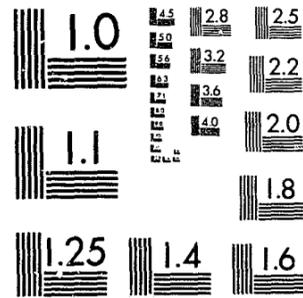


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Overcrowding in the California Youth Authority: An Assessment of Causes and Effects

A Report Prepared for
Senator Diane Watson

By
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FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the request of Senator Watson, the Senate Office of Research (SOR) undertook to study the causes and effects of overcrowding in the California Youth Authority. This report, summarizing the findings of the study, is divided into two parts. In part I, we assess the causes of overcrowding, looking at various demographic, judicial and correctional trends during the past six years. In Part II, we discuss the effects of overcrowding on wards, staff, rehabilitative efforts, and correctional resources.

Initial plans for the research design were developed by Susan Baird and Judith Harper. Primary responsibility for data collection, analysis, and writing was assumed by Teresa Rooney. Ongoing review and revisions were accomplished by Judith Harper and Lester Kleinberg.

A great deal of credit for this report must be given to staff in the Bureau of Criminal Statistics (BCS) and the California Youth Authority (YA). BCS staff members Charlotte Rhea, Del McGuire and Quint Hegner provided most of the data for Part I of the report and reviewed our preliminary draft for accuracy.

Most of the data that is used for Part II of the report was compiled by YA. Max Zeigler, Harmon Orshorn and David Bantz compiled the information for nearly all of the tables, in addition to spending many hours with SOR staff in person and by telephone. Tim Sutherland, Bill Costa and Perry Settlemoir provided budget information. Elaine Duxbury and her staff very generously provided copies of many YA research reports and shared time and office space with SOR staff. Morris Jennings' contribution in orchestrating the data collection effort during the first phase of our work was invaluable. Antonio Amador, Director; Richard Lew, Assistant Director (Legislative); Walter Jones, Associate Legislative Liaison; and other YA staff members reviewed our preliminary drafts of Parts I and II.

Finally, we extend our appreciation to practitioners in county probation departments, district attorneys' offices and juvenile courts, who shared their time and insight during interviews we conducted.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In early 1982, as this study was just beginning, the California Youth Authority (YA) faced severe crowding at its facilities, a result of the steadily increasing ward population. The passage of Proposition 8 in June 1982 has slowed down, and is expected to eventually reverse, this trend. However, with population pressures likely to reassert themselves in the future, policymakers can lay the proper foundation now to minimize overcrowding-related problems.

METHODOLOGY

We analyzed a six-year period (1976-1981), identifying trends relating to overcrowding. Our findings were derived primarily from five sources:

- (1) Data compiled from Bureau of Criminal Statistics, State Controller's Office, and YA records;
- (2) Interviews with key justice system personnel;
- (3) Discussions with Youth Authority administrative staff;
- (4) On-site visits to two Youth Authority facilities; and
- (5) Existing studies and literature.

Our analysis of the causes of overcrowding included statewide data, as well as data on nine specific counties (Alameda, Fresno, Kern, Los Angeles, Madera, Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Francisco, and Santa Clara).

In assessing the effects of overcrowding, we looked at YA institutions as a whole and at six selected facilities (Northern and Southern Reception Center-Clinics, O.H. Close School, Preston School, Ventura School, and Youth Training School).

KEY FINDINGS: CAUSES OF OVERCROWDING

During the six years studied, YA's ward population rose substantially. In 1981, the average daily population at YA's institutions surpassed the 5000 mark, 27% higher than in 1976. The two factors controlling the population level are the number of wards admitted to the institutions and the length of stay. If either factor increases without a concurrent growth in YA's capacity, overcrowding results.

The number of new admissions to YA increased nearly 15% between 1976 and 1981, primarily a result of increased juvenile court commitments. While fewer wards were returned to YA as parole violators, this decline did not offset the higher level of new admissions. The average length of stay for institutionalized YA wards also rose substantially, from a low of 10.9 months in 1977 to 13.1 months in 1981.

As length of stay increases, fewer wards are released. Since a one-month increase in the average length of stay increases institutional population by nearly 500, this change contributed heavily to the population increase.

YA's institutional bed capacity, the number of beds available for sleeping purposes, remained nearly unchanged until 1981 when approximately 150 beds were added. The budgeted capacity, reflecting YA's population projections as well as financial considerations, rose approximately 29% between 1976 and 1981. While budgeted capacity nearly kept pace with YA's average daily population, fluctuations above and below the average often resulted in overcrowding on a daily or weekly basis. Differences in overcrowding were also experienced between facilities.

YA's growing ward population resulted from increases in both new admissions and institutional length of stay. We addressed three possible causes for this, consisting of changes in:

- (1) The youth population, as well as the number of arrests, probation referrals, and court petitions (i.e., workload of the judicial system);
- (2) The harshness of judicial processing; and
- (3) Legislation, administrative policy, and resources available to handle offenders at the county level. (We also assessed the impact of public opinion on this factor.)

1. Workload of the Judicial System. Overall, the population of young people who could be committed to YA (ages 10 through 20) dropped slightly between 1976 and 1981. Despite this decline, YA estimates show an increase in 13- through 20-year-old minority males between 1975 and 1980. Since commitment rates per 1,000 felony arrests tend to be higher among Blacks and Hispanics, this increase in young minority males probably contributed to the larger number of commitments to YA.

The volume of arrests processed by the juvenile justice system declined during the six years we studied: felonies declined by 10% and misdemeanors by 12%. Even the most serious arrests, those for crimes against persons, remained nearly stable.

The total volume of juvenile probation referrals and court petitions also declined during the six years, due to the decrease in status offense cases. However, we did not find that the number of felony or misdemeanor cases declined. This reflects the screening processing that occurs throughout the juvenile justice system (i.e., the less serious offenses tend to be diverted out of the system, while the more serious offenses are processed formally).

Information about the number of cases processed by the adult justice system is less complete, but we know that felony and misdemeanor arrests rose substantially among the young adult (18 through 20) age group between 1977 and 1981. A growing population of young adults (18 through 20) and the greater frequency of arrests among this group may have contributed to the higher level of adult court commitments, although most of the additional wards came from the juvenile courts.

2. Judicial Processing Trends. During the past six years, we witnessed significant changes in judicial and public response to offenders. Of particular importance is the trend toward more severe juvenile court dispositions of initial petitions (cases in which the offender is not currently under court supervision). More and more of these initial petitions resulted in commitment to YA rather than to local alternatives. BCS statistics and interviews with justice system officials convinced us that these more severe dispositions are partially accounted for by an increasing severity in juvenile offenses.

At the adult justice system level, the conviction rate for 18- through 20-year-olds rose since 1977. An increasingly larger portion of these convicted were sentenced to YA. We attribute this latter finding to changes in sentencing laws and to increased severity of offenses.

3. Legislation, Administrative Policy and Budget Considerations. Fiscal, legislative, and administrative trends of the past six years influenced both the number of wards committed to YA and the average length of institutional stay. The most important legislative changes were AB 3121, the Probation Subsidy Program, and the County Justice System Subvention Program.

AB 3121, enacted in January 1977, was largely a response to public demand for reform in the juvenile justice system. The law removed status offenders (those who have committed acts which would not be criminal if committed by an adult) from the jurisdiction of the juvenile courts, while encouraging a harsher response to more serious juvenile offenders.

Removing status offenders from YA's jurisdiction was consistent with an existing YA policy and thus did not significantly reduce the ward population. The introduction of district attorneys into juvenile court proceedings, part of the effort to treat serious offenders more harshly, did impact YA commitments. District attorneys prosecuted juvenile cases more zealously than had their predecessors, the probation officers, leading to more sustained petitions and commitments to YA among delinquent offenders.

Probation Subsidy and the County Justice System Subvention Program were developed to give counties the financial incentive to retain offenders at the local level, thus reducing commitments to state facilities. While the Subsidy Program initially reduced first commitments to YA, county commitment rates rose toward pre-Subsidy levels in the later years. California eventually replaced the Subsidy Program with the Subvention Program. The newer program has not reduced commitments to YA.

It appears that the primary problem with both programs was, and continues to be, a fiscal one. At a time when local resources are severely reduced by Proposition 13, the funding provided through state programs simply is not a sufficient financial incentive for counties to retain custody of offenders. With further reductions in county resources resulting from the statewide recession, juvenile courts have few options other than commitment to YA.

The Legislature does not directly control YA sentence length as it does for commitments to Department of Corrections. Responsibility for determining length of stay lies with the Youthful Offender Parole Board (YOPB). YOPB sentencing guidelines (set forth in the Administrative Code) were substantially modified in June 1978, nearly doubling the previous length of stay for many of the more serious offenses. Minor modifications made in succeeding years continued the trend toward longer commitments.

Thus, while legislative and budgetary changes raised the level of commitments to YA, changes in YOPB policy lengthened commitment time. Both contributed to YA's growing population level.

KEY FINDINGS: EFFECTS OF OVERCROWDING

There is little doubt that the severely crowded conditions found in California's (and the nation's) jails and adult prisons can endanger the physical and psychological well-being of inmates. Prior to our study, however, we had little substantive proof that YA overcrowding is severe enough to be harmful.

We examined the effects of crowding on those individuals who must experience it on a daily basis--wards and staff. We also assessed the impact of crowding on YA's rehabilitative efforts and budget expenditures. It was often difficult to distinguish between the effects of sheer population size (the number of wards) and crowding (the number above capacity).

1. Stress Among Wards and Staff. Confinement can result in stress regardless of overpopulation. Confinement reduces privacy and meaningful activity, while increasing chances for

negative encounters and unwanted social interaction. Crowding can intensify this stress by endangering the personal safety of wards and staff alike.

- a. Wards. We assessed three indicators of stress among wards: illness complaints, grievances, and disciplinary problems. We found no relationship between illness complaints and crowding.

Our analysis indicated that crowding may prompt wards to file more grievances. More than a function of population increases alone, we found that (1) grievance rates (average number per ward) rose in four of the six facilities that we studied, and (2) a greater portion of wards throughout all facilities filed grievances. The greater use of the grievance system may also reflect other factors. YA's grievance system is relatively new and was only fully implemented in 1976. As wards became more familiar with the system, there were more grievances filed. This may partially explain the increase in grievances, independent of crowding and stress.

Studies of prison crowding often emphasize disciplinary incidents, particularly violence, since these are the most visible effects of crowding. We found, to the contrary, that even as the ward population rose, assaults declined throughout YA institutions. Since approximately half of YA's beds are in single rooms, the opportunities for aggressive behavior are reduced, especially when coupled with the improved staff training we have seen in recent years. YA's recently instituted policy of minimizing "time adds", one of the punishments for assaultive behavior, may cause staff to avoid reporting assaults. On the other hand, the less serious, non-assaultive disciplinary incidents more than doubled in the six years that we studied. These may be a more accurate gauge of ward stress.

- b. Staff. Our measures of staff stress (injuries and sick leave usage) were not consistently related to crowding. However, interviews at several YA institutions revealed other, less easily measured manifestations of crowding-induced stress.

First, YA often makes program changes to accommodate a growing ward population, even though these changes may be detrimental to both wards and staff. For example, when crowding forces educational and treatment programs to accept more wards than they are designed for, program time per ward is shortened or ward-staff ratios are raised. Staff, unable to interact individually with each ward, may then become frustrated and stressed.

