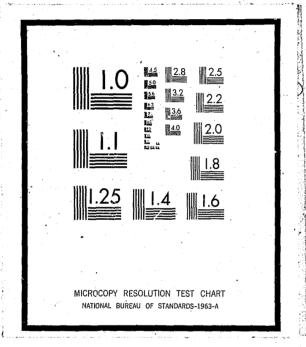
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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION NATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFERENCE SERVICE WASHINGTON, D.C. 20531 JUVENILE JUSTICE

IN

HENNEPIN COUNTY(MN)

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNEAPOLIS
1200 Second Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55403

May 1972 April 1973 Revised September 1974

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

The Minneapolis League of Women Voters' Juvenile Justice Committees wish to thank all those who generously gave of their time to assist us in our study, which was conducted largely through interviews.

#### PREFACE

In 1971, two Minneapolis League of Women Voters publications, Hennepin County Municipal Court the The Police and the Community, brought to the attention of League members their lack of information about how the justice system deals with children. Juvenile Justice in Hennepin County was prepared to remedy that lack.

By 1972 attention focused on alternatives to the court system. The two traditional dispositions for offenders—correctional institutions and probation—in recent years had been supplemented by a variety of alternatives. The State Department of Corrections fosters community responsibility and community—based corrections, providing fewer services of its own while subsidizing more on the county level. In turn, county government agencies are purchasing more services from the private sector. Volume II of Juvenile Justice in Hennepin County, published in the spring of 1973, provides that kind of information.

To prepare these two reports, committee members interviewed the Juvenile Court Judge and referees, the police, members of the Juvenile Probation Division of Hennepin County Court Services, the Coordinator of Juvenile Court Administrative Services, assistant county attorneys, public defenders, community youth workers, school personnel, the Director and staff of Hennepin County Court Services, the Child Protective Services staff of the Hennepin County Welfare Department, social workers, staffs of community agencies, children, parents, and many others. Members also observed Juvenile Court proceedings, toured the Juvenile Center detention facilities, the Hennepin County Home School and teenage drop-in centers, and sent questionnaires to 24 police departments in Hennepin County and to community service agencies.

In 1974, these two reports were combined and condensed into a single volume under the same title, Juvenile Justice in Hennepin County. It is not an updating of the earlier reports, nor does it contain any new material. It is shorter and more concise, and we hope it will continue to be of value to people who share the League's concern about how juvenile justice and its corollary services are dispensed in Hennepin County.

# LISTEN TO MY STORY, PLEASE

Hey, will someone listen to my story? (I've got one, too, you know) will someone take my hand and lead me, I don't know which way to go. Hey, will someone listen to my story, (It really needs to be heard.) You'll find I have a lot to say Even though I say few words. Hey, will someone listen to my story, (just listen and don't ask why,) But I know you'll only turn away, That's when I turn and Hey, will someone listen to my story, (I'm crying now, can't you see?) Can't you take a minute of your time, And spend it listening to me? Hey, will someone listen to my story. (Don't run away . . . Please wait.) Someone's got to hear Before it's just too late.

> Jane Swenson age 14

# POSITION

The League of Women Voters of Minneapolis supports:

# Juvenile Justice

- A continuous program to evaluate the juvenile justice system in Hennepin County.
- An expansion of legal assistance for all children.
- Mandatory training in adolescent development and problems for all persons working with youth in the juvenile justice system.
- More use of personnel whose lifestyles and outlook are similar to those of the families being served.
- Flexibility in court scheduling and decentralized court facilities for greater convenience to families being served.
- Maximum effort directed toward finding adequate alternatives to detention, court hearings and institutionalization for juvenile status offenses.

# Human Resources

- The availability of a complete continuum of services for the troubled, delinquent, abused and neglected youth and their families. This includes quality\* community based corrections in all geographic areas as an alternative to traditional institutions but it does not deny the value of secure institutionalization for some.
  - (\* including proper supervision, standards, inspections and screening of residents)
- Exploring the feasibility of community-based corrections for adult offenders as well.
- The need for confidentiality taken into account in efforts to coordinate services for juveniles or adults.
- Continual evaluation of all existing programs for juveniles and their families funded and/or used by public agencies.
- Diversion of juveniles to community alternatives from the formal judicial process at all levels, but particularly by Court Services Intake, the Court and the police.

# Human Rights

- Constitutional protection for juveniles equal to that for adults, particularly due process of law, protection from invasion of privacy,

and protection from removal from their families unless truly voluntary and truly beneficial.

- With regard to all records, the right of every person (adult, parent and/or juvenile):
  - a) to know his record exists,
  - b) to see his record unless it would be detrimental to his welfare,
  - c) to correct his record if it is inaccurate,
  - d) to refuse disclosure, and
  - e) to know that he can refuse disclosure.
- Records no longer useful should be sealed and/or destroyed.
- Juvenile Court records\* should be handled according to the Rules of Procedure in Minnesota Probate-Juvenile Courts.
  - (\* defined by law and procedures to include all documents filed with the Juvenile Court and all documents relating to the apprehension, detention, adjudication or disposition of the subject of a Juvenile Court case. This specifically includes records of the Court, Court Services, Welfare and law enforcement agencies. This explicitly excludes records relating to traffic offenses, cases of persons contributing to delinquency or neglect of a child, and adoption records.
- It is the recording agency's responsibility to tell a person of these rights.

# GLOSSARY

Absenting: A juvenile staying away from home for more than 24 hours without parental permission.

Arraignment Hearing: Hearing where a juvenile is given an opportunity to admit or deny a petition filed against him.

Child: A person under 18 years of age (juvenile, minor).

County Home School: Resident school in Glen Lake designed to give therapy to children who the court feels are not able to function in the community without getting involved in delinquent behavior.

Curfew: Time designated for all children under 16 to be off the street unless accompanied by an adult (10 p.m. in Hennepin County).

Dependent Child: A person under 18 who is without proper parental care and whose parent or guardian is unable to provide care.

<u>Delinquent</u>: A person under 18 who has violated a law or committed an act illegal only for juveniles.

Detention: Temporary holding of a juvenile pending court action or referral.

Detention Hearing: A hearing where detention is the only issue and where a determination is made whether a child should be detained or released.

<u>Disposition Hearing</u>: A hearing where the treatment plan for a child is the issue and where the court makes a formal decision for the handling of a child. It may involve dismissal, training, counseling, foster care and/or therapy.

Guardian ad Litem: A person appointed by the Court for a particular hearing if there is some doubt as to whether or not the child's parent understands the hearing or is sympathetic with the child.

Incorrigible: A juvenile who is habitually disobedient or wayward.

<u>Intake</u>: A juvenile offender's informal contact with Court Services, at which time it is decided whether the juvenile's matter may be handled with or without court action.

Juvenile: A person under 18 years old (child, minor).

Juvenile Center: The building housing the Juvenile Court and detention facilities, located at 1000 South Sixth Street.

<u>Juvenile Services Building</u>: This building houses the Juvenile Court Administrative Services, the Juvenile Probation Division, and the Assistant County Attorneys, Juvenile Division. It is located at 915 South Fifth Street.

Juvenile Status Offenses: Conduct considered unlawful only for children, e.g. truancy, absenting, incorrigibility, possession and consumption of liquor, and curfew violations.

Glossary - continued

Legal Custody: The right to care, custody, and control of the child has been taken from the parent by the court and transferred to a reputable person or agency.

Minor: A person under 18 (child, juvenile).

Neglected Child: A person under 18 who is without proper parental care and whose parent or guardian has refused to provide care.

Parent: The natural or adoptive parent of a minor.

<u>Petition</u>: A signed form specifically describing the alleged acts for which a child is brought under the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court.

<u>Probation:</u> Suspending the sentence of a convicted offender and giving him freedom during good behavior under the supervision of a probation officer.

<u>Probation Officer:</u> Member of the Court Services staff assigned by the Court to counsel and supervise persons under probation.

Rasmussen Hearing: A pre-trial proceeding to determine whether evidence obtained by police search or seizure is admissible in court.

Referee: Juvenile Court judicial officer who hears cases and renders the findings or recommendations to the Juvenile Court Judge.

Reference Hearing: A hearing to determine whether a child should be removed from the protection of the Juvenile Code and referred for prosecution as an adult charged with a crime.

Reformatory: An institution run by the state for the confinement of young or first-time offenders who are beyond Juvenile Court jurisdiction.

Trial (for Juveniles): A private no-jury hearing to determine which, if any, allegations of a petition are true.

<u>Violation Hearing</u>: A combination arraignment and disposition hearing where a new petition is read and a disposition is made for a child currently under Juvenile Court jurisdiction.

<u>Waiver</u>: Voluntary decision by a defendant, with a lawyer's assistance, to eliminate a hearing or to waive the right to counsel or some other procedure.

#### CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	Page
Position	
Glossary	
History	1
Juvenile Justice Chart	2
Police	4
Court Services	5
- Detention	5
- Intake	7
Administrative Services	9
Assistant County Attorney	10
Public Defender	10
Hearings	11
- Detention Arraignment Hearings	12
- Reference Hearings	13
- Dependency Neglect Hearings	13
- Traffic Violations Hearings	14
- Other Types of Hearings	15
The Court	15
- Trials	16
- Disposition Hearings	16
- Appeals	18
- Reporting	18
Juvenile Probation Division	18
County Home School	20
Out of Home Care	20
- Runaway House	20
- Shelter Care	20
- Foster Homes	21
- Group Homes	22
- Halfway Houses	23
- Out of Home Care: Good or Bad?	23
Volunteer Programs	25
Liaison Groups	26
Hennepin County Welfare	26
Alternative Agencies	27
Records	31
Other Suggestions from the	
President's Task Force	35
- An Alternative to the Courts	35
- Family Courts	36
- Juvenile Court Jurisdiction	36
- Truancy Recommendations	36
- Time and Place for Hearings	37
- Improvement of Statistical Data	37
Bibliography	38
List of Persons Interviewed	40

# The League of Women Voters of Minneapolis

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#### HISTORY

The first statewide court specifically for children was created in Illinois in 1899. The enabling legislation brought under one jurisdiction cases of dependency, neglect, and delinquency. "Delinquents" included incorrigibles and children threatened by immoral association, as well as criminal lawbreakers. For the first time, children in trouble with the law were to be treated differently from adults.

In 1905 the Minnesota Legislature provided for establishment of juvenile courts in counties with over 50,000 population. The law gave original and exclusive jurisdiction to the District Courts (the state trial court of general jurisdiction) in cases involving young people up to and including the age of 17. Special courtrooms were to be set aside for such cases, with a presiding judge chosen by his fellow district court judges. In succeeding sessions the Legislature expanded this juvenile court into a statewide system. Today, the Hennepin County District Court Judge, Juvenile Division, is an elected official. In Ramsey County, the district court judges assign one of their members to the juvenile division each year. In other Minnesota counties the family court division of the county court hears juvenile cases.

The Minnesota Legislature also has provided enabling legislation for establishing juvenile detention and correctional facilities on the local level, and for providing correctional institutions and probation services on the state level. In 1959, the Legislature adopted a new and comprehensive Juvenile Court Act. The basic philosophy of this act is:

". To secure for each minor under the jurisdiction of the court, the care and guidance, preferably in his own home, as will serve the sprititual, emotional, mental and physical welfare of the minor and the best interest of the state; to preserve and strengthen the minor's family ties whenever possible, removing him from the custody of his parents only when his welfare or safety, or the safety and protection of the public cannot be adequately safeguarded without removal; and, when the minor is removed from his own family, to secure for him custody, care and discipline as nearly as possible equivalent to that which should have been given by his parents. The laws relating to juvenile courts shall be liberally construed to carry out these purposes."

On May 15, 1967, the United States Supreme Court in re Gault extended to juvenile offenders the full protection of due process of law: notice of charges, right to counsel, full constitutional protection against self-incrimination, and right to confront and cross-examine witnesses. On March 1, 1969, Rules of Procedure for Minnesota Juvenile-Probate Courts went into effect to implement the Gault decision and to promote uniform procedures. Since Hennepin and Ramsey Juvenile Courts, as divisions of the District Court, were not bound by these rules, they developed their own procedures. Although the Gault decision specifically protected only juvenile offenders who might be institutionalized, Hennepin County provides due process for all children appearing in Juvenile Court.

