudes towards women and how to respond to women who are victims.

Rationale: Young women often face unique challenges, and are often the subjects of sex-stereotyped assumptions and attitudes. Thus it is particularly important that the various professional groups focus some of their training on how to serve this population.

11. The Department should conduct an inventory of the availability of in-home services for adolescents--including adolescent women--and their families to assess whether this population is receiving adequate support in their own homes and to determine the reasons for placements outside the home.

Rationale: Many counties have developed intensive in-home services for youths who might be 'at risk' of placement. Yet placements outside the home were found to be prevalent among the young women we studied. Many of them were in multiple placements. Social workers often encountered placement problems caused by young women's

difficulty in accepting the notion of placement--seeing the placement as punishment for things they had little or no control over. Many young women experienced problems in placements due to their missing their own families--especially minority young women. For these reasons, it is important to determine whether teenage women are part of the 'target population' for intensive in-home services.

12. Every county social services department should develop placement policies and services which assure that foster parents of adolescents are provided with routine support for day-to-day issues they face, and receive information and support regarding how to respond to issues raised regarding adolescent sexuality.

Rationale: Lack of support for foster parents in handling day-to-day problems was frequently mentioned by social workers as causing placement difficulties for young women. As one social worker stated: "I believe foster parents who have teens need weekly face-to-face contact with a social worker." Alternatives should be explored for providing such external supports to those who provide alternate care for young women. When professional staff is unable to adequately provide such regular services, foster parents themselves may be assisted to develop a support network--experienced foster parents advising/listening to less experienced foster parents. This type of network has evolved informally within some local Federation of Foster Parents groups.

The study found that placement problems often relate to foster parents' concerns over sexual issues. These findings are consistent with earlier research conducted by Wisconsin's Department of Health and Social Services. That study found that a considerable number of foster parents were uncomfortable about the topic of adolescent sexuality. This feeling was reflected in a significant portion who never discussed sex-related issues with their teen foster children and/or did not refer them to others for such discussion (Danzinger, Chewing, and Plane, 1980). The implications of this issue for services are accentuated by that study's findings that 57% of foster parents did not receive any training that would help them with a sexually active resident. Also, in about 75% of the placements, they felt they had not been given adequate information about the youth's sexuality at the time of placement. The topics of sexuality and sex-related issues could be made part of the discussions that take place at the time of and throughout placements. Such topics could also be made part of training offered to foster parents.

13. In every case when a young woman is placed outside her home, the following concerns should be raised with her and addressed when necessary: whether she views a placement as punishment, how to cope with the challenge to adapt to a new home and yet, deal with her relationship with her own family, and whether she attributes placement as her own failure.

Rationale: The fact that young women frequently do not accept their placement due to their perception that it represents rejection by parents (or their parents' unwillingness to change) can be an integral issue for many young women for two reasons. First, they may be placed primarily due to family conflicts which they feel powerless to resolve. Secondly, they may be more likely to feel conflicted between their own feelings of fault and their anger at the adults who have failed them. Attributional research has repeatedly demonstrated that young women tend to blame failures on themselves rather than on problems or reasons that are external to them and to attribute achievements or successes to "luck" or to others' efforts more than young men (Rivers, Barnett, and Baruch, 1979). The perceptions and feelings of young women should be taken into account when placement decisions and/or arrangements are being made.

14. The Department of Health and Social Services should re-convene its Task Group on the Programming for the Female Juvenile Offenders in Wisconsin for the purposes of evaluating and planning programs and services for young women in the custody of the Department and under supervision of the Division of Corrections.

Rationale: A report issued by the 1980 Task Group identified a number of problems and developed a set of recommendations for meeting the needs of the young women who are court-committed to the state's coed secure facility at Irma. Following their work, additional resources were allocated to the young women. However, since each budget period requires re-assessment and planning of such resources, it is extremely important to institute a regular monitoring and planning group. To date, there has been no further external evaluation of young women's experiences at Lincoln Hills Schools.

15. An inter-departmental task force should be formed to promote and coordinate opportunities for young women in educational, vocational, training and job programs in Wisconsin.

Rationale: The study found that most of the young women and their social workers agreed that job preparation programs are needed. Further, while most communities offer some form of job training programs, these are often fragmented and not integrated with other human services. Since young women in general--and those in trouble in particular--face difficult and unique employment challenges, it is especially important to identify these services and to assure that the young women have access to them. As a first step towards that goal, we must attempt to focus the attention of the various state agencies which provide these services upon the needs of young women.

16. The Department of Public Instruction, parent-teacher organizations, and local school boards should assess the experiences of young women in public schools including, at a minimum: sex equity in educational programs and curriculum, drop-out rates and reasons, supportive services for those experiencing problems, and alternative programs for those with special needs and/or circumstances.

Rationale: In the course of the study, it was learned that little data exists which describes various indicators of educational success by gender. This study and others have revealed a number of issues and challenges which are unique to young women's educational experiences. In order to promote the ability of educational systems to address students' needs, it is critical that data be collected which enables planners to assess the experiences of all girls and young women and those who are experiencing problems in particular.

17. Programs which provide human services and court-involved young women with job preparation skills and/or skills in non-traditional occupations should be promoted based on model projects done by such established organizations as the: YWCA, Girl Scouts, Girls Clubs, and Wisconsin's Fresh Start. Wherever such programs exist, they should be encouraged to include young women in trouble.

Rationale: In the course of our study we learned about a number of projects--often developed by established organizations--which focus on providing teenage women with non-traditional work experiences. Among the benefits of such programs is the resulting self-confidence and skill development which young women gain. While some of the young women who have participated in these programs do not go on to enter apprenticeships or trades, most of them gain the awareness that they are capable of performing a wide range of types of work. This is crucial in developing feelings of competence among young women in trouble.

18. Friendship-advocate programs should be developed and/or expanded to involve young women in trouble.

Rationale: Programs such as 'Big Sisters' and 'Volunteers in Probation' offer an important opportunity for young women to develop relationships with adults. Since so many young women have experienced some form of victimization and since so few resources exist which focus on their needs, it is especially important to provide the kind of advocacy which develops naturally in these types of programs. Women's organizations could be particularly helpful in providing volunteers and/or resources.

19. Education and outreach regarding community services should be conducted in junior and senior high schools as well as other youth programs.

Rationale: Our study found that young women often find it difficult to locate help and/or to disclose their problems. Often, they do not even know that they could seek help for things like depression, school problems, and even abuse. They have unique needs and face unique challenges in our society and deserve to be made aware of these facts. Often, such information alone can be crucial to their well-being.

The state should develop a manual for educational, court and human services professionals to use in providing realistic information to young women, including descriptions of available resources.