Second, while increasingly fewer staff assaults were reported, we cannot measure the fear of assault which staff undoubtedly face. This fear may be intensified by crowding, when staff feel they cannot adequately supervise the ward caseload.

2. Rehabilitative Efforts. YA's statutory mandate is the protection of society through rehabilitation of its wards. Assuming that rehabilitation is enhanced by involvement in high quality programs geared to the ward's needs and by ward-staff interaction, we used these as indicators of rehabilitative effectiveness. We also reviewed studies of the relationship between recidivism and crowding.

One key component of YA's rehabilitative efforts is the individualizing of treatment programs for each ward. An effort is made to select the institution, living unit, and academic or vocational classes most closely matched to a specific ward's needs. We found that overcrowding reduced administrative and staff flexibility both in program planning and placement, forcing ward placement decisions to be made on a space-available basis and mixing incompatible wards.

Crowding strains YA's program resources. Class and living unit size increase while the staff-ward ratio declines, all to accommodate the larger number of wards. Maintenance of day-to-day control and security become the priority, leaving staff members with less time for individual counseling and interaction. Crowded conditions may also mask unrelated program deficiencies or inabilities of staff, becoming convenient excuses for poor performance. Thus, crowding may reduce the quality of YA programs and the effectiveness of staff.

Parole performance, or recidivism, was the most difficult to assess, since there is very little substantive research on its relationship to overcrowding. Based on several of YA's studies, we can only conclude that overcrowding may have a negative, short-term impact on parole success. We can also infer that the negative impact of crowding on program placement and quality ultimately affects parole performance.

Our analysis indicates that overcrowding reduces YA's rehabilitative effectiveness.

3. Budget Considerations. It is difficult to place a dollar figure on the costs of overcrowding. While we know that YA's operating expenses increased during the past six years, we do not know how much of this is attributable to overcrowding per se rather than simply to population increases. We must also note that when population pressures force rehabilitative efforts to be sidetracked, there are ultimately long-term

costs to society. These costs, along with the costs to wards and staff who must live with crowding-induced stress, are impossible to assess.

One measurable cost of overcrowding is the cost of additional personnel. Security staff and living unit staff must be supplemented to accommodate larger ward populations. The costs of hiring either intermittent or permanent employees and of paying overtime to current employees are substantially higher than expected based simply on population increases, since overcrowding forces YA to maintain a higher staff-ward ratio. While 2 staff members may be able to supervise 50 wards, an increase of 5 to 12 more wards requires the addition of 1 or 2 staff members. The costs associated with the higher staff-ward ratio, and with the use of intermittent time and overtime, are the most evident fiscal effects of overcrowding.

There are other less apparent costs of overcrowding. For example, the higher grievance levels experienced by YA in the past few years may result in higher staff costs. However, these costs are more difficult to assess.

CONCLUSIONS

During the past six years, YA faced unprecedented levels of crowding, along with potentially dangerous side effects. Although population pressures have eased for the time being, we anticipate that YA will see its ward populations grow again in the coming years.

What can be done to alleviate overcrowding? The most obvious solution--to build more institutions--is also the most expensive and, over the long run, least effective option. Two viable means of reducing overcrowding are to reduce the lengths of institutional stay or to send fewer people to YA (by emphasizing alternatives to incarceration). Even if we are unable to reduce the ward population, it is important to explore means of ameliorating the negative impact of crowding (e.g., by increasing staffing levels).

While the options are relatively simple, choosing among them will be quite difficult. Perhaps the best approach is flexibility--giving YA the ability to respond to the everchanging size and nature of its ward population before serious consequences of crowding can occur.

TOPICS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There are several topics which warrant further consideration, either through an assessment of existing studies, if available, or through original research.

1. Judicial Dispositions Among Minority Offenders. Commitment rates per 1,000 felony arrests are considerably higher among Blacks and Hispanics than among non-Hispanic Whites. Is this warranted by the seriousness of minority offenses/ offenders, or are minority group offenders discriminated against by the judicial system? This is a particularly important topic, given the demographic changes in the youth population (i.e., a growing number of minority youth, despite a general decline in the overall youth population).
2. Alternatives to Incarceration. In each county, there are a number of options for disposing of juvenile offenders, only one of which is commitment to YA. The availability of local alternatives, and the willingness to use these alternatives, varies from one county to another. Since commitments to YA could be reduced by greater reliance on local alternatives, it is important to determine what alternatives are available and effective, and why certain counties make more use of these alternatives than do others.

PART I

CAUSES OF OVERCROWDING

SECTION 1

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE YOUTH AUTHORITY

Considerable attention has recently been focused on the problem of overcrowding in the California Youth Authority (YA). At the request of Senator Watson, the Senate Office of Research undertook to study the causes and effects of overcrowding in YA. This report summarizes the findings related to causes. A summary of the effects of overcrowding will be completed in October 1982.

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

In the past six years, the population of YA institutions increased significantly. At the beginning of 1976, YA institutions housed 4579 wards. By the end of 1981, this figure jumped to 5876 an increase of 28.3%.

These figures mask more serious problems that exist in certain institutions or that result from dramatic weekly fluctuations in the population. Increases in ward population caused YA facilities to exceed their budgeted capacity, creating potentially dangerous situations for both wards and staff. All YA's existing facilities are now open, and the number of wards continues to climb.

The problem of overcrowding is not unique to YA. California's state prisons, county jails, and juvenile halls are experiencing similar problems. Facilities in other states are also burdened by skyrocketing populations.

If current trends continue, YA will inevitably be faced by critical choices. The most obvious choices include building more facilities for youthful offenders or developing alternative programs. As of July 1, 1982, YA had a total of 5376 beds available in its facilities.* In January 1983, YA expects to add an additional 20 beds, raising the capacity to 5396. This figure, one readily sees, falls dramatically short of even the numbers currently housed in YA. Many experts argue that increasing institutional capacity will not provide a long-term solution to the problem.

*When faced by population pressures, YA can request a budget increase to cover additional staffing and beds. This allowed YA to raise its "budgeted capacity" to 5860 in January 1982, well above the bed capacity of 5376. Thus, YA is able to provide beds and staff supervision for more wards than the facilities are designed to hold. In doing this, the population exceeds standards for day room and living room capacity.

1.2 GOALS AND MISSION OF THE YOUTH AUTHORITY

The basic mission of YA, outlined in the Youth Authority Act of 1941, is ". . .to protect society more effectively by substituting for retributive punishment methods of training and treatment directed toward the correction and rehabilitation of young persons found guilty of public offenses. . . ."

This statutory mandate continues as the fundamental legal guide for YA even today. However, the wording of the mandate has been modified in recent years in response to shifts in our attitude towards juvenile offenders. In 1977, YA developed a new statement of its goals and missions, emphasizing two areas:

- the need for services to rehabilitate offenders in order to protect society; and
- the emphasis on delinquency prevention activities aimed at turning back the tide of criminal behavior (California Department of the Youth Authority, April 1978, p. 4).

YA's new mission and goals statement coincided with a time of growing skepticism regarding rehabilitation as the primary role of YA. In the political arena, and among the general public, two basic considerations were related to this skepticism. First, it became more and more apparent that in spite of the emphasis on rehabilitation, commitment to YA is a form of punishment. Second, rehabilitation was increasingly questioned as the appropriate means of dealing with the small but visible group of potentially dangerous and violent YA wards. (California Department of the Youth Authority, April 1978, p. 4.)

AB 3121, implemented in 1977, reflected a similar awareness of the need to deal with serious and violent juvenile offenders. Based on reports in the media and personal experiences, many people felt that the existing rehabilitative system simply was not enough. This feeling was reflected in the responses to our questionnaire, as described on the following page.

SB 193, effective January 1982, again refined the mission statement of YA as follows:

. . .to protect society from the consequences of criminal activity and to such purpose training and treatment shall be substituted for retributive punishment and shall be directed toward the correction and rehabilitation of young persons who have committed public offenses.

Although SB 193 still maintained the general framework established in 1941, the intent of the law was to toughen the philosophical approach to the treatment of juvenile offenders. This was consistent with public attitude towards offenders in general.

The spirit of this law is illustrated by Antonio Amador, YA's director, in the March 5, 1982 CYA Staff News:

. . .our primary responsibility is not to the young men and women who are currently filling our institutions and camps to overflowing, but to the people of California who have paid for the costs of their offenses and are yearning for protection and relief. This does not mean that we would contemplate abandoning our time-honored approaches of training and treatment which seek to convert offenders to useful citizens; they are all-important and must be continued and improved upon. . . .

Young people committed to the Youth Authority will be expected to be accountable for their past behavior as well as their actions in the future. The public expects us to make this message very clear, and it is the very least we can do.

We asked probation officers, district attorneys, and juvenile court judges to rate the importance of various functions of YA on a scale of 1 to 5. (A description of the questionnaire is provided in Appendix A.) By compiling their responses and computing a weighted score for each function, we were able to develop a rank ordering of the functions. The rank ordering for each of the three respondent groups was as follows:

Rank Order	Prob Officers	District Attys	Juv Ct Judges
1	Protect Society	Protect Society	Protect Society
2	Rehabilitation	Rehabilitation	Incapacitation
3	Incapacitation	Punishment	Rehabilitation
4	Punishment	Incapacitation	Deterrence
5	Deterrence	Deterrence	Punishment

In addition to rating the importance of these five functions, we also asked respondents to identify the one function they viewed as the most important role of YA. Probation officers and district attorneys indicated that protection of society was the most important, followed by rehabilitation, which is consistent with our rank ordering. Judges, however, indicated rehabilitation was the most important, followed by incapacitation and protection of society. Thus, their identification of the most important function differed from their rank ordering.

It is also interesting to note that the majority of the juvenile court judges, and about half of the probation officers and DAs, felt that rehabilitation is no longer as important a function of YA as it was in the past. Similarly, the vast majority of judges and probation officers, and approximately half of the DAs, indicated that punishment has become more important in the past five years. Finally, many of the respondents highlighted the increasing importance of protecting society.

One judge aptly summarized what appeared to be the feeling of most respondents: "Given the seriousness of the offenses we are seeing and the dangerousness of many of the minors we are sending to CYA, protection (of society) as a goal is often more realistic than rehabilitation." Thus, whereas rehabilitation was once viewed as the primary role of YA, we have seen an increasing public emphasis on protection of society and punishment of the offender in recent years.

1.3 A BASIC PRIMER ON JUVENILE COURT LAW

California's juvenile court system has jurisdiction over any person under the age of 18 years who comes within the provisions of Sections 300, 601, or 602 of the Welfare and Institutions Code.

Section 300 pertains to dependent children in need of care because of home conditions or medical deficiencies. Section 601 refers to predelinquent children--children whose conduct may lead to delinquency. Section 601 offenses are commonly referred to as "status offenses", since they are offenses only because of a person's status as a minor; e.g., runaway children, truancy. (Children who fit into these sections are outside the purview of this study.)

Section 602, pertaining to delinquent children, applies to those persons under 18 who violate California's criminal statutes. Since the implementation of AB 3121 in 1977, only Section 602 offenders may be committed to YA. The juvenile court has jurisdiction over any person who was under 18 on the date of the alleged offense.