The first Juvenile Court in Hennepin County was formed in 1911 when Judge Edward F. Waite was named Juvenile Court Judge. There had been five such judges prior to the appointment of Judge Lindsay Arthur in 1961.

# Juvenile



detention at Juvenile Center (until court appearance or when security is necessary to prevent running away



referral by law enforcement agencies, schools, parents, transfers from other counties



Probation Intake Unit



referral to other agency

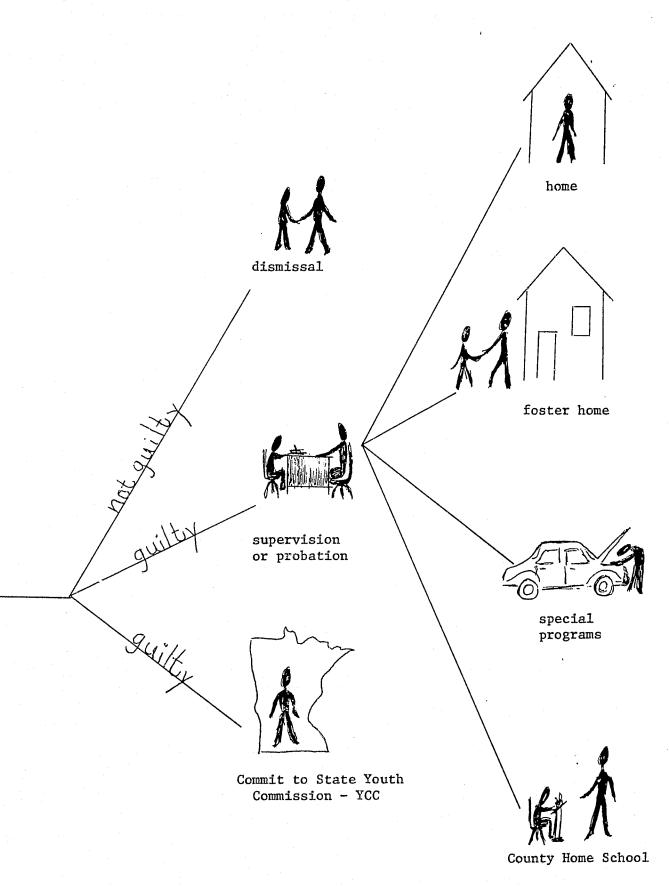


appearance in Juvenile Court



reprimand and dismissal

# Services



#### THE POLICE

As the chart on the preceding pages illustrates, a child's first encounter with the Hennepin County system of justice is usually with the police. Contact may be initiated by a storekeeper who suspects shoplifting, a police officer observing a traffic violation, a school official suspicious of drug abuse or some other violation—or suspected violation—of a law. Such situations are legal reasons for a police officer to take a child into custody. He may also take a child into custody if he thinks the child has run away from his parents, is in surroundings which endanger his well—being, or has violated his probation. Taking a child into custody is not considered an arrest but an "apprehension." Obviously, the police use discretion. They do not apprehend all the children they see committing offenses or all who have reportedly committed offenses. In minor violations, like throwing snowballs at cars or under—age smoking, they usually reprimand the youngster and send him on his way or take him home to his parents.

A child taken into custody must be informed of his basic rights as outlined in Miranda vs Arizona the right to consult with counsel, the right to remain silent, the right to know that any statement he makes may be used in a juvenile court case against him or his parent. The law does not require that a parent or guardian be present during questioning, and although the Miranda warning must be given before questioning, the child may waive these rights himself. However, police should have a parent, counsel, or some other adult, such as a school official, present during questioning, to make reasonably certain that anything the juvenile says during questioning will be admissible as evidence against him. In some cases, the Court must decide whether or not the child was able to intelligently waive his rights during police questioning.

There are no written guidelines to help the police decide when a child in custody should be taken into court. Some of the factors they consider are the seriousness of the alleged act, the number of previous contacts with the child, and the attitudes of the child and/or his/her parents. None of the police departments in Hennepin County refer all the children brought into their custody to juvenile court. In most cases the child is reprimanded and released, especially on first contact. In some cases the parents and/or the child are referred to a community agency, school or church for help with their personal problems. The police have no authority, however, to insist that such suggestions be carried out. When they make direct referrals to some agencies, such as the Hennepin County Youth Diversion Project, they do receive a feed-back sheet letting them know what action the agency has taken.

In 1971 suburban Hennepin County referrals to Court Services were 12 per thousand as compared to 26 per thousand in Minneapolis. These statistics are not really very informative, however, A study by Hennepin County Court Services indicates that suburban police more often deal personally and informally with juveniles committing minor violations. City police more frequently refer youth to Court Services, but the cause for the difference is a matter of conjecture. It could be that cities tend to have more police or that city youth tend toward more serious crime—or simply that there are different methods of keeping records. In some police jurisdictions warnings are not recorded unless a police report is required; in others all contacts are recorded and kept in a separate file at local police headquarters. Minnesota law requires that juvenile records be kept separate from adult records and be opened to the public only by order of Juvenile Court.

Most apprehensions of children are made by patrolmen at the scene; the cases are then assigned to a juvenile officer. Training and responsibilities of juvenile officers vary greatly among the 24 police departments in Hennepin County. In most, the juvenile officer is a patrolman who does not wear a uniform. He has regular police training and on the average two years of experience before he is assigned to juveniles. Chances are he doesn't stay in that position long, since civil service policy results in his transfer to some other department when he passes an examination entitling him to higher rank and more pay. Although the Minneapolis Police Department, for example, hand-picks its juvenile officers, it has a high turnover. A few departments offer merit raises for policemen up to the rank of sergeant to reward expertise and experience.

The larger police departments in the county have on-going in-service training for their juvenile officers, but the smaller ones provide only on-the-job training or yearly seminars at the University of Minnesota, which every summer offers a 6-to-8 week Juvenile Officers Institute for police, probation officers and other youth workers. The course covers problems of adolescence, methods of handling and counseling juveniles, and the use of community agencies. Most county police departments send their juvenile officers to the institute when possible, and most of them have taken the course at least once.

Police express a certain amount of frustration in their work with youth. Interviews with suburban juvenile officers showed their role perception as 45% law enforcer, 30% friend to youth, 15% social worker, 6% big brother, and 4% public relations or "other." Their communities, concerned about drug problems and vandalism, pressure them to "do something." When they do refer a youth for detention, he seems to be back on the streets immediately, since he is usually released to adult custody even if he has been referred to juvenile court or to counseling. The police would like to see more community-based work with juveniles, more foster homes, more counseling with families, more counseling in the schools. In some communities there are police-school liaison officers, counseling children at the school who are referred to them by their police departments. The officer can refer children to court and, if he requests, be notified by the court of the disposition of a case. Liaison officers do not interfere in scholastic matters.

#### COURT SERVICES

Hennepin County Court Services is the social service arm of the court. Its budget is provided by the County Board of Commissioners and it operates at the discretion of the District Court. Its philosophy is to help offenders solve their problems and adjust to their surroundings, not to put them in jail. Three divisions of Court Services are exclusively for juveniles—the Juvenile Detention Center, the Juvenile Probation Division (which includes Intake) and the County Home School. Its Volunteer Program, Clinical Services, and Chaplain's Ministry also handle juvenile problems.

#### Detention

If they believe that a child may be dangerous to himself or others, or that he/she might run away, the police bring him/her to the Juvenile Center for admission to detention. The Center has a 24-hour-a-day screening unit manned by social workers, psychologists and sociologists. When the police bring a

child to the Center their jurisdiction ends. The Detention admissions staff records the reason for detention and logs the time the child is brought in. Immediate effort is made to contact the parents, if the police have been unsuccessful. The child is informed of his rights, and told that any discussion of his alleged offense with the admissions staff is generally inadmissible evidence in court.

The admissions staff decides whether the child should be detained, basing their judgment on the child's attitude, the seriousness of the alleged offense, and whether the child can return home and will stay there until his court hearing. A child alleged to have been involved in an armed assault or an armed robbery is automatically detained until he has had a hearing. All police reports about a child who is detained are immediately sent to the Intake unit of the Juvenile Probation Division, so that court or other action can begin. The police report is referred to another agency (e.g. the Youth Conservation Commission) when the detained child is already under its jurisdiction.

A detention hearing for a child kept at the Center is held within six count hours after he is first detained, or within twelve count hours if the child is already under court jurisdiction. No child may be detained longer than twelve count hours unless a petition has been filed and the judge or referee has determined that the child should remain in custody. Unfortunately, court is not always in session. This means that, although quick action is the goal, a child brought to the Center at 11:05 p.m. on Friday could be detained until Monday afternoon, or Tuesday afternoon if Monday should be a legal holiday. A youngster picked up between 11 p.m. and 7 a.m. may be kept at the Juvenile Center until 9 a.m. for questioning by juvenile officers if they so request. Legal counsel by the public defender's office is not available at night either.

The average length of stay at the Center is 4.8 days. There is little chance for a child to be placed in Detention and forgotten, for each case must be reevaluated at a new detention hearing every 10 days.

Detailed records are kept on every procedure. For example, photographs can be taken only on order of the court, usually in the case of an allegedly battered child, for public safety, or as evidence for a line-up. Except for the line-up, these pictures are confidential and are eventually destroyed if no identification is made, if the petition is found untrue, or if time for appeal expires. The fact of photographing must be logged. A detained child may be placed in a line-up either as an accused, or for comparison with an accused, but he must have counsel, and again the fact must be logged. Moreover, a child cannot be held in an adult lockup unless authorized by Juvenile Court.

Most youngsters are released to their parents. For those who cannot or will not go home, there are about 50 foster homes in Hennepin County and a number of temporary shelters like the St. Joseph's Children's Home. No child is locked up of the Court has an alternative.

Those children who are detained go to the Juvenile Center. It was built in 1957 with a 30-bed capacity and remodeled in 1970 to add 29 more beds, new classrooms and a gymnasium. There is a large, cheerful cafeteria. There are bulletin boards on the walls where children are encouraged to post their thoughts. Music—the kind youngsters like—can be heard in many places throughout the building. The gym is used for supervised games and activities. A recreation room has ping pong tables, television, and small tables for talking or playing cards. Occasionally dances are held on weekends.

In the boys' sleeping quarters, each boy has a separate small room with a built-in bed, a toilet and a sink, and a window covered with screen mesh. The girls' rooms are like the boys' except that they have no toilets—the girls must ask permission to go to the bathroom at night. From 10:30 p.m. to 7 a.m. each child is in his own room and the door is locked. There is an intercom system, so that a child who needs help can call out and be heard at the counselor's office. Corridor doors are always locked, and permission is required to go from one part of the building to another.

Staff members in the Center have been trained to work with troubled youth, and they are encouraged to provide as much warmth and support as possible. They talk with the children, supervise their activities, and keep a log on each child's actions, attitudes and problems while he is at the Center awaiting a court hearing. Four special education teachers and an industrial arts teacher from the Minneapolis public schools teach at the Center. Two teach academic subjects, one teaches art and one business education. Projects created in the art classes are evident throughout the building and in the waiting room at Juvenile Court. The services of a pediatrician at General Hospital are available on request, day or night. The court may order psychological testing and can order medical care if it is necessary to save the child's life or to prevent permanent disability. A chaplain assigned to the Center supervises a group of associate pastors learning clinical counseling. They talk with the children and hold voluntary interdenominational services on Sundays. Volunteers are an important part of the program. They provide tutoring for children having trouble with schoolwork and they give the children a chance to talk to someone who will listen and not lecture, who is not there as an official.

When a child is first brought into the Center, he has a physical examination by a staff nurse and a supervised shower. He can wear his own clothing, except for shoes. The Center issues sneakers, considered less lethal in a fight. Personal belongings are put into a bag and labeled, to be returned on release.

There is no segregation as to type of offense. Frightened children who are there because they have run away from home, for example, are housed with drug users and youths who have committed felonies and been in court many times before. Counselors use special program planning to try to minimize the contagion factor such proximity presents. The Center is becoming over crowded because group homes, treatment centers and foster homes many times refer children back to the court on new petitions, usually absenting or incorrigibility. Because in most cases these children are already under Juvenile Court jurisdiction, the admissions staff has nowhere to release them pending their detention hearings. Some of them remain in the Center for a week or more awaiting hearings on their new placements.