The juvenile court has exclusive jurisdiction over all cases arising under Sections 300 and 601. It also has exclusive jurisdiction over minors under 16 in Section 602 cases. Therefore, the adult court has no jurisdiction in these cases. The juvenile court also has original jurisdiction over minors 16 or 17 in Section 602 cases. This means if it finds such a minor not to be a fit and proper subject to be dealt with under the Juvenile Court Law, the juvenile court may refer the case for adult court processing.

Certification hearings are held, if requested by the district attorney, to determine whether a minor is a fit and proper subject to be dealt with under Juvenile Court Law. W&I Code Section 707(a) lays out the guidelines for determining fitness.

. . . [T]he juvenile court may find that the minor is not a fit and proper subject to be dealt with under the juvenile court law if it concludes that the minor would not be amenable to the care, treatment and training program available through the facilities of the juvenile court, based upon an evaluation of the following criteria:

- (1) The degree of criminal sophistication exhibited by the minor.
- (2) Whether the minor can be rehabilitated prior to the expiration of the juvenile court's jurisdiction.
- (3) The minor's previous delinquent history.
- (4) Success of previous attempts by the juvenile court to rehabilitate the minor.
- (5) The circumstances and gravity of the offense alleged to have been committed by the minor.

Under Sections 707(b) and (c), a minor shall be presumed to be not a fit and proper subject in,

. . . any case in which a minor is alleged to be a person described in Section 602 by reason of the violation, when he or she was 16 years of age or older, of one of the following offenses:

- (1) Murder;
- (2) Arson of an inhabited building;
- (3) Robbery while armed with a dangerous or deadly weapon;
- (4) Rape with force or violence or threat of great bodily harm;
- (5) Sodomy by force, violence, duress, menace, or threat of great bodily harm;
- (6) Lewd or lascivious act as provided in subdivision (b) of Section 288 of the Penal Code;
- (7) Oral copulation by force, violence, duress, menace, or threat of great bodily harm;
- (8) Any offense specified in Section 289 of the Penal Code;
- (9) Kidnapping for ransom;
- (10) Kidnapping for purpose of robbery;
- (11) Kidnapping with bodily harm;
- (12) Assault with intent to murder or attempted murder;
- (13) Assault with a firearm or destructive device;
- (14) Assault by any means of force likely to produce great bodily injury;
- (15) Discharge of a firearm into an inhabited or occupied building;
- (16) Any offense described in Section 1203.09 of the Penal Code.

The juvenile court may commit a youth to YA if: (1) the offender is adjudged a ward of the court based on a Section 602 offense committed prior to the age of 18; and (2) the judge ". . . is fully satisfied that the mental and physical condition and qualifications of the ward are such as to render it probable that he will be benefitted by the reformatory educational discipline or other treatment provided by the Youth Authority." (W&I Code, Sections 731 and 734.) In certain situations, the adult court

may commit an offender to YA who was under 21 at the time of the offense.

A minor (under 18) adjudicated in the adult courts may not be sentenced to state prison unless first remanded to the custody of YA for evaluation concerning amenability to YA training and treatment. A 1979 California Supreme Court decision held that if YA's evaluation report recommends a minor be committed to its jurisdiction, the court must give great weight to that recommendation absent substantial countervailing considerations (In re Carl B., 1979, 24 C.3d 212).

In response to the Carl B. decision, the California Legislature recently approved AB 3190, which will grant the judge discretion to sentence a minor to state prison regardless of the YA evaluation. The bill, effective January 1, 1983, specifies that "the need to protect society, the nature and seriousness of the offense, the interests of justice, the suitability of the minor to the training and treatment offered by [YA], and the needs of the minor shall be the primary considerations in the court's determination of the appropriate disposition for the minor."

1.4 METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The present report focuses on five major issues:

- to what extent is overcrowding caused by changes in the youth population, or the number of arrests, probation referrals, and court petitions handled by the juvenile and adult justice systems?
- to what extent is overcrowding caused by changes in the harshness of judicial processing by law enforcement, probation, or courts?
- to what extent have legislative and administrative changes contributed to overcrowding?
- to what extent have county budget cutbacks made it fiscally difficult to treat offenders at the local level, and thus contributed to overcrowding at the state level?
- to what extent is overcrowding a result of public attitudes favoring harsher, more punitive actions by the juvenile and adult justice systems?

In order to assess the relative importance of each of these factors, we reviewed relevant literature, analyzed data obtained from the Bureau of Criminal Statistics (BCS) and YA, and contacted key justice system personnel.

We analyzed a six-year period, identifying trends over time that relate to overcrowding. We chose 1976 as the starting point in

order to: (1) include the most recent data available; and (2) include a time period during which YA has experienced both high and low extremes in institutional population.

The statistical analysis included data for California as a whole, as well as nine counties: Alameda, Fresno, Kern, Los Angeles, Madera, Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Francisco, and Santa Clara. We selected these counties based on their population, YA commitment rates, and geographical location. Although this was not intended to be a representative sample of the entire state, the county data did allow us to take a closer look at some of the causes of overcrowding which were masked by statewide data.

We mailed questionnaires to probation officers, district attorneys, and juvenile court judges in the nine selected counties. For some of the respondents, the questionnaires were adequate in answering all questions. In situations in which the questionnaires were either incomplete or unclear, we followed up with telephone interviews. A total of 50 questionnaires/telephone interviews were completed.

1.5 ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

This report containing the findings of our analysis is organized in six major sections:

- Section 2. Overview of Youth Authority Population Trends
- Section 3. Demographic and Judicial Processing Trends: Impact on Youth Authority Commitments
- Section 4. Factors Related to Processing Trends
- Section 5. Length of Institutional Stay, Youthful Offender Parole Board Policy, and Ward Characteristics: Impact on Youth Authority Releases
- Section 6. Legislative and Budgetary Considerations
- Section 7. Summary of Findings

Detailed statistical tables are contained in Appendix A, and references are presented in Appendix C.

SECTION 2

OVERVIEW OF YOUTH AUTHORITY POPULATION TRENDS

The two basic determinants of institutional population are the number of wards admitted and the number released. While admissions and releases are affected by a variety of complex factors (i.e., youth population and patterns of arrest, judicial processing and Youthful Offender Parole Board [YOPB] decisions), the population can only be kept at a stable level if the number of admissions equals the number of releases. If there is an increase in admissions and/or a decrease in releases the institutional population will, of course, increase.

This section examines the admissions and releases that occurred among YA population between 1976 and 1981. By analyzing these statistics, it is possible to assess the relative importance of changes in admissions and releases as contributors to institutional overcrowding. Table 2-1 summarizes these statistics.

Table 2-1
YOUTH AUTHORITY POPULATION MOVEMENT*
1976-1981

<u>Pop Mvmt</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>% Chg 76-81</u>
Avg daily pop	4416	3993	4370	4902	5168	5661	28.2
Start of year	4579	3987	4085	4707	4901	5295	15.6
Admitted	8971	8627	8680	8414	8675	8372	-6.7
New cases	3558	3626	3775	3640	4968	4083	14.8
Parole returns	1105	1109	1140	1075	1094	1002	-9.3
Other	4308	3892	3675	3699	3613	3287	-23.7
Released	9563	8535	8058	8220	8281	7791	-18.5
Paroled	4892	4331	3902	4253	4348	4200	-14.1
Other	4671	4204	4156	3967	3933	3591	-23.1
End of year	3987	4085	4707	4901	5295	5876	47.4
Total diff**	-429	+98	+622	+194	+394	+581	--
Other diff***	+363	+312	+481	+268	+320	+304	--

*Does not include wards in other institutions: Department of Corrections (average 23); Out to court (jail) (average 99); and Department of Health (average 70).

**Total number of admissions minus total number of releases.

***Number of "other" admissions minus number of "other" releases.

2.1 ADMISSIONS TO THE YOUTH AUTHORITY

Both the juvenile and adult courts can commit offenders to YA. For statistical purposes, YA categorizes admissions as first commitments (i.e., new cases) and parole returns. Table 2-1 also includes a category called "other" admissions, which consists of various short-term cases,* as well as who are returned to the institution following a temporary absence and wards who are transferred from federal institutions or the California Department of Corrections.

2.1.1 First Commitments

Between 1976 and 1981, the number of first commitments increased in every year except 1979. In 1976, 3558 wards were newly admitted to YA, compared to 4083 in 1981. This represents an increase of 14.8% or 525 wards.

This increase was primarily a result of an increase in the number of first commitments from juvenile courts. Commitments from this source increased by 23.7% or 417 cases, between 1976 and 1981. The remaining 108 wards are accounted for by an increase in first commitments from the adult courts (see Appendix A, Table A-21).

To better understand the source of the larger number of juvenile court first commitments, we examined statistics compiled by YA which show the number and rate of juvenile court first commitments by geographic region (Southern California, San Francisco Bay Area, Sacramento Valley, San Joaquin Valley). Twenty-two of the smallest counties are not included in the four geographical categories.

Table 2-2 shows that on a regional basis, Southern California and the San Francisco Bay Area experienced the greatest increase in volume of commitments and, therefore, had the greatest impact on the overcrowding problem. However, this does not take into consideration two important factors: (1) differences between regions in terms of their overall "at-risk" population (i.e., juveniles 10 through 17 years of age), and (2) differences between counties within each region. We used the 10- through 17-year-age group, since the bulk of juvenile court first commitments are in this age category.

*Parole guests, contract cases, W&I Code, Section 707.2 diagnostic cases.

Table 2-2
NUMBER AND RATE OF FIRST COMMITMENTS
FROM JUVENILE COURTS
1976 AND 1981

Region	Number		Change 76-81		Rate	
	1976	1981	No.	Pct.	1976	1981
Southern California	1020	1249	+229	+22.5%	56	72
San Francisco area	397	498	+101	+25.4%	57	80
Sacramento Valley	143	154	+ 11	+ 7.7%	73	90
San Joaquin Valley	135	175	+ 40	+29.6%	61	79
22 other counties	59	94	+ 35	+59.3%	46	76

Differences in the at-risk population are accounted for by comparing the commitment rates shown in the last two columns of Table 2-2 (i.e., number of commitments per 100,000 population at-risk). On a regional basis, the Sacramento Valley had the highest commitment rate in both years. Although Southern California accounts for over half of all juvenile court first commitments to YA, it had the lowest commitment rate in 1981. There are, of course, tremendous variations between counties within each of these regions. For example, in 1981, juvenile court commitment rates within Southern California ranged from a low of 21 per 100,000 juveniles (Orange County) to a high of 216 per 100,000 juveniles (Kern County).

2.1.2 Parole Returns: With or Without a New Commitment

While the number of first commitments increased between 1976 and 1981, the number of parolees returned to YA declined slightly. Parolees can be returned to YA with or without a new commitment. Parolees returned with a new commitment consist of those who are adjudicated by the courts and resentenced to YA. These cases, referred to as recommitments, require a 30-day diagnostic study at one of YA's reception centers prior to admission to an institution.

Parolees who are returned without a new commitment may be sent to YA by either a parole agent or by the courts. In the latter instance, the court adjudicates the case but does not classify it as a new commitment. If the parolee is returned without a new commitment, the diagnostic study is not required. (These cases are also referred to as parole violators by YA.)

In 1976, a total of 1105 parolees were returned to YA, compared with 1002 in 1981. Among these the number of parolees returned without a new commitment increased, while those with a new commitment declined (i.e., recommitments). This decline in recommitments was most evident at the adult court level. In the past, the majority of all recommitments came from the adult courts.

However, between 1976 and 1981, adult court recommitments dropped from 62% to only 20% of the total number of recommitments (from 380 to 81). Reccommitments from juvenile courts increased in 1977, but have declined since that time (see Appendix A, Table A-21).

Two possible explanations for the reduction in parole returns are: (1) rejection policies used by YA since 1980; and (2) reduction in the overall parole caseload.

By statute, YA must accept individuals committed if it believes that: (1) the individual can be materially benefitted by its reformatory and educational discipline; and (2) it has adequate facilities to provide such care (W&I Code Sections 736 and 1731.5). In early 1980, YA began regularly rejecting certain cases based on the material benefits criteria. Faced by mounting population pressures in July of 1981, YA began rejecting certain adult court commitments based on the lack of adequate facilities criteria.

Adult court commitments who were at least 18 years old at the time of their offense were assigned a score that represented their "level of criminality" (based on commitment offense, pattern of past criminal behavior, sophistication, and prior secure placements). Individuals whose criminality score exceeded a certain value were then rejected and returned to the court of commitment. This value or "cutoff" point was adjusted depending upon the degree of overcrowding. When population pressures eased in September 1982, YA rescinded its policy of rejecting cases based on a lack of available space, at least temporarily. (See Section 3.4.4 for further discussion of the rejection policy.)

While the stringent screening policy was in force, many adult court commitments were rejected, thus partially accounting for the decline in parole returns (i.e., July 1981 through September 1982). According to a study done by YA staff, 24% of the 426 individuals who were rejected between July 1981 and March 1982 were previously committed to YA (Palmer, August 1982, p. xii).

The reduction in parole returns also was related to the decline in YA's parole caseload during the past six years. The number of parolees supervised by YA dropped from 7963 in 1976 to 6699 in 1979. By 1981, the parole caseload increased to 6972. Thus, the number of parolees "at risk" declined.

2.2 RELEASES FROM THE YOUTH AUTHORITY

The majority of those released from YA institutions are parole releases. The "other" category consists of contract cases that are released following diagnostic study, escapes, transfers to federal institutions or the Department of Corrections; and wards who are temporarily removed from the institution for reasons such as court appearance or furlough.

The number of wards released on parole shows a general decline over the years 1976 through 1981. In 1976, 4892 wards were paroled, compared with 4200 in 1981. This represents a decline of 14.1% or 692 wards (Table 2-1).

A rough indicator of parole rates can be obtained by comparing the number of wards paroled in a given year to the average daily population (ADP) in that year and in the previous year. Both years are included, since wards paroled in 1981, for example, were most likely admitted in either 1980 or 1981. Using this formula, we see a parole rate of 54% in 1976 drop steadily to 39% by 1981. Thus, a smaller and smaller portion of YA wards were released each year, resulting in a larger remaining population.

In each of the years under review, the number of "other" wards released from the institutions exceeded those received, thus having an overall effect of reducing the average daily population.

2.3 SUMMARY OF POPULATION TRENDS

The two basic factors which contributed to institutional overcrowding during the years 1976 through 1981 were:

- an increase in the number of new commitments, primarily from the juvenile courts, and
- a decrease in the number of parolees released from YA.

Although the analysis of population trends identifies the sources of overcrowding, it does not explain the causes. The following sections explore possible causes of both the increase in new commitments and the decline in parole releases.

Sections 3 and 4 explore factors which might account for the increase in commitments to YA. We focused primarily on factors related to juvenile court commitments. Less emphasis was placed on the adult justice system, since adult court commitments declined during the six-year period that we studied, and thus their impact was less significant.

In Section 5, we examine reasons for the decline in YA parole releases. The number of wards released in a given year is highly dependent upon the amount of time that wards spend in YA facilities. Thus we focused on factors which affect length of stay, such as ward characteristics and parole policies.

SECTION 3

DEMOGRAPHIC AND JUDICIAL PROCESSING TRENDS:
IMPACT ON YOUTH AUTHORITY COMMITMENTS

We have seen more new commitments to YA in recent years than in the past (Table 2-1). We have identified several factors which may have contributed to this increase, such as increases in the youth population, increases in the number of individuals entering the judicial system (i.e., offenses and arrests), more serious offenders, or harsher sentencing practices of judges. Each of these factors is addressed individually in the following sections.

3.1 JUVENILE AND YOUNG ADULT POPULATION*

One popular explanation of the recent increase in the nationwide prison population is that the number of people in the at-risk age group increased. We found that between 1976 and 1981, the overall population of juveniles aged 10 through 17 declined by 5.5%. At the same time, the overall population of young adults (aged 18 through 20) increased by 9.6%. Combined, the at-risk population of youth aged 10 through 20 declined by 1.3% between 1976 and 1981. The total at-risk population (aged 10 through 20) declined in all but two of our nine selected counties. In Madera, the overall population increased by approximately 13% and in San Bernardino by less than 0.1%. However, neither of these counties experienced any significant increase in commitments to YA.

YA also prepared population estimates as part of an unpublished report outlining preliminary results of their Long-Range Population Projection Project. Their data show that California's young male population (aged 13 through 20) increased slightly (1.8%) between 1975 and 1978 and declined slightly between 1978 and 1980 (0.2%). However, between 1975 and 1980 the male population in this age group increased by 28.6% among Hispanics, by 2.6% among Blacks, and by 59.2% among the "Others" category. At the same time, the White young male population declined by 11%.

Thus, despite the very slight overall increase among 13- through 20-year-old males, the ethnic composition shows dramatic changes. The impact of this change is apparent when commitment rates per 1,000 felony arrests are compared among ethnic groups. Blacks averaged 34.5 commitments per 1,000 total felony arrests between 1977 and 1980, while Hispanics averaged 28.3 and Whites 19.2.

*See Appendix A, Tables A-1 through A-10, for detailed population and arrest statistics.

Although time constraints did not allow us to do a similar population analysis for our nine selected counties, it is likely that the growing population of young, minority-group males is reflected in the kinds of offenders seen in the juvenile and adult justice systems. Furthermore, the fact that an increasingly larger portion of YA wards are minorities undoubtedly reflects this shift in population.

3.2 JUVENILE AND YOUNG ADULT ARRESTS

Since an arrest represents the "point of entry" into the judicial system, changes in numbers of arrests may affect the volume of cases that are eventually committed to YA by juvenile or adult courts. We analyzed arrest statistics for juveniles under age 18 and those aged 18 through 20 to identify increases which might account for the increased YA commitments. We excluded arrests for status offenses since these cases could not be committed to YA beginning in 1977. Detailed arrest statistics are shown in Appendix A, Tables A-1 through A-10. According to state law, individuals can be committed to YA by juvenile courts for offenses committed prior to age 18, and by adult courts for offenses committed prior to age 21. For this reason, we limited our analysis of arrest statistics to the BCS age categories of "under 18" and "18 through 20".

JUVENILES. Overall, juvenile arrests (under 18 years old) for law violations declined by 11.2% from 1976 through 1981, with felony arrests declining by 9.7% and misdemeanors by 12.1%.

The more serious felony arrests are categorized as either offenses against the person (homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault) or offenses against property (burglary, theft, auto theft). From 1976 to 1981, arrests for offenses against persons remained nearly stable, while property arrests declined by 12.3%.

Looking at the nine counties, there is no clear relationship between arrest trends and commitment rates. For example, six of the nine selected counties committed a larger number of juvenile court cases to YA in 1981 than in 1976 (Alameda, Kern, Los Angeles,* Madera, Sacramento, and Santa Clara). Yet, of these six, only Kern and Madera made a greater number of felony or misdemeanor juvenile arrests. The remaining four counties handled fewer felony and misdemeanor juvenile arrests in 1981 than in 1976. Furthermore, of the three counties that reduced their commitments to YA, two were handling considerably more felony and misdemeanor juvenile arrests in 1981 than 1976.

*Since 1976 data are not available for Los Angeles, we used 1977 for this county only.

Our analysis does not show any clear or consistent link between the number of juvenile arrests for law violations handled by a county and the number of juvenile court commitments to YA. It appears that certain counties (e.g., San Bernardino, Fresno) handle more of their delinquent offenders without relying on commitment to YA than other counties.

YOUNG ADULTS. While arrests of juveniles for law violations declined, those of young adults aged 18 through 20 increased. Statewide, between 1977 and 1981 (data not available for 1976), felony arrests increased 20%, while misdemeanor arrests increased 30% among this age group. Serious felonies--personal and property offenses--increased by 16% and 20% respectively. During this same time period, the overall population of 18- through 20-year olds increased by only about 6%. Thus it seems that arrests rose disproportionately to the population at-risk. This may be partially a function of the changing ethnic composition of young males (13 through 20).

3.3 JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM PROCESSING OF OFFENDERS

At each point in California's justice system, decisionmakers have various options for handling a case, some of which are more formal or restrictive than others. It may be that law enforcement departments, probation departments and courts are referring more of their cases to the next level in the system. For example, a young burglar who would have been handled within the police or probation department during times of more "lenient" judicial processing may now be referred on to the courts where he or she risks a YA commitment.

3.3.1 Overview

Juvenile and young adult offenders are processed by either the juvenile or adult courts, depending upon their age, the offense with which they are charged, and whether or not they are currently on probation. The juvenile court has the authority to handle most cases involving juveniles under age 18 unless the juvenile is charged with certain serious offenses that may be "waived" to the adult court. Offenders age 18 and over are prosecuted in adult courts.*

In the juvenile justice system, offenders are processed through three major system components: law enforcement, probation, and courts. We examined decisionmaking in each component based on an assessment of BCS data and/or interviews with justice system officials (see Appendix A, Tables A-11 through A-20). While the analysis of arrests was limited to law violations, the probation

*Juvenile courts may handle older youths who are already under probation supervision and violate a condition of probation.

and court statistics include status offenses and law violations. Faced by time constraints, we were unable to exclude status offenses from the latter analysis. The BCS data were examined for California as a whole, as well as nine selected counties. Less emphasis was placed on decisionmaking in the earlier components of the system (i.e., law enforcement and probation) than in later components (i.e., courts), since courts have a greater impact on institutional population.

3.3.2 Law Enforcement

Law enforcement represents the first major point where the system can exercise an option as to how a youth is handled. Dispositions can range from referral to probation or juvenile court to informal counseling and release. These decisions are often based upon consideration of the seriousness of the offense and prior record of the offender as well as general concerns, such as the number of available alternatives and legislative mandates. Often, dispositional decisions are highly subjective and may be governed by past practices.

If the judicial system is viewed as a funnel, law enforcement exerts the first control over how large the flow through the system will be (i.e., how many juveniles will be processed "officially"). We found the number of juvenile arrests in more serious offense categories decline or stabilize. But did law enforcement referrals to probation intake also decrease?

Law enforcement dispositional data are limited by ambiguity in two of the categories reported in the BCS data: "handled within the department" and "referred to probation/juvenile court". Each can include a wide range of actual dispositions, ranging from informal to formal. For example, a case that is referred to probation/juvenile court may be diverted to a non-judicial program or filed in the juvenile court. Thus, the specific dispositional choice is masked by the general reporting category.

With these limitations in mind, it is valuable to assess trends over time in the "official" versus "unofficial" handling of juvenile arrests by law enforcement.