# Intake

If detention occurs it happens before intake, which in other situations is the first step in Court Services. The Intake Unit in the Juvenile Probation Division conducts what is known as "social screening" for all referrals to Juvenile Court. It receives complaints about juvenile offenders who are not currently under court supervision, or who are on probation and violate the law. Some 80% of its referrals come from the police departments in Hennepin County, half from Minneapolis and half from the suburbs. Others come from parents, the County Welfare Department, schools or interested parties. Most referrals come by mail.

Sometimes police will take a child to the Detention Center, forwarding a complaint report to the Intake Unit for follow-up, but usually the police release a child to his parents until the Intake conference.

Intake workers check a master index file to see if a referred child is already known to Court Services, and if so that information is attached to the referral sheet. This material goes to the Intake supervisor for review to determine what law or laws have allegedly been violated. If necessary he seeks more information from the referral source. He/she can consult with the Assistant County Attorney about sufficiency of the evidence. The Intake supervisor then decides whether court action is recommended; if so, he directs the case to Administrative Services so it can proceed through Juvenile Court.

About 30% of all complaints referred to Intake are directly channeled to Administrative Services for legal screening and preparation of a petition, so the matter can be scheduled for a court hearing. These "paper screened" cases often involve serious felonies like auto theft, aggravated assault, burglary and robbery. Other important considerations which may lead to "paper screening" are the child's age and any previous contacts with Intake and the court. At the other end of the scale, about 3% of all cases are neither seen at Intake nor sent on to court, since there is no chargeable offense (e.g. smoking on the street). In these cases, a letter is sent to the parents and the matter is closed. The remaining 67% of referrals go to the five Intake probation officers for informal follow-through.

The Intake conference is their major screening device. A notice is mailed to the parents, explaining the purpose of the conference and the procedure. No parent can be compelled to attend, although both parents are encouraged to do so. They may also bring outside representatives to the conference. The Intake officer always begins the conference by explaining the procedure and the rights of parents and child. The conference may result in the matter being closed, or in the child and/or parents being referred to an outside agency for special help. If the conference indicates that the child's situation is more aggravated than the report indicated, or if the family will not seek treatment voluntarily, the matter can then be referred to court. About 15% of cases seen in conference are referred to court; the rest are closed or diverted to other agencies.

Intake officers take daily turns handling referrals initiated by parents or guardians complaining that a child is incorrigible. The disposition may include referral to an outside agency or placement in a temporary foster home or shelter. Occasionally a child goes to the police or Intake to complain about his circumstances, and refuses to return home. Help for such children comes from the Child Protective Services of the County Welfare Department. Voluntary dependency action—that is, legally removing the child from his own home—can take place without court involvement, but if the family refuses to cooperate court action may be necessary.

The Intake interviewer suggests the idea of restitution in most cases of damaged property or verifiable personal damage. Unless the family of the offender is receiving welfare (about 20-30% of the cases), a voluntary commitment from the child or parents is sought to repay the victim. The case will probably go to court if the amount is large. In Minnesota, parents can be held responsible for the first \$100 damage caused by their child.

In addition to the five Intake probation officers who follow-through on referrals, a sixth officer is assigned to work with children held in Detention prior to and during detention and/or arraignment hearings. He/she also coordinates services to children involved with the Welfare Department who are referred to Court Services or Juvenile Court.

The Intake unit maintains regular contact with police departments in Hennepin County, explaining Juvenile Court philosophy, types of cases to refer, and what information should be included in reports. Intake also reports back, if asked, the dispositions of children referred by police. There is usually no follow-up study of children whose cases are closed at Intake. However, 550 cases were followed in the first quarter of 1970. Of the 550, 10% were back in less than six months; 90% did not return. Of the 10%, or 55, who were referred to Intake for another alleged offense, 43 were again screened out.

The President's Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency expressed the feeling that Intake is working both sides of the street, as it were, because of its power to remove children from the court system by referring cases to community agencies. The Task Force pointed out that Intake is an arm of the court, and thus the court is referring a case to itself, then deciding the guilt or innocence of its own referral. The Task Force saw this dual role as inappropriate and unconstitutional. On the other hand, in its 1972 report the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals recommends that intake units be developed and that guidelines be set for the diversion of youth from further involvement in the criminal justice system.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

Administrative Services was set up to coordinate Juvenile Court procedures with those of the Assistant County Attorney's office, the Clerk of Juvenile Court, the Hennepin County Welfare Department, Court Services, and other agencies or individuals dealing with the court. It schedules court cases and public defenders, prepares the daily court calendar, and sends notices of all hearings except detention hearings to parents, lawyers and Court Services at least one week in advance of the hearing. It also types disposition orders following delinquency hearings, types minutes of court hearings and reports into the court abstract, and computerizes data about court actions and future hearings.

After the social screening by the Intake unit, cases designated for court action are referred to Administrative Services for a "legal screening" which determines whether the case should go to court. If there seems to be insufficient evidence, the police may be asked for additional facts, or the case may go back to Intake to be closed. If the Assistant County Attorney decides, after the legal screening, that the case should go to court, Administrative Services prepares a petition describing the nature of the offense. The back of each petition concisely explains Juvenile Court procedures and the parents' and child's rights. Copies of the petition are sent to the parents, to Court Services, and to County Welfare if the family is involved with it. The original copy is filed with the Clerk of Juvenile Court, as are original copies of all legal documents issued by or forwarded to Juvenile Court. All petitions must bear a petitioner's signature and must be approved by the Assistant County Attorney. In cases of incorrigible beha-

vior, the parent is usually the petitioner. The Hennepin County Welfare Department may sign the petition in cases of neglect, dependency, or termination of parental rights.

All cases referred to court are assigned two file numbers; a court number, which is the same for all members of the family, and a court services number, which is different for each child in the family. A detention number is added if a child is detained. A child gets the same numbers if he is referred to juvenile court again. With these numbers, a vast amount of information about the child and the family can be computerized for ready reference.

#### THE ASSISTANT COUNTY ATTORNEY

The Juvenile Division is part of the Domestic Section of the County Attorney's office. There are four Assistant County Attorneys; one, the supervisor, acts as legal advisor to the Court and Court Services, two handle delinquency petitions, and one handles neglect, dependency or termination of parental rights petitions. All four are knowledgeable in all aspects of Juvenile Court, although none had special training in juvenile law. These positions are appointive.

The Assistant County Attorney decides which allegations will be placed into a petition—that is, the legal basis for making charges. He represents the community; he or his representative reads the charges in court. In trials, he is responsible for preparing the case to support the charges in the petition. He also has several special functions. If a decision by the Intake unit not to prosecute is challenged by police or parents, the Assistant County Attorney can supersede the Intake decision and send a petition to court. He also files the motion requesting that a juvenile offender who is 14 years or older be certified to adult court if such a motion seems advisable.

#### THE PUBLIC DEFENDER

In December 1969 the Public Defender system was chosen by the District Court to represent in Juvenile Court children or families who could not afford private counsel. The Legal Aid Society had represented these children previously. Hennepin County has nine public defenders, two full time and seven part time. There are six public defenders for Juvenile Court. The Hennepin County Board of Commissioners pays them for a 12-hour court week, which amounts to two full days' work per week. However, they actually spend more time in court, plus time in their offices and in investigating cases. None of the current public defenders has had any training in juvenile law; practical experience provides their education in Juvenile Court procedures and philosophy.

The public defender represents children whose parents do not have a large enough income to afford a private attorney. He also represents each child at the arraignment hearing. A child is automatically entitled to a public defender if he is charged with absenting or incorrigibility, if a conflict exists between child and parents, if no parent exists or is available, or if the child is a ward of the state. This function of the public defender is particularly important in the first two instances, because such hearings are usually requested by the parent, who can hardly be expected to provide fair counsel—or any counsel—for his adversary, the child.

One function of the Legal Aid Society, which represented children in court before the public defender took over the responsibility, was to act as a community advocate to help the court understand the life styles, feelings and problems of inner city people. It also helped families understand court procedures, and made the necessary contacts between lawyers and families who needed help in preparing a defense, especially in child neglect cases. No one serves this community advocate function now except representatives from The City and the American Indian Movement, who serve only their own members. With extra funding, this position could be filled by the public defender's office.

The public defender often receives his case assignments and petitions only minutes before the arraignment hearing. He then must explain to the child and his parents the purpose of the hearing, the possible consequences involved, and the rights of the child and his parent. Because most parents and children are confused and upset by their court appearances, it is especially important that all parties understand what is happening. The court allows the public defender as much time as he wants for explanations, even if it delays the proceedings.

The child may have a different public defender for each hearing, but in cases where a trial is set, the same public defender who represents him at the arraignment hearing represents him at the trial. If the public defender doesn't have the time or resources to help the family prepare its defense, the burden of preparation is left to the family. In his position as public defender, a lawyer cannot represent a child in other proceedings in other courts. As a private lawyer, he can represent a child in other proceedings in other courts, but cannot represent him in Juvenile Court.

#### HEARINGS

As already explained, the detention hearing is the first hearing in the Juvenile Court process for children who have been detained at the Juvenile Center. The arraignment hearing comes first for those who have not. This hearing usually takes place one to two weeks after a referral is received from the Intake unit. It has three purposes: to advise the child and his parents of their legal rights, to read the petition to the child, who can admit or deny it, and to decide whether detention is needed until the next hearing. If the allegation is denied, it can be dismissed by the court or referred to the Assistant County Attorney, who reviews the evidence and decides whether a trial should be held. If the petition is admitted—that is, if the child admits the allegation—or proven true in a subsequent trial, the next hearing is the disposition hearing, where a treatment program is presented and approved by the court.

Other Juvenile Court hearings may concern dependency or child neglect, traffic violations, reference, adoptions, juvenile marriage requests, or contributing to the delinquency of a minor.

A child may not waive his rights at any hearing in Juvenile Court without counsel and/or parental consent.

# Detention Arraignment Hearings

Detention hearings are held within six Juvenile Court hours after a child has first been detained, and at least every 10 court days during the child's continuing detention. The purpose is to decide whether a child should be detained, or whether he should be released until his next hearing. Only informal evidence is heard, presented by a court staff member. The child and at least one parent should attend the detention hearing, although parents sometimes cannot be reached, or cannot or will not attend. When that happens the child's counsel is appointed guardian ad litem—that is, guardian for the hearing. At hearings observed by the League of Women Voters, the Judge or referees tried to arrange for the child to return home, if possible. The Court decides if the child should be detained or released, and then sets the date for the next hearing. Bail is not a right of a child, but the court may order bail if it is shown that bail would be appropriate. That rarely happens.

For convenience, most detention hearings also include the arraignment hearing. This requires that the 24-hour minimum notification of a hearing must first be waived. A child may waive this right only with the advice of counsel and/or parent. The child and his parent must attend the arraignment hearing, and a public defender or private counsel must be present. The public defender or private counsel must explain to the parent and child the meaning of the allegations in the petition, the consequences of admitting or denying the allegations, and the rights of the child and/or his parent. If there is some doubt about whether a child's parent understands the hearing or 23 sympathetic to the child, a guardian ad litem is appointed. He is usually the child's counsel. The appointment lasts only for that particular hearing, unless the court extends it.

For purposes of the arraignment hearing, the public defender should always believe the child.

At the arraignment hearing, the court officer reads the petition. The child is asked to stand with his lawyer and either admit or deny the petition. If the child admits the petition, a date is set for the disposition hearing, usually in three weeks. It is then explained to child and parent that a probation officer will be assigned to the case to prepare the disposition report and will contact the family, the school, and other parties for information to help the court understand the background of the case and plan the best treatment for the child. If the family is already involved with the County Welfare Department, the family's social worker prepares the disposition report and recommends the treatment program; the Probation Department becomes involved only if institutionalization of the child is recommended.

If the child denies the petition at the arraignment hearing, a pre-trial conference between his lawyer, the County Attorney, and the Court is held, usually immediately after the hearing. They discuss why the petition was denied, and whether the case should be amended, be dismissed, or go to trial. If they decide to go ahead with a trial, a date is set, usually in three or four weeks. The Court decides whether the public defender should continue as counsel or whether the family can afford private counsel. The public defender always serves as counsel in cases of incorrigibility or parent-child conflict. The Court also decides whether the child should be detained or released until the next hearing.

Detention/arraignment hearings usually last about ten minutes.