(a) Statewide Data

While the number of cases handled by law enforcement decreased by 23% between 1976 and 1981, the number of cases referred to juvenile court or to probation declined by only 18%. Thus, we see the proportion of cases referred to juvenile probation or to court increasing over time. Fewer cases were being handled informally within the department, even though the volume of cases referred for more formal processing by juvenile probation or court declined.

(b) County Data

The proportion of cases referred to juvenile court or probation by law enforcement varies widely between counties. We found that while Los Angeles and San Bernardino referred only about half of their arrests to juvenile court or probation, Madera, Sacramento and San Francisco Counties referred nearly all of their cases to probation or juvenile court. The remaining counties ranged between 70% to 80% referrals.

Several counties show substantial changes in decisionmaking over time. Fresno, Sacramento, San Bernardino, and San Francisco Counties now handle a greater number of cases at the law enforcement level and refer a smaller portion to juvenile court or probation. This contrasts with Alameda, Los Angeles, Madera, and Santa Clara Counties which are handling fewer cases within their departments and referring a larger number of arrests to juvenile court or probation. It must be cautioned, however, that the category "to juvenile court/probation" as reported by BCS represents a broad range of dispositional options, including actual referral to probation as well as diversion.

3.3.3 Juvenile Probation

Once referred to probation, a number of dispositional options are available. BCS categorizes these options as: closed/transferred, informal probation, or petition filed.

Prior to 1977, the decision whether to file a case was made solely by the probation department. However, when AB 3121 was implemented in 1977, the responsibility for filing juvenile petitions was transferred to the district attorney (DA). The role of the probation officer was limited to recommending the filing of a petition. A detailed discussion of AB 3121 is contained in Section 7. BCS continued reporting petition filings as probation department decisions until 1981, when new reporting categories were developed. For the sake of simplicity, we have included all of the narrative on petition filing in this section on juvenile probation, with the understanding that DAs took over this responsibility in 1977.

AB 3121 also encouraged alternative means of handling status offenders by mandating the deinstitutionalization of these offenders (i.e., prohibiting commitment to YA) and allowing for more probation and community services. Since the implementation of the bill, arrests of status offenders declined. Thus, the cases received by probation departments and juvenile courts are more likely to be delinquent offenders. As discussed in the following sections, this had an effect on overall dispositional patterns, since delinquent offenders are likely to receive more severe dispositions than status offenders.

Cases handled by juvenile probation are classified as either "initial" or "subsequent" referrals. Initial referrals involve juveniles not already on probation, while subsequent referrals include those currently under the probation department's jurisdiction. Since certain categories of subsequent referrals were not reported to BCS prior to 1980, this category is excluded from our analysis of probation over time.

(a) Statewide Data

The number of initial referrals handled by probation departments declined 15% between 1976 and 1981, reflecting a reduction in referrals by law enforcement departments. Of these, slightly more than half were closed or transferred to another jurisdiction. Approximately one-third were petitioned to the juvenile court, while the remaining were placed on informal probation.

The filing of a petition is the most severe dispositional option available to probation departments (and DAs), subjecting the offender to a possible YA commitment by the courts. We compared the use of this option in each year from 1976 through 1981. We wanted to identify any changes that occurred in probation or DA practices and determine whether these changes affected the caseload of the juvenile courts (i.e., by petitioning greater numbers of juveniles to the courts).*

According to the BCS probation statistics, the most significant change was in 1977, when 35% of all initial referrals were petitioned to juvenile court. This represents the highest petition rate of the six years analyzed. While the volume of initial referrals handled in 1977 was smaller than in 1976, the number of petitions to juvenile court was considerably larger. This high petition rate put a greater number of juveniles on the track to possible YA commitment. This was, of course, the year in which status offenders were deinstitutionalized and responsibility for filing petitions was transferred from probation officers to DAs.

In each year since 1977, the petition rate remained at a significantly lower level, with the number of initial referrals petitioned to court declining or stabilizing. Overall, the number of initial referrals petitioned to juvenile court declined by 15% between 1977 and 1981.

(b) County Data

Comparison of the nine counties indicates that, like law enforcement departments, the dispositional practices of probation departments varied widely from county to county. In 1981, the

*See Appendix A. Table A-11 contains figures for California as a whole, while Tables A-12 through A-20 compare county statistics.

proportion of cases petitioned to juvenile court ranged from 18% to 46%. Seven counties petitioned less than one-third of their initial referrals to juvenile court (Alameda, Fresno, Madera, Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Francisco, and Santa Clara). The remaining two counties, Kern and Los Angeles, sent slightly less than 50% to juvenile court. These variations in decisionmaking between counties do not appear to reflect differences in the volume of initial referrals handled by the department.

Changes in decisionmaking over time are apparent in many of the counties. In three of the counties, the number of initial referrals to probation declined. In these three counties, the number placed on informal probation also declined, although the number petitioned to court remained stable (Santa Clara) or increased (Alameda, Sacramento).

The most pronounced changes in the number of initial referrals petitioned to court occurred in Fresno and Kern Counties, with increases of 61.5% and 64.6% respectively. In Fresno, this reflected a substantial decline in the number of cases closed or transferred, while in Kern it reflected a dramatic decline in the number of cases placed on informal probation.

San Bernardino and San Francisco County Probation Departments handled a larger number of initial referrals, with more of the referrals placed on informal probation and fewer petitioned to juvenile court. In Madera, the reverse is true since fewer cases were placed on informal probation and more were petitioned to court.

Los Angeles County Probation Department received fewer initial referrals, handling them in approximately the same manner throughout the six years.

3.3.4 Juvenile Court

The final stop in a youth's processing through the juvenile justice system is the court. This component has the greatest potential impact on institutional population, since it is at this point that a decision can be made to commit a youth to YA. Minors can be referred to juvenile court on either an initial or subsequent petition. This is consistent with initial and subsequent referrals in probation departments, discussed above. Thus, those referred to the court on initial petitions were not, at the time of the referral, already under the court's jurisdiction.

Between 1976 and 1981, more and more YA commitments involved initial petitions. In 1976, 20% of all YA commitments were upon initial petitions. This figure rose to 33% in 1981. There are two explanations for this increase. First, initial petitions were handled more harshly, resulting in greater numbers of commitments to YA. This was at least partially a result of the

increasing seriousness of offenses. Second, the numbers of subsequent petitions remained more stable, with fewer commitments to YA being made.

(a) Initial Petitions

The number of initial petitions handled by juvenile courts statewide increased in 1977, then declined in each of the succeeding years. By 1981, the volume of cases had dropped by approximately 15% from the 1977 high. This reflects the declining number of initial referrals petitioned to the courts by juvenile probation.

In the previous section, we indicated that California's probation departments petitioned a considerably larger number of initial referrals to juvenile court in 1977 than in the previous year. However, the court data do not show as large an increase. According to BCS staff, it is likely that this discrepancy is a result of the time lag between probation disposition and court disposition.

Juvenile courts have a number of options for handling initial petitions, ranging from non-punitive to extremely punitive. Typically, judges base their decisions upon factors such as the offender's prior record, seriousness of offense and age. The BCS categorizes these options as follows: (1) those cases closed or transferred, (2) those cases remanded (sent along) to adult court, (3) those cases sent to probation (non-ward or ward), and (4) those cases committed to YA.

CLOSED OR TRANSFERRED. During the six years we studied, the relative use of each dispositional option shifted. First, the proportion of petitions that were sustained* increased, as fewer cases were closed or transferred. The portion of cases closed or transferred varied from a low of approximately 16% in Kern County to a high of nearly 34% in Fresno.

Taking into consideration the fact that yearly fluctuations may have been random, only four of the nine counties showed significant decreases in the proportion of cases closed or transferred: Los Angeles, Madera, Sacramento, and Santa Clara. In the remaining counties, the proportion of cases handled in this manner was similar for the years 1976 and 1981.

*In the juvenile court, a petition is "sustained" if the judge determines that the allegation against a juvenile is true. Thus, the "portion of petitions that are sustained" is equivalent to conviction rates in the adult court system.

REMANDED TO ADULT COURT. The juvenile court also has the option of remanding a particular case to adult court for processing. Sections 602 and 707(b) of the Welfare & Institutions Code, discussed elsewhere in this paper, set the criteria for those cases which can be transferred to adult courts.

PROBATION. BCS' third dispositional option is probation. Analysis of this option is particularly important since the use of probation is affected by state-mandated cuts in county criminal justice budgets. Statewide, the proportion of initial petitions given probation by juvenile courts increased from 64% in 1976 to 74% in 1981. However, since the number of initial petitions filed declined during this time period, the actual volume of cases sentenced to probation on an initial petition declined slightly (1.4%).

As might be expected, the individual counties vary in the frequency with which they utilize probation. Kern County used this option most often (in 84% of all initial petitions), while San Francisco County used it least often (65%). Between 1976 and 1981, three of the counties were fairly consistent in their use of probation (Alameda, San Bernardino, and San Francisco). Fresno and Kern Counties utilized probation slightly less often than they did in 1976. The remaining counties used probation more frequently than before.

YOUTH AUTHORITY. The final dispositional option reported by BCS is commitment to the Youth Authority. Although very few initial petitions were committed to YA, the proportion increased between 1976 and 1981 (from 0.6% to 1.4%). Therefore, even though juvenile courts were handling fewer initial petitions, a larger number resulted in a YA commitment. The number of cases increased by over 90%, from 328 in 1976 to 625 in 1981.

The individual counties varied in their use of YA commitments. In four of the counties, only about 0.5% of the initial petitions resulted in YA commitment (Fresno, Kern, San Bernardino, Santa Clara). Madera and Sacramento Counties referred approximately 1.5% of their initial petitions to YA, while the remaining counties were as high as 2% to 3%.

Several important county-level changes occurred between 1976 and 1981. In seven of the counties, the volume of cases was relatively small and fluctuated widely from one year to the next. For these counties, therefore, we cannot assume an overall trend of either increasing or decreasing commitments to YA.

The remaining two counties, however, did appear to be committing an increasing number of cases to YA. Alameda climbed from seven commitments in 1976 to 50 in 1981. Similarly, Los Angeles increased from 104 to 277 YA commitments in the same period. These two counties also exhibited the greatest increase in the

proportion of all initial petitions that received a disposition of YA.

(b) Subsequent Petitions

BCS statistics regarding juvenile court processing of subsequent petitions are less informative than those regarding initial petitions for two reasons. First, BCS figures for Los Angeles County are underreported. BCS data show that the number of subsequent petitions handled by Los Angeles juvenile courts dropped nearly 70% between 1976 and 1978. While the county probation department has indicated to BCS staff that their current reporting of cases is accurate, data that we obtained directly from the county juvenile court administrator indicates there is a substantial amount of underreporting. Thus, we must exclude Los Angeles from our analysis of subsequent petitions.

Second, BCS instituted a new reporting system in 1979. Prior to the new system, two of the dispositional options for subsequent petitions were "prior status maintained" and "formal probation initiated". After 1979, subsequent petition dispositions were reported as either "non-ward" or "informal probation". We did not do an over-time comparison of probation dispositions for subsequent petitions since the new and old categories are not comparable. The remaining categories have remained the same: (1) closed/transferred, (2) remanded to adult court, and (3) commitment to YA. Only these categories were included in our analysis.

STATEWIDE. When looking at statewide figures, the changes seen in the handling of subsequent petitions, both over time and between counties, are markedly different from those seen in the handling of initial petitions. While the number of subsequent petitions processed by juvenile courts remained nearly stable, the dispositions varied from year to year. In 1977, a significantly larger portion of subsequent petitions were committed to YA than in the previous year, resulting in an increase of approximately 200 commitments. Fewer cases were dismissed, transferred, remanded, or placed on probation in that year. Significant changes also occurred in 1979 and 1981, when the proportion and number of petitions committed to YA declined. Overall, the number of YA commitments declined by 5% between 1976 and 1981.

SELECTED COUNTIES. We found similarities between court processing of subsequent petitions statewide and in the eight counties studied. In six of the counties (Fresno, Kern, Madera, Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Francisco), the number and proportion of cases closed, or transferred increased. In 1976, relatively few cases (between 2 and 25) were closed or transferred in these

counties. But by 1981, they each disposed of up to 276 cases in this manner.*

In five of the counties (Alameda, Fresno, Kern, San Bernardino, and San Francisco), the number and proportion of youths committed to YA noticeably increased between 1976 and 1977. This increase was followed by a decline from 1978 through 1981. Subsequent petitions committed from the remaining three counties (Madera, Sacramento, and Santa Clara) have remained relatively stable.

3.4 ADULT JUSTICE SYSTEM PROCESSING OF OFFENDERS

Youths handled as adults through the adult court system follow a path similar to that in the juvenile system: from law enforcement disposition, through filing by the district attorney, and finally to disposition and sentencing by the courts. At each of these stages, changes in dispositional practices can affect the volume of cases ultimately sentenced to YA.

Data available from BCS regarding the adult system do differ from those available for the juvenile system. Adult system data are collected through the Offender-Based Transaction Statistics (OBTS) reporting system, which includes information on dispositions (at the police, prosecutor, lower court, and superior court levels of the adult justice system) of adult felony arrests.

3.4.1 Data Limitations

There are several inherent limitations of adult justice system data collected by BCS. We found that the data do not represent the total number of felony arrests or dispositions in any given year. BCS figures include only 70 to 95% of all dispositions, depending upon the year. Since the completeness of the data varied each year, we could not compare the volume of cases handled at various levels within the adult justice system over time. We did, however, identify the volume of arrests made each year.

Secondly, the data reflect dispositions made in a given year as a result of adult felony arrests made that year or in previous years. Thirdly, the completeness of the data varies from county to county, and by year within each county. Because of these variations, as well as the small volume of cases handled in some of the counties studied, we did not do an analysis of dispositional practices by county. Finally, the age categories shown in BCS do not correspond exactly to the ages of offenders eligible for commitment to YA. We can look only at dispositions for offenders under age 20.

*The increase in case closures at the state and county level may be a result of inaccurate reporting by several counties under the old BCS system.

Because of these limitations, the BCS data can only provide a rough indication of the effects of adult system dispositional practices on the YA overcrowding problem.

Based on data provided by YA, we know that approximately 2000 wards were admitted each year upon adult court convictions. The majority of these wards were committed by superior courts. In 1981, less than 2% were committed from the lower courts. Thus, we have limited our court processing analysis to superior courts.

3.4.2 Law Enforcement and District Attorney Dispositions

Table 3-1 shows the disposition of young adult (under 20)* felony arrests. Since at least 1976, we see a progressively larger portion of these arrests being released outright by law enforcement or rejected by the district attorney (i.e., complaints not filed). Thus, a smaller portion of the young adult felony arrests resulted in the filing of a complaint. Also, a progressively larger portion was filed as a felony rather than as a misdemeanor. It appears, then, that law enforcement and district attorneys are becoming more selective and choosing the more serious cases for court prosecution.

Table 3-1
DISPOSITION OF ADULTS ARRESTED ON FELONY CHARGES
BY LAW ENFORCEMENT AND DISTRICT ATTORNEYS,
AND ADMISSIONS TO YA FROM ADULT COURTS
1976-1981

Data Category	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Under 20 years						
TOTAL ARREST DISPOS						
Law Enf Releases	9.7	12.0	13.0	13.9	13.5	13.5
Complaints Denied	14.5	15.7	15.3	14.6	15.9	16.1
Complaints Filed	75.7	72.3	71.7	71.5	70.6	70.4
% misdemeanor	56.9	53.8	54.6	55.6	53.7	51.2
% felony	43.1	46.2	45.4	44.4	46.2	48.8
TOTAL ADMNS FROM ADULT COURTS	2185	1974	1922	1884	2028	1994

3.4.3 Adult/Criminal Court Dispositions

It is difficult to assess the effects of superior court sentencing trends on YA population, since BCS data do not tell us how many cases were adjudicated in the courts. Furthermore, BCS information only shows what proportion of the adult court cases were sentenced to YA, not how many.

*Age at time of commitment offense.

YA data does show how many wards were actually admitted based on adult court convictions. However, this is not directly comparable to court statistics, primarily because: (1) YA data do not indicate how many cases were sentenced by adult courts but rejected prior to YA admission; (2) our BCS data do not include dispositions among 20-year-olds (i.e., only show under 20); and (3) an individual may be tried in more than one county, resulting in multiple commitments being counted by BCS, but only one admission being counted by YA.

Table 3-2
DISPOSITION AND SENTENCING OF
YOUNG ADULT FELONY ARRESTS HANDLED IN SUPERIOR COURTS,
AND ADMISSIONS TO YA FROM SUPERIOR COURTS STATEWIDE,*
1976-1981

Data Category	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Under Age 20						
CONVICTION RATE**	90.1	90.5	90.2	91.9	92.2	92.2
DISTRIBUTION OF SENTENCES						
YA	25.5	22.7	23.2	23.0	23.1	24.8
% chg from prev yr		-11.0	2.2	-0.9	0.4	7.4
Prison	6.8	7.4	7.8	9.6	9.0	14.4
Probation	15.1	12.1	9.9	9.6	8.1	6.8
Probation with jail	47.7	52.5	55.6	54.2	56.2	51.5
Jail only	3.5	4.1	2.6	2.8	1.9	2.0
Other	1.4	1.3	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.5
YA ADMNS FROM SUP CT	2057	1895	1857	1845	2001	1968
% change from prev yr		-7.9	-2.0	-0.6	8.5	-1.6

In spite of these limitations, we can derive several findings from the BCS sentencing statistics (shown in Table 3-2). First, prison sentences were meted out with increasing frequency--a trend which is well-documented by the overcrowded conditions in our adult prisons. Sentences that combine probation and jail were also used with increasing frequency up until 1979 and 1980, but then declined. Probation alone, and jail alone, were both used less frequently in recent years than in 1976. Also, since 1977, YA was used increasingly more often. In 1981, one-fourth of the young adults arrested on felony charges and convicted in superior courts were sentenced to YA.

*YA admissions reflect the actual number of wards accepted by YA. Conviction and sentencing data include cases that may have been rejected by YA prior to admission.

**Percent of dispositions that resulted in a conviction.

There is no clear relationship between the superior court sentencing trends identified and the number of resultant YA admissions. We would expect changes in the proportion of cases sentenced to YA to coincide with changes in the number of admissions. Yet, this is not the case for superior court commitments. Between 1976 and 1981, the number of YA admissions resulting from superior court convictions declined by 4%. However, this was not associated with a decline in the proportion of all cases that were sentenced to YA.

There are several possible reasons why we did not find a clear relationship between superior court sentencing practices and YA admissions. First, there may be yearly fluctuations in the number of cases handled by superior courts that are reflected in the number sentenced to YA. Second, the number of admissions to YA is partially controlled by YA's screening policy. This policy is described in the following paragraphs.

3.4.4 Youth Authority Screening Policy

Prior to admission, adult court cases are screened by YA. Initially, the screening process was designed primarily to identify individuals who had previously been in YA and were recommitted on a new offense. It was felt that these individuals would not "materially benefit" from further efforts of YA (Palmer, August 1982).

Beginning in July 1981, a new screening policy was implemented in order to reduce overcrowding in the institutions. This policy applied only to adult court commitments aged 18 and older and allowed YA to reject certain individuals based on the lack of available space.

The number of adult court commitments rejected by YA increased dramatically in the past few years. Prior to 1980, approximately 30 to 40 cases were rejected each year. Between January 1980 and July 1981, rejections totalled approximately 15 to 20 per month. Once the new policy was implemented in July 1981, the number rose to approximately 60 to 70 per month. For the first three months after the new policy was implemented, over 40% of all adult court cases aged 18 years or older were rejected and returned to the courts for resentencing.

The rejection policy thus reduced the number of adult court admissions. The offenders rejected were usually older, with longer records of prior arrests. Many were commitments. Those adult cases accepted tend to be younger and less sophisticated.

In September 1982, population pressures eased, and YA was able to rescind its policy of rejecting cases based on a lack of available space. However, YA continues to reject criminal court cases if they feel the offender cannot materially benefit from the training or treatment.

Unfortunately, as we attempted to study admission rates from adult courts, these rejection practices obscured our analysis of BCS sentencing data. It was not possible to determine which of the commitments described in the BCS data were actually accepted by YA. Thus, we could not relate changes in YA admissions directly to changes in court dispositional practices.

It is important to realize that the newer rejection policy was only in effect from July 1981 through September 1982. Our data, therefore, did not show the full effect of the policy. Although YA currently is rejecting fewer cases, they can exert a great deal of control over the number of adult court admissions in the future.

3.5 SUMMARY OF PROCESSING TRENDS IN THE JUVENILE AND ADULT JUSTICE SYSTEMS

Analyzing dispositional practices in the juvenile and adult justice systems, we identified changes which have occurred over the past six years and which relate to the increasing numbers of YA commitments.

Juveniles and young adults are committed to YA from either the juvenile or adult courts. For individual cases, the likelihood of a commitment from juvenile court is very small compared to adult court. Among juvenile court petitions that are sustained (i.e., convicted), only 1.9% of initial petitions and 6.5% of subsequent petitions were committed to YA in 1981. In superior courts, approximately 25% of the convictions of young adult offenders (under 20 years) arrested on felony charges resulted in a YA sentence.

These variations undoubtedly reflect the seriousness and prior record of offenders handled in juvenile versus adult courts. Also, our adult court analysis only included offenders arrested on felony charges. However, they also reflect the differing philosophies of the two courts. Juvenile court proceedings are generally designed for the purpose of rehabilitation and treatment. Ideally, commitment to YA is reserved for the most serious cases and the cases for which other alternatives have failed. Adult courts focus on punishment. Although the philosophies of the two systems have become more similar in the last few years, statistics on dispositional practices still attest to the differences between the two.

3.5.1 Population and Arrests

We found that in 1980, 89% of juvenile court first commitments were less than 18 years old at the time of commitment. Among adult court first commitments, 86% were 18 to 20 years old when they were committed. First commitments, particularly those from

juvenile courts, contributed heavily to the increased YA population. Thus, we looked for increases in population and arrests among these age groups that might have contributed to the increased commitments.

We identified the following statewide trends between 1976 and 1981:

POPULATION OF JUVENILES (aged 10 through 17) declined by 5.5%, while the population of young adults (aged 18 through 20) increased by 9.6%. Combined, the overall at-risk population of youth aged 10 through 20 declined by 1.3% between 1976 and 1981.