# Reference Hearings

No child under 14 may be prosecuted as an adult in Minnesota. If the Assistant County Attorney feels that a child 14 or older should be prosecuted as an adult, he makes a motion in writing for a reference hearing. The intent to ask for a reference hearing must be announced at the arraignment hearing before the child admits or denies the petition. Such a motion is usually made only in cases like aggravated assault, aggravated robbery, homicide or sex crimes. The child's past record, as well as the question of whether he is dangerous to the public, also influences the decision to apply.

Reference hearings are heard before the Juvenile Court Judge, who grants the motion only if he decides there is sufficient evidence to prove that juvenile facilities cannot protect the public and/or provide appropriate treatment. The child must have counsel. Witnesses are subpoensed for this hearing, and are subject to cross-examination. If the Judge grants the motion, notification goes to the County Attorney's office and to the court to which the child is referred. The child is then transferred to Hennepin County jail. He is arraigned in Municipal Court and may be released on bail. He is tried in District Court as if he were an adult. In cases of homicide, the grand jury is called to decide whether or not to indict him.

If a decision to refer a child to adult court cannot be made at the reference hearing, but the child should be detained (e.g. if he is alleged to have been involved in an armed offense), then a probable-cause hearing must be held within 10 days from time of detention. This hearing determines whether the offense the child is alleged to have committed in fact occurred, and whether the police report makes it appear likely that the child was involved. Without this hearing, a child would be "in limbo" in detention without being formally charged.

# Dependency Neglect Hearings

The Welfare Department is usually the petitioner in cases of dependent or neglected children. In most cases the child is not detained away from home and a detention hearing is not needed; however, in some cases the child and/or children have been removed from their home because of conditions detrimen-

venile Center, but are taken to temporary foster homes. In some cases where a petition has been filed for delinquency, it may be determined that the child is really dependent or neglected.

Hearings for dependency or neglect are just like delinquency hearings except that the child need not be present. The parent must attend. The facts alleged in the petition are explained and the Court makes a decision, then sets a time and date for a disposition hearing. The President's Task Force on Delinquency suggested that while Juvenile Court should keep neglect jurisdiction, its dependency jurisdiction should be abolished, because the problems involved in dependency can be better handled by social agencies.

# Traffic Violations Hearings

For non-moving traffic violations like overtime or illegal parking, juveniles are treated like adults. The car is tagged and the juvenile pays his fine to the Traffic Violations Bureau. But when a juvenile is alleged to have committed a moving violation, a signed copy of a notice to appear is filed with the Juvenile Court. This serves as a petition giving the Court jurisdiction.

Juvenile Traffic Court is held in Room 28 at the Hennepin County Court House four days a week for uncontested traffic violations. Contested cases (trials) for juveniles are held at the Juvenile Center. Traffic violators are sent a notice to appear in court with a parent. All first violators attend a group lecture by the Juvenile Court Referee on traffic safety and the privilege of driving. Each youth then has a private hearing with the Referee where he admits or denies the traffic charge. If the charge is admitted, a disposition is given immediately. If it is denied, a trial date is set. The child is entitled to counsel, but the Court will not appoint one except for a shown good cause.

No juvenile traffic violator is adjudged delinquent unless, as in any other delinquency case, a petition is filed and a separate hearing held. Juvenile traffic violation reports are kept separate from other Juvenile Court records.

Dispositions for moving traffic violations depend on several things—the number of previous violations, the type of violation, and the attitude of the child as observed by the apprehending officer and the Referee. A 30-day license suspension usually is given for driving 10-20 miles over the speed limit, and may also be given a child under 17 for driving after the midnight curfew without an adult. Longer suspension may be given for racing at high speed or careless driving.

All Juvenile Traffic Court findings are reported to the Drivers License Division of the Minnesota Highway Department. Causes for automatic driver's license revocation for one year are the same for adults and juveniles—hit and run (personal injury), driving under the influence of liquor or drugs (three tags within 12 months), driving without a license (two tags within 12 months), or driving without glasses as specified on the license (two tags within 12 months). The state revokes the license and it cannot be returned until the driver retakes and passes the driver's test and shows proof of ability to pay for extra risk insurance.

Hennepin County has a drivers' improvement clinic conducted by the Minnesota

# Other Types of Hearings

The Juvenile Court also hears three other types of petitions.

All uncontested adoption hearings are held in Room 28 at the Hennepin County Court House, before Juvenile Court Referee Donald Chapman. All contested adoption hearings are heard before Judge Arthur or Referee Chapman at the Juvenile Center. Counsel is usually present. Home studies are made by the Welfare Department except in the case of step-parent adoptions where the adoptive parent has been married more than a year and the child has been living in their home.

Minnesota statutes forbid a boy under 18 or a girl under 16 getting married for any reason. Girls 16 and 17 years old need the Court's permission as well as parental permission. The parties contact the Clerk of District Court, fill out the necessary forms, and then confer with the Court Chaplain, who considers the factors of the proposed marriage and forwards his recommendations to the Judge.

Contributing to the delinquency or neglect of a child is handled like an adult offense. The charge may be brought as a criminal offense (misdemeanor) with a maximum penaly of 90 days, or as a civil offense (contempt) with a maximum penalty of 180 days. An adult accused of contributing is entitled to a trial by jury in open court, even though the matter is in Juvenile Court. An allegation of a juvenile contributing against another juvenile is treated as an allegation of delinquency. A child need not be found delinquent to allow a finding that someone else has contributed to his delinquent behavior.

#### THE COURT

The court conducts trials and disposition hearings. It has the power to see that its orders are carried out and may fine or imprison persons for disobeying its orders.

Judge Lindsay Arthur and four Referees preside over all Juvenile Court hearings. Referees are appointed by the Judge and serve at his discretion. Referee William Gauger, a former probation officer and supervisor, has served as Referee for 15 years. Referee Alden Sheffield has a law degree and was an FBI agent before his appointment 10 years ago. Referee Donald Chapman also has a law degree and before being appointed seven years ago had been the Assistant County Attorney, Juvenile Division, for nine years. The newest Referee is Michael Fridgen, a former Juvenile Court public defender.

Juvenile Court is held at the Juvenile Center at 1000 South Sixth Street. The Court section occupies two floors, with three court rooms on the upper level and two on the lower. There are waiting rooms for parents and children awaiting hearings. Because there is only one small conference room, most consultations take place in the waiting, room, with occasional use of an empty courtroom. The five courtrooms are much smaller than the court-

rooms where adults are tried, with chairs for only two non-participating observers. The Judge and the Referees attempt a certain informality, but the presence of authority and the anxiety of the participants gives the courtroom a formal atmosphere. Patience and courtesy are supposed to be the rule, and anyone involved in the case may offer his ideas for treatment of the child.

The only statutory requirement for Juvenile Court Judge is a law degree. Judge Arthur would like to see special training for all juvenile judges and referees in behavioral scences, case law, and the handling of dispositions. There are two training institutes for juvenile court judges, one in Minnesota and one in Nevada.

One writer has pointed out that "The hallmark of the American (juvenile court) system is the intriguing combination of limitless scope of our delinquency statutes and enormous discretion in their enforcement and administration. Our statutes appear to reflect the image of the stern Puritan father, but our officials are permitted to behave like Dutch uncles."

Judge Arthur has organized Hennepin County Juvenile Court as a treatment-oriented system; the Court's concern is how the life of a child and/or family can be improved to prevent further unlawful acts. One form of judicial discretion is the Judge's diversion, a 90-day continuance given by the Court to serve as a proving period, with minimal probation contact, during which time a child and family can try to resolve their own problems. There are also private agency programs like Operation de Novo, a pre-trial diversion program which began in Hennepin County Municipal Court; the child's case is continued while he and his family receive intensive help from an assigned social worker and he has a chance to prove himself.

# Trial

When a child denies a petition a trial is held. It is not public and there is no jury. To insure his objectivity, the Judge or Referee is supposed to have no previous information about the case. The child and his parent must be present with counsel. The Assistant County Attorney presents the evidence in support of the petition. Witnesses may be subpoenaed. The family and/or counsel have the right to cross-examine and to present evidence denying the petition. If the Judge or Referee believes that the defense is not well prepared, a continuance may be called and a date set for a future trial; the public defender is ordered by the Court to help prepare the defense.

At the end of the trial, the Judge or Referee determines which, if any, of the allegations have been proven true beyond a reasonable doubt. Unless all the allegations on the petition are dismissed, the Judge or Referee then sets a time for the disposition hearing, which usually takes place in two or three weeks. He also decides whether the child should be detained or released until the hearing.

# Disposition Hearing

When a petition has been admitted or found to be true at a trial, a disposition hearing is ordered. A disposition report prepared by the Probation and/or Welfare Departments is presented to the Judge or Referee before the hearing, and is also given to the child's counsel. The family does not see the report, but the probation officer or social worker discusses its recommendations with the family before the hearing. Nothing is decided in advance.

At the hearing, the Judge or Referee studies the report and discusse its recommendations with the interested parties present. The child and his parent must attend this hearing; counsel may attend, as may the family's minister. If the child is a member of a youth center or a community organization like The City or the American Indian Movement, representatives of these groups can also attend and offer suggestions. The Court usually welcomes their participation, because they know the resources of their community and know the child and his family.

After this discussion, the Court decides the disposition—that is, the treatment program for the child. Hennepin County Juvenile Court has approximately 80 different dispositions available; most recommendations combine several of them. A child and/or his parents may be required to accept group or individual counseling and/or supervision by the Probation Department. Institutionalization may be recommended either at the County Home School or at juvenile correction institutions under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Corrections, if the child has already been to the County Home School several times. Perhaps medical, mental, or emotional therapy is ordered. Foster or group home placement is available. In some cases a training program is ordered or suggested which can provide academic, vocational, personal or social skills. Restitution for damage done by the child may be ordered, either by payment or by work. Some children may be required to contribute from their own earnings into the Juvenile Court fund, which provides special financial help for needy children appearing before Juvenile Court.

Sometimes a temporary disposition may be imposed after a petition has been admitted or proven true but before the child is adjudged delinquent, dependent, or neglected. This disposition may include probation, foster or group home placement, appropriate school attendance, and medical or mental health care. This temporary disposition can be for as long as 90 days, and may be continued for another 90 days, but no longer. A hearing is held after 90 days and again after 180 days; if the hearing shows that the child has improved his behavior, or if conditions contributing to his health or welfare have been improved, the case can be dismissed. However, if conditions or behavior have not improved, the child is then adjudicated delinquent, dependent or neglected, and further disposition is ordered.

The jurisdiction of Juvenile Court continues until a child is 21, unless dismissed by the Court, provided that dispositions are renewed by the Court at least once a year through progress reports submitted by a designated agency or person at dates decided by the Court. Each report recommends either a dismissal, a change of the disposition, or a date for the next progress report. These reports are usually ordered every three months, so that dispositions can be changed as the child's needs change. The Judge or Referee who originally ordered the disposition reviews the progress reports.

One of the problems of the juvenile justice system is that there are too many agencies which have contact with the family, and too many agencies to choose from for placement. Moreover, there is too little data available on specific services offered by various agencies and on which agencies are most effective. Thus there are still problems in finding suitable placements for children, even with some 80 agencies to choose from, and sometimes children must be kept in detention while placements are arranged.

# Appeals

All decisions made by the Referees are subject to appeal—that is to review and approval by the Juvenile Court Judge. Such appeals must be filed in writing with the Clerk of Juvenile Court within three business days after the court order. The Judge's decision can be appealed to the State Supreme Court within 30 days. The order of the Court stands, pending determination of the appeal, unless it is stayed by the reviewing court.

A lawyer is usually necessary for appeals and one may be appointed if the person making the appeal cannot afford one.

#### Reporting

A verbatim stenographic or electronic recording is made of all hearings except for traffic hearings, which may be recorded on request. A court reporter records all the Judge's hearings, all trials, and other hearings if requested. There are two court reporters in Juvenile Court. Transcripts are prepared only for appeals, for the public safety, for the child's welfare, or for educational purposes, in which case fictitious names are used.

## JUVENILE PROBATION DIVISION

After a child has admitted to allegations in a petition, or the allegations have been proven true, the case is assigned to the Juvenile Probation Division, which contacts schools, sees children, and counsels the child and his parents. Hennepin County is divided into four geographic areas with a Probation field unit responsible for each one. Each field unit has one supervisor and eight probation officers. Two case aides assist the units. Probation officers have college degrees in psychology, social work or sociology, and many have had previous experience working with troubled children.