Estimates prepared by YA compare the population of young males (aged 13 through 20) in different ethnic groups. Despite a very small decline in the total 13- through 20-year-old male population between 1975 and 1980, Blacks increased by 2.6%, Hispanics increased by 28.6%, "Others" increased by 59.2%, and Whites declined by 11%. The impact of this change is apparent when commitment rates per 1,000 felony arrests are compared among ethnic groups: Blacks averaged 34.5 commitments, while Hispanics averaged 28.3 and Whites 19.2.

JUVENILE ARRESTS (under 18) for law violations declined by 11.2% from 1976 through 1981, with felony arrests declining by 9.7% and misdemeanors by 12.1%. At the same time, offenses against persons (homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault) remained nearly stable, while property arrests (burglary, theft, auto theft) dropped by 12.3%.

YOUNG ADULTS. While arrests of juveniles declined, those of young adults aged 18 through 20 increased. Statewide, between 1977 and 1981 (data not available for 1976), there was a 20% increase in felony arrests and a 30% increase in misdemeanor arrests among this age group. Serious felonies--offenses against persons and against property--increased by 16% and 20% respectively. Since the population in this age group only rose by 6% between 1977 and 1981, arrests rose disproportionately.

Based on our findings, we concluded that although the sheer numbers of youth in the 10 through 17 age group and the volume of arrests declined, less obvious changes occurred. It is likely that the growing population of young (13 through 20), minority-group males is reflected in the kinds of offenders seen in the juvenile and adult justice systems. The fact that an increasingly larger portion of YA wards are minorities undoubtedly reflects this shift in population.

3.5.2 Juvenile Justice System

During the six years analyzed, there were several prominent changes in the volume and processing of cases at each level of

the juvenile justice system, some of which have affected YA's population.

- Law enforcement: The number of arrests handled by law enforcement agencies declined by 23%. A larger portion of those arrested were referred on to probation.
- Probation: Probation departments handled 15% fewer initial referrals in 1981 than in 1976. A greater portion of initial referrals were petitioned to juvenile court in 1977 than in 1976, a portion which decreased in each of the succeeding years.
- Courts: The courts handled 15% fewer initial petitions and 2% more subsequent petitions in 1981 than in 1976. The proportion of control petitions that were sustained and the YA commitment rate for initial petitions increased, resulting in even more YA commitments each year. For subsequent petitions, the commitment rate increased significantly in 1977. Since 1977, both the number and rate of commitments have declined. (Findings for subsequent petitions are based on 57 counties, since reliable data were not available for Los Angeles.)

Based on these findings, increased juvenile court commitments to YA were not a result of a mere increase in the number of cases processed through the system. Rather, it was a function of changes in the way that the system responds to the cases that are received. Of particular importance is the increasing severity of court dispositions for initial petitions. These changes are at least partially a result of increasing seriousness of offenses. (Based on data for 57 counties, the number of felony cases among initial referrals to probation and initial petitions to juvenile court increased between 1976 and 1981.)

3.5.3 Adult Justice System

As the population of youths aged 18 through 20 increased between 1977 and 1981, the number of arrests in this group also rose. Between 1976 and 1981, several changes in adult system processing occurred. BCS data indicate that law enforcement officials and district attorneys became more selective, choosing only the more serious cases for court prosecution. In the courts the conviction rate increased. The proportion of convicted offenders sentenced to YA declined in 1977, then increased in the succeeding years.

YA screens cases committed from the adult courts prior to their acceptance. Thus, adult court commitments are dependent not only upon judicial processing decisions, but also YA rejection policies. Since rejection can be modified based on population pressures, this can be a primary factor in determining the level of commitments from adult courts.

SECTION 4

FACTORS RELATED TO PROCESSING TRENDS

We have already identified several trends indicating more formal handling of offenders by the juvenile justice system. Law enforcement is referring a greater portion of arrests to probation; district attorneys are petitioning a greater portion of initial referrals to juvenile courts; and finally, courts are committing a greater portion of initial petitions to YA. In order to learn why these trends are occurring, we analyzed BCS data and questionnaire responses from juvenile justice system officials

4.1 OVERVIEW OF FACTORS RELATED TO CASE DECISIONMAKING

As part of our questionnaire, we asked probation officers, district attorneys, and juvenile court judges to rate the importance of various factors in influencing their decisions to either recommend or file a petition to juvenile court, or to recommend or make a commitment to YA. A summary of their responses is presented in Appendix A, Table A-22.

Among all three groups of respondents, two factors were consistently rated as being most important: seriousness of the offense (i.e., use of weapons, infliction of injury), and prior record of the offender. We assessed changes over time in these two offender characteristics, as well as several others, through the responses to other items on the questionnaire and through BCS data. This analysis, presented in Sections 4.2 and 4.3, allows us to determine whether changes in these two most important factors contributed to the increasing severity of dispositions, particularly at the court level.

Other factors consistently rated as being important included: legislative mandates, existence of supportive family ties, availability of adequate supervision through county probation and juvenile's attitude or demeanor. Probation officers and district attorneys also felt that the juvenile's age and substance abuse history, as well as departmental policy and public demand or opinion, were relatively important. The judges did not rank these as being important.

One factor ranked as relatively unimportant by all groups was the availability of local alternatives, such as county-run or community-based programs. That is, the groups we interviewed did not indicate that a lack of local programs or facilities would influence their decision to send an offender to YA. This reflects recent court decisions which forbid commitment to YA solely because of a lack of local alternatives.

4.2 SERIOUSNESS OF JUVENILE OFFENSES

We found that one of the primary determinants of decisions made at each level of the juvenile justice system is the seriousness of the offense. Typically, an offender charged with a more serious offense is more likely to be handled "formally" than one charged with a less serious offense.

For example, in 1980, felony offenses were disposed of in the following manner: 75% of arrests were referred to probation, 51% of initial referrals were petitioned to court, and 1.1% of initial petitions were committed to YA. In the same year, misdemeanors were handled as follows: 60% of arrests were referred to probation, 21% of initial referrals were petitioned to court, and 0.3% of initial petitions were committed to YA.

Since there is considerable difference between judicial handling of serious and less serious offenses, we compared types of offenses processed by law enforcement, probation and juvenile courts between 1976 and 1981. Thus, we could determine whether or not changes in the seriousness of offenses are a cause of the increasing number of commitments to YA. We used BCS statistics and information obtained through questionnaires for the analysis.

4.2.1 BCS Statistics

Table 4-1 shows the distribution of offenses at each level of the juvenile justice system from 1976 through 1981. The biggest change in the offender population handled by the system occurred in 1977 when AB 3121 was implemented. AB 3121 encouraged counties to develop alternative, non-judicial programs for status offenders. (Status offenses are acts that are only considered an offense when committed by a juvenile, such as curfew violation, runaway, and incorrigibility.) Thus, the number of status offenses handled at each level of the system dropped considerably in 1977, and continued to decline in the following years.

Table 4-1
DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENSES HANDLED BY LAW ENFORCEMENT,
PROBATION, AND JUVENILE COURTS,
1976-1981

Offense Category	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	% Chg 76-81*
LAW ENFORCEMENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	-23.7
Felony	29.1	32.6	35.1	34.0	34.0	34.5	-9.7
Agst Persons	4.6	5.2	5.4	5.7	5.9	6.1	-0.3
Agst Property	19.6	22.7	24.3	22.6	22.4	22.6	-12.3
Misdemeanor	48.1	53.7	53.9	55.6	55.4	55.4	-12.1
Status Offense	22.8	13.7	10.9	10.4	10.6	10.2	-66.0
PROB-INIT REFS**	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	-10.2
Felony	30.6	34.6	35.3	35.5	36.0	37.2	9.3
Agst Persons	4.0	4.7	4.8	5.2	5.1	5.1	14.7
Agst Property	21.5	24.7	25.4	24.4	24.8	24.8	3.8
Misdemeanor	43.6	51.5	53.9	55.5	55.3	54.7	12.8
Status Offense	25.9	13.9	10.7	9.0	8.6	8.1	-71.8
JUV CT-INIT PETS**	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	-3.5
Felony	52.5	57.8	57.7	57.9	59.5	62.3	14.5
Agst Persons	9.2	10.3	9.8	10.6	10.7	11.1	17.2
Agst Property	36.4	40.9	47.9	39.9	41.4	42.8	13.4
Misdemeanor	30.6	36.7	38.6	39.2	38.3	36.1	13.6
Status Offense	16.9	5.5	3.7	2.9	2.2	1.6	-91.0

With the drop in the number of status offenses (see AB 3121 discussion), felonies and misdemeanors account for more of the offenses handled by the system. In probation departments and juvenile courts, felonies continue to make up an increasingly larger portion of all cases. Misdemeanors, on the other hand, peaked in 1979 and have declined since that time.

The extreme right-hand column on Table 4-1 shows the change in the number of cases recorded in each offense category, comparing 1976 with 1981. The total volume of initial referrals to probation and initial petitions to juvenile court declined as a result of the diminishing number of status offenses handled by the juvenile justice system. However, the incidence of both felony and misdemeanor cases rose.

A crucial question arising from the data shown in Table 4-1 is: How can the incidence of felonies and misdemeanors decline among law enforcement cases, while increasing among probation and juvenile court caseloads? The answer relates to the screening

*Percent change is calculated based on the number of cases in each offense category.

**Excludes Los Angeles County.

process that occurs throughout the juvenile justice (i.e., the less serious offenses tend to be diverted out of the system, while the more serious offenses are processed formally). It appears that although felony and misdemeanor arrests declined, a greater portion of these cases were referred on to probation departments and juvenile courts. (It should be cautioned that the discussion of offense seriousness only reflects initial referrals and petitions, and Los Angeles County data is not included.)

4.2.2 Questionnaire Responses

One of the areas addressed in the questionnaires was the change in offender characteristics between 1976 and 1981. We looked at three categories related to the seriousness of the offender: gang involvement, sophistication of the offender/offense, and offense seriousness. We asked respondents to indicate whether offenses were, for example, more serious, less serious, or unchanged from five years earlier. Table 4-2 summarizes their responses.

Table 4-2
QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES:
CHANGES IN CHARACTERISTICS OF OFFENDERS HANDLED BY
PROBATION OFFICERS, DISTRICT ATTORNEYS,
AND JUVENILE COURT JUDGES BETWEEN 1976 AND 1981

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Prob Offcers</u>	<u>DAs</u>	<u>Judges</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Age:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Older	10.0	5.6	0.0	6.3
Younger	25.0	50.0	40.0	37.5
Same	65.0	44.4	60.0	56.3
Race:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
More minorities	55.6	35.7	50.0	47.4
Less minorities	5.6	0.0	0.0	2.6
Same	38.9	64.3	50.0	50.0
Gang Involvement:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
More	85.0	83.3	80.0	83.3
Less	0.0	5.6	10.0	4.2
Same	15.0	11.1	10.0	12.5
Offense Seriousness:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
More serious	95.0	84.2	81.8	88.0
Less serious	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Same	5.0	15.8	18.2	12.0
Sophistication of Offender/Offense:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
More sophisticated	75.0	78.0	90.9	80.0
Less sophisticated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Same	25.0	21.1	9.1	20.0
Prior Record:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
More extensive	55.6	88.9	55.5	68.9
Less extensive	0.0	5.6	22.2	6.7
Same	44.4	5.6	22.2	24.4
Number of Respondents*	20	18	11	49

Although the responses varied from probation officers to district attorneys and juvenile court judges, the majority of the respondents felt that offenders today are more likely to be involved in a gang, to commit more serious offenses, and to be more sophisticated than in the past. Many respondents cited more frequent violence, brutality, callousness, and use of weapons as indicators of increased seriousness and sophistication of offenders.