The Probation officer is also the chief treatment investigator for the Court, gathering data from schools and families, requesting psychological or medical testing, and recommending dispositions. Developing and preparing these reports occupies up to one-half of the Probation officer's time. He must appear in court for all disposition and violations hearings for his cases. He must counsel and consult with the child, his parents, and/or his lawyer before the disposition hearing. There is usually about three weeks between the arraignment or trial and the disposition hearing; if the child has been in court within the last six months, there is only two weeks. It may take a week after the original hearing for the Probation officer to contact the family because of administrative lag in assigning cases or because of his heavy case load.

In 1970, about 64% of children seen in court were placed on probation. The Probation officer then becomes responsible to the Court for supervising and counseling the child, or, in cases where the whole family is placed on probation (usually in neglect cases), he counsels the entire family. He tries to see or telephone the child at least once every two weeks. Community services are widely used; the Probation officer's knowledge of community resources and his expertise in choosing the proper one for each case is of paramount importance. Because school is usually a major part of the child's life, the Probation officer contacts school personnel and helps plan a program to help the child adjust. The Court has, on occasion, ordered schools to develop certain programs for children.

Some children have both a Probation officer and a social worker from the Welfare Department who works with the family. The amount of communication between the two agencies is at the discretion of the two workers. Some critics of the juvenile justice system blame most of its shortcomings on too little communication between agencies.

If a child allegedly violates a law while under probation, the case is referred to his Probation officer, who has three options. He can decide the complaint is invalid or without substance (which may involve an opinion from the Assistant County Attorney). He can handle the matter through counseling, assuming that the allegation is true, but not referring it to the Court. Or he may refer the matter back to Court on a formal allegation of violation, seeking either a new court disposition or, where necessary, a court reaffirmation of the child's present status. About 60% of alleged probation violations are handled by the Probation officer. Some 3% are without substance, and the rest, about 37%, return to court.

A Probation officer can also petition a child on a contempt of court charge if he feels the child has not cooperated with him. The child can admit or deny the petition. If the petition is proved true, the child can be detained up to 10 days to allow the Probation officer to begin a new program with him.

In addition to its four field probation units, the Juvenile Probation Division also includes the Intake Unit, discussed earlier, a Special Programs Unit, and an Intensive Services Unit.

The Special Programs Unit plans structured programs for children on probation. The Unit's one supervisor and two officers sponsor a voluntary employment program which finds paying jobs for children on Saturdays or after school. Group discussion and individual counseling help the children benefit from the work experience. In cases of vandalism, a child may be asked to use part of the money he earns to repay the owner of the property he damaged. The unit also sponsors the Saturday Work Squad, whose members work without pay for public or charitable institutions. One of the most popular programs is the Flying Program, in which 10 or 15 children get classroom instruction in flight navigation. Each group of children enrolled in this program navigates an actual flight. The group is now building an airplane. The Special Programs Unit also plans group discussions on drugs and on employment and school drop-out problems. Community involvement is encouraged. A family group home started by the Unit provides short term placements for children on probation.

The Intensive Services Unit works with children or parents who have aggravated problems. Field Probation officers or the Court refer clients to this unit, which is staffed by one supervisor and four Probation officers. Approximately half their cases are adults referred to them by Municipal and District Courts.

Some have criticized the Probation Department for lack of minority personnel. Hennepin County Court Services actively seeks minority Probation officers. However, the qualifications include a college degree, and the pay is low. Minority people with a college degree can find better-paid positions elsewhere in the social service field.

Another suggestion is that Community Probation Offices be established, so that Probation officers can be closer to the child and contact can be made more easily and more often.

#### COUNTY HOME SCHOOL

The County Home School at Glen Lake is the third division administered by Hennepin County Court Services. It provides three programs for children sent from the Juvenile Court. The Youth Guidance Center is a six-week program for boys and girls who need counseling and supervision, but do not have a history of pathological anti-social behavior. This program and the Blackhawk program for boys 8-12 give such children a chance to think about themselves and their problems, a "breathing space." There is also a more intensive Family Group Program, which requires parental participation for a period of 3 - 9 months.

Each program uses a group procedure called Positive Peer Culture. This procedure is based on the theory that delinquents or pre-delinquents have a poor self-concept. The children work with trained leaders in groups of nine or less, improving their own self-image as they help each other. The group decides when a child is ready to go home. Some experts feel that this program could be carried on in the community, with the children living together in a group home and attending the same school. Programs along these guidelines have been developed at Bryant Junior High School, North High School and at the Bryant YES Center, all in Minneapolis, although the children live at home.

Education at the County Home School is individualized and staffed by special education teachers hired by the Minneapolis Public Schools. (This program will no longer exist after this year.)

The children in the County Home School live in seven cottages, each with a capacity of 24 children. Eight staff members work with each cottage on a rotating shift 24 hours a day. College training for the staff is encouraged, although the School administration looks on "warm understanding of troubled children" and practical experience as more important. The staff say the physical facilities are very good, and there is plenty of room for the youngsters to play.

## OUT-OF-HOME CARE

Many people feel that institutions are a detriment, not a help, in treating juvenile offenders, and that children get a better chance to build a more adequate life in out-of-home placement, with extensive use of community-based corrections. The State Department of Corrections supports this philosophy and subsidizes local correctional facilities by 50%. This does not mean that the courts have become "soft on crime," nor does it deny the need to institutionalize some offenders. It means that the Court is trying to find better ways to rehabilitate juveniles and prevent future offenses. Hennepin County offers as facilities for out-of-home care The Bridge for runaways, St. Joseph's Children's Shelter, foster homes and group homes, and halfway houses.

#### Runaway House

The Bridge is the only shelter facility for runaways. Efforts to establish others have been abandoned chiefly due to health department requirements and zoning regulations. The Bridge has credibility with youth, the police, and the Court. It has a capacity of 10 and served 650 juveniles in 1971.

# Shelter Care

St. Joseph's Children's Shelter in Minneapolis is the official County facility for emergency child care. In addition, it is responsible for medical clearance

of children placed in foster care. Its new 50-bed facility, which opened in December, 1972, was built by the Catholic Archdiocese and financed through a County Welfare Department purchase-of-service contract.

The Shelter handles three age groups. Children up to the age of six are automatically placed in an Annex Home (six temporary, emergency foster homes, each licensed for five children) after medical clearance; if they are brought in between midnight and 6 a.m., they stay at St. Joseph's until morning. Children 7-11 years of age stay at St. Joseph's if space is available. Since the Shelter runs near capacity, space is usually not available, so these children, too, are sent to an Annex Home. There is a different set of Annex Homes for this age group. Youngsters 12-17 usually are taken by police to the Detention Center first, which insures speedier contact with parents and the Court, then referred to St. Joseph's. If St. Joseph's is full, these children are either referred to The Bridge, placed in a short-term foster home, or remain in detention. The decision depends on the child's history and needs.

St. Joseph's Shelter must have a legal basis for keeping the child—a court order, police hold order, Welfare placement order, or parental permission. Although it is not a shelter for runaways, many teenagers call to ask for foster care for themselves.

The Shelter is a cheerful, modern facility, with open doors. It has a highly trained staff with a child-staff ratio of six to one. The program is designed for short-term stay and offers one hour of school each day, occupational and musical therapy, arts and crafts, a canteen and a recreation room. A child may attend his own school if he prefers and if transportation can be arranged. The average stay at St. Joseph's is three weeks, but a major effort is being made to shorten it. Most children do not go back to their own homes when they are released.

The Shelter does not accept suicidal or psychotic episode cases. Children with a history of physical acting-out are warned that they will be referred to Detention if they cause problems. Many juveniles with potential explosive capabilities do well at the Shelter.

#### Foster Homes

A foster home, by law, contains no more than five children up to the age of 16, including the natural children of the foster parents. The home is licensed by the County Welfare Department; licenses are renewable annually. The only treatment program is the loving care of the normal home situation. Since the goal of foster home placement is the child's eventual return to his natural parents, the parents are involved in the program as much as possible, and their approval is asked for placement, even though it is not required by law. The child is also involved in the placement decision.

The foster family group home is a compromise between the close family relationship and small number of children in a foster home and the treatment-oriented larger group home. Seen as a long-term facility, it offers group therapy, and works closely with the youngsters' case workers and Probation officers. The Welfare Department operates seven such homes in Hennepin County, three for boys and four for girls, which at the time of this study had a total of 38 children in residence. The Department of Court Services has 13 such homes, with case responsibility assigned to the youngsters' Probation officers.

Foster parents are organized on the local and state level to influence legislation, obtain group insurance, improve training, etc. There is a nine county foster care advisory committee which coordinates recruitment and training and facilitates a child's transfer to another county. Although both Court Services and Welfare actively recruit foster homes, 40% of foster home applications are rejected. Emergency placement in a prospective foster home can legally be made 30 days prior to licensing.

# Group Homes

Group homes are licensed by the State Department of Public Welfare under DPW Rule 8, covering training, staff, philosophy of treatment, physical plant, land requirements, etc. A group home provides care on a 24-hour-a-day basis for up to 10 children between the ages of 13 and 18. It can be owned, rented, leased or subsidized by a county welfare department, licensed child-placing agency, licensed children's institution or independent operator. It must be supervised by a licensing agency, which may be a county welfare department, licensed child-placing agency, licensed children's institution or independent operator. The licensing agency must provide social services and administration; it directs and controls the program. In Hennepin County, group homes operators include the State Department of Corrections, Lutheran Social Service, Hennepin County Court Services, Volunteers of America, St. Joseph's Children's Home, private operators, and others.

The majority of referrals to group homes come from the Welfare Department, with less than 25% from the Court. Children placed in group homes generally fall into one of four categories: the juvenile who cannot respond in a traditional probation or parole situation, but does not need isolation or secure custody; the older adolescent who has outgrown foster home placement because he no longer needs the emotional support provided by substitute parents; the young person who is stable enough and skillful enough to benefit from community resources if he can get away from his own poor home and family situation; and the juvenile newly released from an institution who is not mature enough to live alone, but has no home to return to. There are specilized homes for Indian girls, for the educable retarded, and for acting-out adolescents. About half the children return to their own homes when they leave the group home.

Treatment in a group home is intensive, with as many as four group therapy sessions perweek. Workers try to develop personal relationships with the youngsters, checking on school attendance, helping them to find part-time or Saturday jobs, etc. Group home placement is seen as a short-term arrangement, with stays averaging four to five months, although some youngsters stay as long as twelve months.

Several arguments are offered in support of group home placement. One is that the homes are close to transportation, school, recreation, jeb opportunities, churches, shopping, family and friends, and special therapeutic or educational facilities. Another is that they blend into the community, and thus do not stigmatize the residents as institutionalization would. Another is that the group-living, group-therapy, peer-group interaction offered in a group home is especially beneficial. There are objections, though. A foster home offers the same convenient location and lack of stigmatization, and Glen Lake is also a good experience in group living. Others point out that research has not proved their value, that peer-group experience can be harmful as well as helpful, that it is hard to insure that group home residents

are adequately protected from abuse, and that there is not enough control and supervision of residents. Group homes are not a panacea, obviously, but good group homes with trained staff, high standards and appropriate placements fill a need.

# Halfway Houses

A halfway house is usually a residence for older adolescents and adults who may be released prisoners or participants in programs to rehabilitate drug users and alcoholics. It may also serve as an intermediate residence between a group home and the community. The program prepares the resident for re-entry into the community. The State Department of Corrections operates two adult halfway houses in Minneapolis—Restitution House and Alpha House. A group home operated by Court Services is called a licensed foster home by Welfare, but the state consideres it, too, a halfway house.

# Out-of-Home Care: Good or Bad?

There are a number of problems in out-of-home care for juveniles. The main ones are the concentration of such facilities in the inner city, possible racial inequities, cost disparities, and the need for ordinances and standards which would apply equitably to all residential facilities, covering zoning, health, safety, and regularly scheduled inspections.

Zoning is one concern. Foster homes and foster family group homes are allowed in every zoning district, with no permit required. However, Minneapolis zoning limits group homes (5-10 persons) to one- or two-family residences in the R4-R6 areas (the near South Side and near North Side) and property values today, plus requirements as to land, number of trees, etc., insure that other child-care institutions can afford to locate only in the same areas. Rehabilitation centers are allowed in the downtown and industrial areas only. Halfway houses are allowed in zoning areas R3-R6, which effectively ghettoizes them, too. Group homes for children over age 16 are licensed as boarding houses, which again restricts them to less desirable areas of the city. A conditional use permit for all such homes is reviewed every six months. Neighbors within 100 feet of the home must be notified of a hearing when the permit is first considered; a neighbor can call for a review of the permit at any time. The areas involved are concerned about the impact of such facilities on neighborhood property values, a possible increase in neighborhood crime, and the pressures on families who are trying to maintain the neighborhood's family atmosphere.

Racial inequities are another cause for concern. There are many more Indians in group homes than their representation in the general population would indicate. The Welfare Department assigns a staff member to the exclusive task of seeking foster homes for Indians, and has relaxed requirements for such homes. Blacks appear differently in the statistics. There have been no State group home placements, and very few in Welfare and Court Services group homes or at Glen Lake, but blacks are in the Detention Center in proportion to their representation in the general population, and they are in Shelter Care and private group homes in high proportions. Yet the adult correctional institutions have a black population several times higher than would be expected from population figures. Four possible explanations are offered:

1) Black parents seldom consent to foster or group home placements; 2) social workers practice a double standard, returning black children to homes that would be unacceptable for white children; 3) pressure groups working on

behalf of minorities urge the Court to release black children (this gives such children "another chance," but denies them use of rehabilitative services); or 4) general socio-economic prejudice against minority groups makes employment and school opportunities less available and crime an easy alternative for the older age groups.

Cost is another problem. It varies--and these are 1973 cost-of-living figures --from approximately \$6 per child per day in a foster home and \$8.78 in a foster family group home, to \$20 in a group home or \$24-\$34 in a group residence, Shelter, or at Glen Lake. The County pays for Glen Lake placement; the State Department of Corrections subsidizes 50% of the cost to the county for group homes it licenses: Welfare pays for other placements. The child's parent is requested to pay the cost of treatment or 10% of the "Judge's Classification" (the parent's monthly salary minus taxes and \$100 for each dependent), whichever is less, but many parents do not pay. It has been suggested that the County Board expand on a recent Community Health and Welfare Council study of foster home rates to answer these questions: Does the lower cost of a foster home mean less skilled care, resulting in a longer stay and a higher total cost? Can the child be better maintained in his own home, with extra services provided to keep the family a viable unit? How does an agency determine type of placement for each child? Are placement criteria used or is space available the deciding factor? Should payment be determined by the child's needs or by the facility's needs? Just what is the cost/benefit ratio for various facilities?

There is a need for several additional residential facilities. There should be foster homes for black and Indian adolescents, specialized group home facilities for ethnic groups, and a viable solution to the mounting problem of runaways (2,288 runaways were reported to the Minneapolis police in 1972, a 29% increase over 1971). Hennepin County would like to establish Community-Based Youth Centers and in-home care. The community-based Youth Center would be a group somewhere in size between a group home and a large institution, emphasizing mutual aid among its young residents, enhanced self-respect, and warm adult-child relationships. It would not be an isolated community, nor would it be a locked facility. In-home care is at the opposite end of the spectrum. It would maintain the child in his home while providing intensive input toward solving the family problem of his anti-social behavior. In a sense, this is what probation is, but the case load would be five, instead of 40 or 50. Such a program could also include follow-up counseling after release from out-of-home care. It could also substitute "house detention" for putting the child into a detention facility.

There is much discussion of the term "Youth Advocacy." In a 1972 survey of South Minneapolis youth agencies, 75% claimed to be actively involved with youth during or after Court appearance, yet Probation officers unanimously agreed that youth agencies, with few exceptions, were not involved in the Court process, and any work they might be doing with juveniles on probation was unknown to the Probation officer. They were also unanimous in the belief that Youth Advocates were desirable, because their supportive gesture could minimize a youngster's confusion and trauma, prevent detention by indicating support at a detention hearing, and suggest constructive community alternatives to institutionalization.

There is another possibility, too. An Ombudsman for the entire justice system could handle a whole range of problems, including police brutality, negligent probation officers, mistreatment in a foster home, inadequate protection of victims' rights, administrative confusion and discrimination. He

could also function as justice "watchdog" to facilitate changes in the system; from his position outside the system he would be more likely to see conflicts and shortcomings. He would serve the community, the juvenile, and the professionals within the system. There is already an Ombudsman for the State Department of Corrections, but there is none for city jail or for juveniles under county jurisdiction. The State Corrections Ombudsman has the power to sue and to mediate; however, most of his work has been in getting staff to change situations and policies, or in cases of inhumane treatment and discrimination. Essential to his success is that he report to an authority who can act, both legally and administratively, and who will support him. At the state level, this is the Governor; who it would be on the county or city level is not clear.

The Hennepin County Welfare Deaprtment is seeking to minimize placement outside the home. It would like to try creating a homemaker service with social counseling, using live-in workers, establishing large-group living facilities for families (perhaps in fourplexes) where they would live with professional and treatment staff; creating an in-home crisis foster parent program where the foster parent would go to the child's home instead of vice versa; expanding family summer camp opportunities so families can vacation and get counseling together (Welfare had such a program in the past, but funding is a problem); and establishing more day-hospitals and schools like St. Joseph's, which offers the child intensive treatment during the day but lets him go home at night. Unfortunately, in-home treatment programs are expensive, and are the first to be cut when funding is tight. Nor is every case suitable for in-home care, which depends greatly on the parents' cooperation and even on the geographical location of the home. Some people think it is easier to change children's bad habits if they are removed from a damaging home environment; they do not approve of in-home treatment.

#### VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS

Hennepin County Court Services also operates a Volunteer Program, established in 1969. Volunteers are solicited by ads in the mass media. Anyone can volunteer who agrees with the Court Services philosophy of helping, rather than punishing. Volunteers include housewives, businessmen, ex-offenders. Each prospective volunteer has an intensive personal interview to find out how he/she is best suited to serve. The volunteer receives in-service training from the Court Services staff and must agree to stay with the program at least one year. He meets with his assigned child at least once a week during the child's probation, and must fill out a monthly evaluation report on his work with the child. He is carefully supervised by the child's Probation officer.

Hennepin County Juvenile Court was the first such court in the country to train and use volunteers in social history investigations prior to the disposition hearing. Two volunteers work in Juvenile Court each day. The Juvenile Probation Division has done an evaluative time study to determine the time a Probation officer spends on such an investigation as compared with the time a volunteer spends. The Probation officer's average time was 11 hours per case, including six hours of client contact, one hour of collateral contact with church, school, etc., and four hours of travel, dictation and presentation. The volunteer spent 37 hours on the average per case, including 16 hours of client contact, four hours of collateral contact, 13 hours of travel, dictation and presentation, and four hours of training in getting families to consent to treatment for their own and their children's problems. The volunteers' reports were more detailed.

Volunteers like their work; 80% ask for a new assignment when their cases are terminated by the Court. Phyllis Wheatley Community Center, Pilot City and Model City have trained minority volunteers to work within their own communities. Their training staffs were trained by the Court Services Volunteer Program.

#### LIAISON GROUPS

Hennepin County Juvenile Court personnel realize the the Court's influence on the behavior of a child in trouble is an isolated factor. Therefore liaison committees have been set up to work with other agencies specifically interested in the child and/or his family. Minneapolis Public School representatives have met monthly for several years with Court Services personnel; there is no liaison with the suburban schools. Juvenile Court and Court Services personnel meet weekly with Judge Arthur and the Assistant County Attorney to discuss on-going functioning of the Court. The Judge and each Referee also meet weekly with a representative from Court Services to discuss problems.

#### HENNEPIN COUNTY WELFARE DEPARTMENT

On a more official level, the Child Protective Services Section of the County Welfare Department works with Court Services. Welfare is responsible by law for certain social service and financial assistance programs to protect children, prevent delinquency, and assist families in trouble. Four units with a total of 28 social workers deal with families of neglected or dependent children. They counsel on parent-child problems, offer help with mental health problems, and try to help the family of a delinquent child find and correct the causes of the child's behavior. The social workers try to get the family to cooperate voluntarily, but can refer a neglect petition to Juvenile Court if the family will not cooperate. Legal custody of a child can be granted to the Welfare Department by the Juvenile Court when all other means of protecting the child have failed; this happens in about 10% of their cases.

Cases of suspected child neglect are referred to Welfare by citizens or police, hospitals or doctors. The battered child is one aspect of neglect; a 1963 Minnesota law makes it a misdemeanor if a medical facility is aware of child abuse and does not report it to police and to Welfare, which also has investigative responsibility.

Juvenile Court may refer cases of delinquency to Welfare if the Court believes that the family's problems will be handled better by Welfare. In turn, Welfare refers cases of delinquency to the Court when necessary.

The Hennepin County Welfare Department's Child Protective Services Section has been cited nationally for its excellent performance.

Welfare also finds and subsidizes foster care facilities, purchasing child care services from authorizied agencies, individuals or instutitions. Children are placed in foster homes with parental permission, or when legal custody is awarded to Welfare by the Court, or "loaned" by some other agency, such as the Commissioner of Corrections. Welfare may also place children in group homes or treatment centers after securing a Court order, which it initiates.

#### ALTERNATIVE AGENCIES

Finding the right treatment program for each child is one of the most difficult problems of the juvenile justice system. It requires expertise and experience. The Court or Probation officer or the social worker must know what resources are available in the community and must know enough about them to decide which agencies and programs, sometimes similar in goals, have the right approach to fit a particular child. It is a gargantuan task, made far more difficult by the lack of any real communication between many of the agencies or any evaluative material on their effectiveness.

There are an estimated 3,000 agencies operating in the metropolitan area, 300 of which serve young people. Of these, approximately 75 in Hennepin County serve the delinquent and potential delinquent. Most of these agencies offer several different programs, and they are constantly changing. Thus efforts to list these agencies and/or resources generally result in a list that is outdated before it can be published. The most comprehensive directory of resources can be purchased from Community Information and Referral Service. It contains 400-plus entries with information as to hours, fees, services, etc. It has a master file with computerized data on 3,000 agencies. There is a printout available with monthly updates, which average 500 per month. Other directories with specialized information are periodically produced by several agencies, but most suffer from duplication of effort, inaccuracy, and rapid out-dating. Most directories are compiled for the professional social worker, not the average citizen.

However, the Enablers, a locally funded group, has prepared a listing of youth-serving resources in the metropolitan area. Its catalog gives extensive information about each agency and is updated yearly.

Unfortunately, mere listings do not indicate the quality of the resources. They do not indicate which has the most desirable treatment philosophy, success rate, professional reputation, or which one has space available. Some units of the Welfare Department assign persons to this specific task, but it is a time-consuming effort, often superseded by gut-feelings and informal feedback among associates. Constant personnel changes in the social work community make the problem more difficult.

Members of the League of Women Voters juvenile justice committee visited community agencies chosen as typical of the kinds of youth resources available. Twenty-five agencies answered a five-page questionnaire. The agencies were mandated to serve both sexes and all races; some limited geographical location or age of their clients because of funding requirements. Racial use tended to polarize, with five agencies serving blacks, four serving Indians, and one serving Chicanos in numbers significantly above their proportions in the general population. Nine agencies had at least one black on their boards of directors, four had an Indian, one had a Chicano, five had youth representatives, and eight had neighborhood representatives.

In all but five agencies, service could be obtained by walking in the door. Four had a waiting list. Nineteen claimed to make home visits, but many admitted that they were rare. Eight served family units, sixteen claimed family involvement in their programs, but only two of the agencies serving families claimed family involvement. Fee agencies had a sliding scale. Many noted that they were not the first place a teenager thought of looking to for help, but were valuable as a referral source from street agencies. The ma-

jority of agencies offered only short-term help or a program of predetermined length. Agency officials interviewed were most generous with their time; however, it was always obvious that the committee was treading on hallowed or controversial ground, and that in many cases we were being "put on." Twenty-one agencies said they do some evaluation of their programs; 18 kept research data, and 16 have follow-up programs on their clients.

A juvenile may be diverted from the judicial process either because he doesn't need the facilities of the Court or because his case can be handled better by an alternative resource, but the Court can order the offender to use the resource. Underlying the idea of diversion is the belief that being treated like a lawbreaker may in itself be harmful to many youths. Use of alternative resources also relieves over-crowded Court calendars, reduces the Probation officer's case-load, and provides a source of help for the non-adjudicated, but troubled, child. A resolution adopted by the Juvenile Court Judges of Minnesota in September, 1972, states that "Whenever possible the family, schools, and the various public, charitable, and private resources should be utilized for treatment. . " However, although Hennepin County Juvenile Court encourages diversion where possible, it is also aware that narrowing the jurisdiction of the Court has the potential danger of stigmatizing those youngsters who do appear in Court by classifying them as criminal.

In the League's study of community agencies, it appears that the Department of Court Services is best able to deal with the delinquent child. It understands his problems and it is committed to solving them. Outside resources can best function in the field of delinquency prevention, and must be carefully selected until the Court or Court Services can assume leadership in developing and improving programs designed for the delinquent. People in . community agencies showed a surprising lack of knowledge about the types of juveniles judged "delinquent" and the philosophies and practices of the Juvenile Court and Court Services. There is also a lack of knowledge about other agencies and their functions. Perhaps this is one reason why communication was designated as a major problem by most persons interviewed.

Coordination of agencies has three aspects: 1) referring, so that the best qualified agency can handle a given problem; 2) working together when multiple resources are needed to help a multi-faceted problem; 3) providing feedback, so agencies can evaluate the appropriateness of a referral and find out whether the client did indeed receive help.

For the juvenile diverted from the judicial system at Intake or even before because of lack of sufficient cause to send him to Court, coordination is difficult. Court Services has no authority or responsibility for him; some community-funded agencies do not see any responsibility for serving him once he has had contact with the Court or police. There are then two alternatives—suggest that the child and/or his parents seek help on their own at a community agency, which will charge them a fee, and will not report back to Court Services, or else refer the child to an agency that welcomes such referrals but provides no feedback because that would undermine its confidential relationship with the child. Either way, Court Services cannot assess the appropriateness of the referral decision or the effectiveness of counseling.

For the adjudicated juvenile who needs resources outside the Department of Court Services, the problems are even greater. Many of the agencies designed

to work with the delinquent child tend to work counter to or in rivalry with Court Services, and to think negatively of the Court. Some agencies serve delinquent youth only by default, have no special abilities to do so, and some even screen their clients to assure the highest success rate, all of which leaves few programs for the hard core delinquent who needs the most help. Again, lack of feedback is a problem.

Some have suggested forming a centralized referral agency. Others suggest an informal coalition of a few specialized agencies which would function like a group health clinic. Another possibility is a computerized revival of the Social Service Index, operated by the United Fund for 25 years until the late 1950's. Any member agency could consult the master file to find out who else was serving or had served a client, and coordinate the program accordingly. Most United Fund agencies participated, though use by other agencies was low. The Index was abandoned because a new relationship developed between client and social worker; confidentiality and client rights became key considerations. Agencies began to use the Index only to clear names, not to register them. Although the need for confidentiality is supposed to be even stronger today, particularly with the street agencies, an estimated 75% of clients will talk about agency contacts, indicating that confidentiality is not important to them.

This desire for client confidentiality is just one problem in trying to coordinate the services offered by many different agencies. Other problems are the competition between agencies as to services and responsibilities, and the lack of "clout" to force agencies to coordinate their services. The only real clout is money, according to one official, and money comes from many sources; to channel all money, public and private, through one office, even if it were possible, might insure agency cooperation but would impose unnecessary authority and create a new bureaucracy.

Nevertheless, the Minneapolis Human Resources Coordinator favors a private, non-profit or quasi-public mechanism to plan, monitor and evaluate all social service programs for the city. All funds would be channeled through such an office, which would also help find funding and assist the agencies in other ways. The Minneapolis City Council seems willing to relinquish its responsibility to the county, but county concern for city problems is seldom forthcoming, even though foster homes, group homes, and other out-of-the-home agencies working with children from both the city and suburbs are concentrated in the city, at considerable cost to city taxpayers. Legislation in the mid-60's was intended to strengthen citizen participation; instead citizens created parallel structures outside the governmental process.

The new trend is to give responsibility to local governments. Minneapolis must prepare for this so it can deal rationally with federal legislation and federal financing regulations, despite the confusing proliferation of agencies and division of authority. A Youth Advisor and a Human Services Task Force report to the Governor, who also appoints a Commission on Crime Prevention and Control to act as the planning and granting body for federal funds channeled from the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) under the Safe Streets Act. This Crime Commission uses the Metropolitan Council (Region G) and the Hennepin County Criminal Justice Advisory Council to coordinate local criminal justice planning in Hennepin County. In the Twin Cities area, the Metropolitan Council has a Human Resources Coordinator. Minneapolis also has a Youth Coordinator who reports to a Human Resources Coordinator, as well as neighborhood groups like the Phillips Inter-Agency

Council and the Northeast Network, which function primarily on an informational level, but are beginning to move into action.

Planning involves many more problems when so many agencies are involved. The state has had two pilot projects, one in Bemidji and one in Mankato, to organize unified community service delivery systems. The Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control devises comprehensive plans each year to improve the activities and inter-relationships of law enforcement, courts and corrections, and prevention agencies. Locally, the Hennepin County Criminal Justice Advisory Council set up three task forces in 1973 to plan criminal justice programs in the county. United Way also has a planning arm, the Community Health and Welfare Council, which is generally considered the most comprehensive planning group in the area. It recently completed a study of social services to set funding priorities and philosophy, and plans annual updates. The Hennepin County Welfare Department completed a comprehensive planning inventory of its own programs in 1972 which identified its own gaps and priorities in services. It, too, sees the need to coordinate the human services delivery system of outher county departments, other governmental agencies, and the private sector.

A problem facing planners is that one level of government or group of private agencies has no authority over another, nor does it have information with which to evaluate others. For example, Court Services recently terminated its Family Education Center because other resources were available within the community, but Hennepin County Welfare lists Family Counseling as a gap to be filled, and many persons interviewed feel that there can never be enough family counseling services. Somebody must be wrong.

League interviews made it clear that the social service community accepts no outside interference or suggestions unless forced to do so. Money is the most universally recognized clout, but the threat to cut off referrals can also be effective, because many agencies must serve a certain number of clients to maintain their funding. Court Services, which purchases services and refers clients, is thus in a leadership position to establish standards and demand accountability and evaluation, but has not assumed this role. Referrals from Intake are made on the basis of how quickly an agency can see the client; Probation officers depend on gut-feelings, personal experiences, or the opinions of associates to choose an agency.

Everyone interviewed was asked what is needed to improve social services to delinquent and potentially delinquent youth. The following list is weighted for most frequent response and for professional expertise of the persons interviewed: 1) jobs, used for restitution, apprenticeship, and training for a future career; also needed are employment agencies to work with juveniles; 2) legal services, either free or less costly, obtained perhaps by letting public defenders handle appeals, or by getting lawyers to donate time or money for appeals; 3) more programs aimed at preventing delinquency; 4) school changes, ranging from development of alternative schools and individual tutoring programs to simple matters like opening school playgrounds after school hours (many feel that trained school personnel are among the most wasted assets in the field of delinquency prevention); 5) new programs outside the inner-city area to cope with delinquency in the suburbs.

There are many programs sponsored by community agencies, police departments, parks, schools and churches. The YWCA sponsors a program, Probation Plus, for girls 12-18 years of age who are referred from Court Services, Welfare or the

police. Probation Plus offers group discussions, recreation, and job-finding; volunteers participate in the program as tutors, craft leaders, or speakers. The YMCA sponsors the Detached Worker program where youth workers meet the children in their communities, become friends, and help them by counseling and through activities. Police officers sponsor ball clubs, boxing programs, camping trips, other activities. There are community drop-in centers and teenage medical centers where children can go for advice, or just to be together. Schools offer after-school activities and summer programs, while parks give children of all ages an opportunity to participate in athletics and other programs. Churches offer camping, discussion groups, and athletic events, as well as many church-related programs. There are scholarship programs for summer camps, and many, many others.

The Youth Service Bureau (YSB) is a non-coercive, independent public agency for children 7-17 years of age designed to mobilize and strengthen existing youth resources and develop new ones, and to promote programs to remedy delinquency breeding conditions. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, established by the 1968 Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, has channeled a great deal of money into establishing YSB's throughout the country. In Hennepin County there have been five: Northside, Model Cities, Relate (Minnetonka), Give and Take (Hopkins, St. Louis Park) and Storefront (Richfield). Several are in serious trouble as their federal funding runs out and local agencies fail to take over financing. The Northside YSB is a screening and referral agency which coordinates the approximately 75 agencies and community resources in its area. One of its three diversionary youth workers goes with a youngster on his first visit to a helping agency; these youngsters need to be taken by the hand, even though about 30% of them are self-referrals. All Youth Service Bureaus in Hennepin County are now under one umbrella agency, the Hennepin County Youth Diversion Project.

#### RECORDS

The President's Task Force on Crime discussed a number of other javenile problems. Many think that the most important one is the question of what happens to juvenile records.

The fundamental philosophy of juvenile law is the non-criminal nature of Juvenile Court proceedings and the assurance that dispositions will rehabilitate, not punish. State laws establishing Juvenile Courts seek to insure this non-criminal aspect by keeping Juvenile Court records confidential. Yet many offenders do not know that their records cannot be released without their permission, or that a juvenile record, by definition, is not a criminal record. Central to this issue of records are two questions: the professional ethics of the person who records the information or is in a position to release it, and the legal rights of the person whose record it is. These rights include the right to know the record exists and to see it, the right and procedure to correct an inaccurate record, and the right to know the processes involved in access to, verification of, and destruction of the record.

Hennepin County Juvenile Court records include all files of the Clerk of Juvenile Court, recordings of hearings, Court Services files, state and county Welfare Department reports, and all other files, fingerprints, photographs, reports and information from law enforcement agencies concerning a child under 18 years of age. The Court's records emphasize the age of the child at time of offense and the status of the child on release. Records are very descrip-

tive, e.g. "absenting because of drunken mother and brutal father," not just "absenting." The file is open to the minor, his parent, and the attorney of record. It is also open to a) Court Services, Welfare and law enforcement agencies concerned professionally with the child, b) counsel for the child, c) medical and psychological personnel investigating or testing the child, d) Municipal and District Courts looking for past history of success and failure in order to establish an appropriate sentence (these requests are filled at the rate of 10 to 15 per day), d) persons whom the Court deems to have demonstrated good cause, and f) persons authorized by the Court to do confidential and professional research. It is not open to general public inspection, and its contents cannot be disclosed except by order of the Court. Requests for information by other parties are answered by formula: "We regret that we are not allowed, by Hennepin Juvenile Court Rule 7.2, even to examine our records to determine whether or not they contain information of interest to you."

Police records of juveniles are kept separate from records of persons 18 years or older, and their contents can only be disclosed by order of Juvenile Court.

Summary disclosure of the contents of records, including records which have been officially expunged, can be made to the military, the FBE, CIA, and the Minnesota Department of Manpower Services in its role as Job Corps administrator. Summary disclosure verifies or corrects known information, and requires the consent of the child, if over 18, or both parent and child, if under 18. In regard to the Job Corps, all matters pending before the Court must be completed before the person enters the Corps; if he is on probation, the Probation officer must approve his Job Corps placement. Murder, forceful rape and armed robbery require mandatory exclusion. Since the hiring decision is made at the Regional Office in Chicago, it is felt that the Minnesota state rule forbidding release of juvenile records to potential empolyers does not apply. Once the person is accepted in the Job Corps, the record is either destroyed or sealed, in which case it can be opened only to certain parties—state and federal law enforcement agencies, prosecuting attorneys, and the child's attorney—with permission of the Job Corps enrollee—support division.

In cases of vandalism or others where restitution has been ordered, the name of the child may be revealed to the victim if agreed-to restitution is not paid. The parents are told that the child's name and address will be given to the victim, and that the parents may ask for a hearing if they object. If the parents do not request the hearing, or if the hearing finds for the victim, the victim is given the child's name and address.

Hennepin County juvenile files are physically kept in the Intake Unit of Juvenile Probation. The Detention Center maintains its own files, as do individual police departments. Computerized records contain the current status of all juveniles coming to the attention of the Court or Court Services. There are three copies of this master listing of all names and court history—one in the admissions unit of the Detention Center, one in Intake, and one in the Research and Statistics Department of Court Services. This is printed monthly. A mini-file of current status is updated weekly. There is also a daily, month—to—date printout. At the end of each year, the file is purged of all persons 18 years old whose cases are closed. These computer—ized files contain many inaccuracies; worse yet, they are available to anyone who has access to the buildings. Intake files are controlled by a clerk; ac—tive files are controlled by the assigned Probation officer. Intake conference records were destroyed after five years up until four years ago, when

the system of filing by number, not name, was begun. Some older files have been condensed and placed on microfilm; records date back to 1901.

Reference was made earlier to records being expunsed. This means that the child's record is sealed in a brightly colored, marked jacket and separated from other records. This can be done when a Probation officer or other appropriate person decides a child has been rehabilitated and petitions the Court to expunse the child's record. Expunsement is not used very often, and it can be withdrawn.

Records are also removed from circulation by being sealed. The law requires this when a child reaches 18 or when the jurisdiction of the Court and the authority of every agency has been terminated at age 21. The Court orders all agencies having custody of Juvenile Court records to seal them in an envelope identified only by a file number and to state that they are not to be opened except by order of the Juvenile Court Judge for reasons of public safety, the child's welfare, or for sentencing where a heinous crime has been committed. The District Court has ruled that Juvenile Court records shall not be destroyed in Hennepin County.

Juveniles may also have records in other places. The State Department of Corrections, for example, has the records for juveniles committed to the Youth Conservation Commission. These files are stored separately upon discharge and after three years are transferred to the Minnesota State Archives and Records Center where they are destroyed after about 20 years. Police records, which are governed by the rules for handling Juvenile Court records, exist in a variety of forms. Minneapolis police contact cards are open to Probation officers and other police agencies; anyone else needs a court order to see them. Suburban police have varying methods for keeping records. All maintain separate and confidential juvenile files, but some only for contacts actually referred to Court. Some destroy juvenile records, some at age 18, some at 21, and some after five years or at age 18. Records are kept mainly to follow a child's case and to help decide whether to release him or refer him to court.

Welfare Department records can be found in a locked room, if inactive, or with the case worker. Access is a complicated process controlled by agency policy, with emphasis on professional ethics. The client may not see his own records, but he can see the written contract which is made with his family. Records are not given to the FBI or to Probation officers, but can be shared when in the best interest of the client. Records can be subpoenaed, but seldom are, due to court rules on hearsay evidence. Recent federal regulations on accountability have increased the information Welfare workers must ask of and keep on a client, including a list of all significant contacts, list of agency and community resources used in servicing the case, financial agreements, and what has been offered the client in terms of family planning, counseling and resources, and the client's response to these offers.

St. Joseph's Children's Shelter, the official Hennepin County emergency shelter, also maintains records on its clients. The file is not given to the Court, but information is shared. A one-page brief, evaluating the child's stay, is written for the Probation officer, Welfare worker or Court. This brief is shared with the child, because it is used in planning his future. These records are destroyed after one year, but may be retained anonymously for research.

The Minneapolis Public Schools' Department of School Social Work also keeps

records on the 10-20% of the student body it contacts each year. Guidelines seek to balance the individual's right to privacy and the schools' stated need to know. They include 1) informed consent of parents and/or student when information is to be collected; b) verified information, c) locked records released only with consent of parents, except to other school personnel who have a legitimate right to know, or to the State Commissioner, the Juvenile Court when related to truancy, or the child protection agency when welfare of the child is a concern; d) periodic destruction of information no longer useful: and e) information used only for the purpose for which it was collected unless the parent and/or student give consent. The information collected by school social workers is divided into two categories. Category "A" includes information of continuing usefulness, verified validity and informed consent (e.g. intelligence test scores, family background, teacher observations, health and social adjustment data), and Category "B" includes potentially useful information not yet verified or not clearly needed beyond the immediate present (e.g. legal or clinical findings). Category A information is reviewed and unnecessary data destroyed at periodic intervals, and in all cases by age 21. Category B information is reviewed annually, then either destroyed or transferred to Category A. School social workers' personal files are confidential and are the personal property of the social worker. Information is released as above under c), to court representatives who have jurisdiction over a student, under legal compulsion, or in cases where safety of persons or property is involved, such as emergency situations involving drugs, personal attacks, rioting, etc. Parents must be informed that records are being released, but their consent is not needed. Non-school reports from other agencies, clinics, etc., are never released. No social work records are included in the student's cumulative record.

Retail stores also keep records which may be detrimental to juveniles. Studies indicate a 67% recidivism rate for shoplifters; records help decide when to refer a case to the police and are also used in employment checks. Interviews with security personnel at nine downtown Minneapolis stores indicated that five stores keep no records and leave shoplifters to the police, four keep records but do not differentiate between juveniles and adults. One store destroys records after three years, one after seven years, the others keep them indefinitely. Two stores do not share their records with anyone; records are generally kept locked with access limited to the security staff.

Youth-serving community agencies also maintain records. When a cross-section of agencies was interviewed, it was found that 21 maintained records of some type, four did not. Three kept anonymous records. Access was generally available to the staff, which could number as many as 150 persons. A child could see his own record in eight agencies, and a parent could see the child's record in eight different agencies. In five agencies, both parent and child could see the record. In several agencies, no one had ever asked to see a record. Seven agencies would give written records of personal evaluations and psychological scores to other agencies, four would share this information verbally. Six required written permission from the parent to release information, one required the child's permission. Eleven agencies locked their records, two who maintained anonymous numbered records kept the number-name file in a safe deposit box in Canada. Most agencies had kept their records since the agency began. One destroyed them after seven years, one after ten years, and one on no particular schedule. As already noted, agencies are concerned with confidentiality; the street agencies, in particular, believe that the major basis of their relationship with the client is confidentiality. There is considerable concern that funding agencies or law enforcement agencies will demand access to files; to this purpose several agencies severely limit the content of files and have plans to destroy them should the federal government show interest.

There is no provision for privileged communication in Minnesota between social worker and client, even when the social worker is a psychiatrist (M.D.). Some people believe that confidentiality receives mere lip-service, that legal restrictions are too few, that frequent disclosure of court records has caused proceedings in Juvenile Court to be equated with criminal proceedings. It seems to be difficult. if not impossible, for much of the public to accept the concept that, by law, certain acts perpetrated by an adult are crimes, but when perpetrated by juveniles they are not crimes, but delinquencies. A position paper for the Juvenile Task Force of the Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control recommends educating the public, starting with the Federal government, on the non-criminality of juvenile offenses. It further states:

"Students of the Juvenile Court System appear to be of two minds: 1) those who feel that rigid adherence to complete confidentiality as a basic concept of the Juvenile Court System is both desirable and idealistically correct, but that in actual practice it cannot be accomplished and, even if it could be accomplished, to do so would precipitate a torrent of reaction. . . resulting in legislation which would eliminate what confidentiality now exists . . and 2) those who feel that complete rigid adherence to confidentiality is not desirable, does not make sense, and that its application would release upon society unstable and dangerous persons or at least protect such persons from detection by an otherwise unsuspecting public."

The paper suggests that, since juveniles' constitutional rights are abridged by such Juvenile Court practices as trial without a jury, it is only fair to offer something in exchange, and that something is confidentiality. It adds that " if the Court feels that it is dealing with a person who is so unstable or so dangerous that public safety would be jeopardized. . . by a confidential record, then such a court may refer the matter for prosecution as an adult. ."

And it concludes: "It is argued that the Juvenile Court system is rehabilitative in nature. It cannot be rehabilitative if the mere appearance in a Juvenile Court creates a permanent and indelible record that must be disclosed, explained and overcome throughout adulthood."

OTHER SUGGESTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S TASK FORCE

# An Alternative to the Courts

A citizen board has been suggested to take over a variety of functions in regard to complaints against juveniles—fact finding, hearing, complaints, regulatory dispositions and provision of general child care and family services. All transfers of temporary custody of children would have to be voluntary, and all contested cases would have to be adjudicated by a civil family court. Residents in an area most affected would have a major voice in administration and proceedings of such service agencies. This board could be located in an elementary or junior high school district, and would hire lay and professional staff.

# Family Courts

Family courts dealing with all intra-family matters, including those handled now by juvenile courts, would provide continuity and consistent treatment, according to the Task Force Report. This idea has been strongly endorsed by Hennepin County Court Juvenile Judge Lindsay Arthur.

# Juvenile Court Jurisdiction

Some experts feel that Juvenile Court does a good job with unsophisticated youth, but is a failure in treating older juveniles who harm others and might better be handled through adult correctional programs. Under present law, a boy can commit murder and be sentenced to an institution as a juvenile, then can be released at age 21 when he is no longer a minor and under Juvenile Court jurisdiction.

There has also been a great deal of discussion about narrowing the court's jurisdiction by removing juvenile status offenses--that is conduct illegal only for children. Nationwide, at least half the delinquency referrals to Juvenile Court are offenses which would not be crimes if committed by adults, and statistics show that 80% of girls and 60% of boys in institutions are there because of juvenile status offenses. In Minnesota, the figures are similar. In the year ending June 30, 1971, about 40% of cases referred to the Commissioner of Corrections to be institutionalized were cases of absenting. incorrigibility, or both--that is, for juvenile status offenses. Of these 55 cases, 27 were boys (about 30% of all boys referred to Corrections) and 28 were girls (about 74% of all girls referred). There are no available statistics on other juvenile status offenses; truancy, liquor law violations, curfew or loitering. 1971 figures also show that of 424 children released from the County Home School, 67% had been admitted for juvenile status offenses. Of these 283 youngsters, 153 were boys (53% of all boys admitted) and 130 were girls (94% of all girls admitted).

The Task Force recommended removing such offenses from the court's jurisdiction, except in cases like drug experimentation, repeated pregnancy, where real risk of long-range harm to the child exists. Judge Arthur does not agree. He feels strongly that juvenile status offenders are the most serious cases he handles, because he sees his Court as treatment-oriented. He believes the Court as it is now organized protects these children, and provides early help for a troubled family who will not voluntarily seek such help.

# Truancy Recommendations

Minnesota statutes require a child to stay in school until the age of 16. To be habitually truant is an act of delinquency. However, both court and school officials recognize that children often have other problems which show up as truancy. A truant child is often the child who is disruptive and a non-achiever in school; he may have learning disabilities or other problems. School personnel try to deal with the truant child and his family by recommending psychological or physical examinations, family counseling, or tutoring for the child. If the family is having problems with the child at home, school personnel may seek help from the Court to get needed treatment. Few people disagree with this use of the Court, although many believe community agencies could better deal with the problems. Some critics feel that school officials use a court referral to get rid of a problem they cannot handle,

instead of exploring all the alternatives, and thus are using truancy as a "catch-all" excuse. Other critics point out that there is no proof that institutionalization helps the truant child. Indeed, it can aggravate his problems by putting him into contact with more serious offenders. However, school and court officials state that no child is institutionalized in Hennepin County for simple truancy; the child must have committed other offenses as well.

# Time and Place for Hearings

Some reports on court reform have suggested evening and Saturday hearings in Juvenile Court. This would prevent children's detention over long holiday weekends, and would let parents attend hearings without taking time off and losing pay from their jobs. Other problems, like parking space and transportation, could be solved by holding hearings in suburban areas as well as downtown. Referees could be assigned specific hearing days for suburban areas.

# Improvement of Statistical Data

Data gathering, program evaluation, and comparative statistics are practically non-existent in juvenile court systems in the United States. It is impossible to determine, using statistics available, what happens to a child after he enters the juvenile justice system. Hennepin County statistics indicate how many children were referred to Court for each type of offense, but do not provide other essential information, such as which offenses were committed by what sex or age group, which were closed at Intake or referred to court, etc. Without a computer to process information, it has been almost impossible to assess adequately and accurately whether the system is achieving its goal of rehabilitation. Now Hennepin County Juvenile Court has its computer, and programs are being planned to supply the information needed for evaluation. Research into the effectiveness of court procedures, probation, treatment programs, and community agencies is needed.

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# PERSONS INTERVIEWED

The Minneapolis League of Women Voters' Juvenile Justice Committee wishes to thank all those who generously gave of their time to assist this study.

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# Persons Interviewed - continued

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#### SUBURBAN POLICE DEPARTMENTS

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#### RETAIL STORE SECURITY FORCES

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#### COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES

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#### Persons Interviewed - continued

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