*A few respondents did not respond to one or more of the six items shown in Table 2.

4.3 OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS: AGE, RACE, AND PRIOR RECORD

In addition to the questions regarding offender seriousness, we asked respondents to indicate whether the age, race, or prior record of offenders had changed between 1976 and 1981. Their responses are shown in Table 4-2.

The majority of respondents indicated that in 1981, they were handling juvenile offenders who were either the same age or younger than those seen in 1976. In terms of race, approximately half of the respondents indicated a greater portion of offenders were minorities, while slightly less than half felt racial characteristics had not changed.

As discussed above, nearly all respondents felt an offender's prior record was a primary influence in their decisionmaking. When asked whether this characteristic had changed between 1976 and 1981, about 55% of the probation officers and the judges indicated that prior records were more extensive. The remaining probation officers felt the prior records were unchanged, while judges were evenly divided between "less extensive" and "unchanged." The responses of DAs were more consistent: 89% felt the prior records of juvenile offenders were more extensive in 1981 than in 1976.

4.4 FACTORS RELATED TO COUNTY-LEVEL PROCESSING TRENDS

Based on BCS data, we identified county-level variations and trends in judicial processing that occurred between 1976 and 1981. We asked probation officers and juvenile court judges about these variations and trends in the questionnaires and telephone interviews.

4.4.1 Probation Officer Responses

One of the questions that we asked probation officers was whether their county petitioned a greater or lesser portion of its probation referrals to juvenile court in 1981 than in 1976. Of the 17 officers that responded, 11 indicated a greater portion were filed, 2 indicated a lesser portion were filed, and 5 felt there was no change.

Among those respondents who indicated an increase in the portion of cases referred to court, the reasons most commonly mentioned were:

- Offenses are more serious, partially because a larger number of the minor offenses are screened or diverted prior to probation; and
- More of the offenders have a prior record.

We also asked probation officers to indicate whether they recommended YA commitment in a larger or smaller portion of cases in 1981 than in 1976. Half of the respondents indicated they recommended YA commitment in a greater portion of cases, while the other half felt their recommendations had remained unchanged.

The reason most commonly cited for recommending YA commitment in a larger portion of cases was that they were dealing with more serious offenders. Respondents in one county indicated that there were more psychologically disturbed individuals, but a lack of local mental health facilities. Another respondent felt that the policy of his department allowed for greater use of YA in more recent years.

4.4.2 Juvenile Court Judge Responses

Our BCS statistical analysis indicated wide variations between the commitment rates of various counties, and changes that had occurred between 1976 and 1981. In order to find out why these variations and changes occurred, we asked juvenile court judges about commitment practices in their own counties.

Respondents from counties with relatively high commitment rates emphasized the particularly serious nature of offenders in their community. In the counties which had relatively low commitment rates, juvenile court judges consistently highlighted two important reasons for the low rates:

- The counties make a concerted effort to find local placements, using YA only as a placement of last resort.
- The counties have good local alternatives available.

Similarly, judges who were able to reduce their commitment rates in the past five years attributed it to on-going efforts to divert offenders to community programs, only sending the most hardened offenders to YA.

The most commonly mentioned reasons for higher commitment rates since 1976 were: (1) a new presiding judge, and (2) AB 3121. Respondents indicated that the new presiding judge in their particular county was harsher in dealing with juvenile offenders. AB 3121 affected commitment rates by screening out status offenders prior to the court level, leaving the judges with only the more serious offenders (i.e., the offenders who were more likely to be committed to YA).

In general, juvenile court judges were very concerned about the financial problems in their counties and the threat to local programs and services. All of the judges indicated that local alternatives were used to the fullest extent possible, and that

many facilities were overcrowded. They indicated their frustration at the reduction or elimination of good local programs, and feared that future reductions will be even more drastic. Although this was not specifically cited as a cause of YA overcrowding, there is no doubt that when space is unavailable for a juvenile offender at the local level, some other alternative must be found. Unfortunately, YA often represents the only other option.

4.5 SUMMARY OF FACTORS RELATED TO PROCESSING TRENDS

We found that the two most important factors in the decisions made by probation officers, DAs, and juvenile court judges were offense seriousness and offender's prior record. We expected that if these characteristics changed over the course of time, it would be reflected in case decisionmaking trends.

Based on BCS data, we did find that offenses handled by the juvenile justice system have become progressively more serious. This was supported by questionnaire responses from probation officers, district attorneys, and juvenile court judges. Respondents felt that juvenile offenders handled in 1981 were more sophisticated and more frequently involved in gangs than those in 1976. Respondents also noticed a trend toward juveniles with longer prior records.

Probation officers and juvenile court judges indicated that the increasingly serious offenses and longer prior records of offenders are responsible for the high commitment rates. Judges felt the lower commitment rates found in some counties resulted from both the availability of, and concerted efforts to use, local alternatives.

If these responses are indicative of statewide trends, then the juvenile offenders of recent years are quite different from those of 1976: They are more sophisticated, more likely to participate in a gang, and have a more extensive prior record. These changes undoubtedly played a part in the juvenile justice system processing trends that occurred between 1976 and 1981.

SECTION 5

LENGTH OF INSTITUTIONAL STAY, YOUTHFUL OFFENDER PAROLE BOARD POLICY, AND WARD CHARACTERISTICS: IMPACT ON YOUTH AUTHORITY RELEASES

A major determinant of institutional population is the length of time that wards stay in the institutions. As the average length of stay increases, fewer wards are released on parole. Length of stay is determined by the initial parole consideration date set by YOPB, a date which can be lengthened or shortened depending upon the ward's behavior while in YA custody. Administrative policies of the Youthful Offender Parole Board and ward characteristics also affect parole consideration date.

5.1 OVERVIEW OF INSTITUTIONAL LENGTH OF STAY

The average length of stay (LOS) in YA institutions rose steadily from a low of 10.9 months in 1977 to a high of 13.1 months in 1981 (see Table 5-1). The 1981 figure represents the highest LOS in the history of YA. YA's 1980 Annual Report found this increase to be a result of YOPB policy changes, rather than changes in the characteristics of wards (California Department of the Youth Authority, April 1981a, p. 28).

Table 5-1 shows that LOS climbed steadily between 1977 and 1981 for both juvenile and adult court commitments. The LOS also increased for wards serving their first commitment and for parolees who were returned to YA on a new commitment. However, LOS for parolees returned without a new commitment declined during the years 1976 through 1981.

Table 5-1
INSTITUTIONAL LENGTH OF STAY (IN MONTHS) FOR WARDS
RELEASED TO PAROLE DURING CALENDAR YEARS 1976 TO 1981

Type of Commitment	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Total Commitments	12.0	10.9	11.3	12.0	12.9	13.1
Juvenile Court	12.0	10.9	11.4	12.0	12.8	12.9
Adult Court	12.0	11.0	11.2	12.0	13.1	13.3
First Commitments	n/a	11.2	11.9	12.6	13.7	13.9
Parole Returns With New Commitment	12.2	10.6	11.1	12.2	n/a	14.1
Parole Returns With- out New Commitment	9.8	9.0	7.0	7.0	n/a	6.7

The major determinant of length of stay is the nature of the commitment offense. Although not shown in the table, misdemeanors carry a considerably shorter LOS than felonies (i.e., 7.6

months and 14.3 months respectively in 1981). And as expected, offenses against the person have a higher LOS than those against property. Thus, variations in LOS associated with other factors often reflect differences in commitment offense. This is particularly true of differences between LOS by ethnic group and age. When commitment offense is controlled, these variations are minimized.

At first glance, it might appear that the changes in LOS are so small as to be ineffectual. Yet, these changes have a dramatic impact on institutional population. The Institutions and Camps Branch of YA estimates that a one-month increase in length of stay is equal to an approximate increase of 400 in the institution population.

5.2 YOUTHFUL OFFENDER PAROLE BOARD

The recent increase in LOS is primarily a function of changes in YOPB policy. In order to better understand YOPB policy, it is necessary to have some background on the composition and role of the Board. It is also important to review the history of regulations that apply to the Board's decisionmaking (contained in Title 15, Division 4, Chapter 5, Subchapter 2, Article 3, California Administrative Code).

5.2.1 The Board and its Procedures

YOPB consists of seven members and ten representatives. Members are appointed by the governor, while representatives are civil service positions.

Each ward committed to YA appears before a Board panel for an initial hearing. Generally, a "regular Board panel", consisting of two members or representatives, handles the hearing. A Full Board panel--consisting of three hearing officers, at least one of which must be a Board member--is convened to hear some of the more serious cases. The most serious cases are heard by a Full Board en Banc, which consists of seven Board members, five of whom must be present for a quorum.

Based on the initial interview, as well as a review of the case history report prepared by YA staff, commitment papers, and other file materials, the Board sets a "parole consideration date" (PCD).

The PCD is the date by which the Board expects the ward to be ready for parole, although it is not a fixed release date. It may later be modified by decisions to either add or cut time from the ward's "PCD interval". (The "PCD interval" is the time between the ward's admission into YA and the assigned PCD.)

5.2.2 Past Changes to Board Policy

In the past four years, there have been major changes in: (1) the PCD intervals set for various offenses, and (2) the manner in which intervals are determined. The new policy is described thoroughly in a report prepared by YA staff members Zeigler and Ward (July 1980).

Prior to June 1978, the Board had considerable discretion in setting PCD intervals. Although there were guidelines describing four categories of offenses, each with prescribed PCD intervals, the Board had the authority to deviate from the guidelines as much and for whatever reasons as they deemed appropriate.

In June of 1978, a new time-setting policy was established. The new policy listed seven categories of offenses (Board Hearing Categories) in order of seriousness and indicated an appropriate PCD interval for each category. The new policy lengthened the PCD interval for the more serious offenses, often doubling the previously prescribed PCD interval. For example, the most serious offense category under the old policy, which included murder and manslaughter, carried a PCD interval of "3 years or longer". Other serious offenses, such as robbery, rape and assault, had a suggested interval of "1 year or longer". The new policy assigned PCD intervals that were twice these lengths.

The new policy also introduced a more structured method of time setting, minimizing the Board's discretion in determining PCD intervals. The policy specified the amount of time by which a regular Board panel (two members or representatives) could deviate from the guidelines. Deviations greater than those specified required the approval of a "higher level" Board panel (panel consisting of more Board members, as opposed to representatives). The effect of the new policy was to constrain the panel's decisions.

There were two basic reasons for the new policy. First, the public was concerned about due process in the entire judicial system. It was felt that if Board discretion were reduced, wards would be sentenced in a more equal and fair manner. Second, the Board became more responsive to increasing public demand to set longer sentences for more serious offenders. Thus, the new policy was an outgrowth of public pressure for "fairness" in sentencing and harsher response to serious offenders.

Since the new policy was established in 1978, several other changes have been made. The most significant changes occurred in the continuing trend toward increased PCD intervals. For example, in December 1979, PCD intervals for some offenses were increased by as much as one year.

5.2.3 Effects of Board Policy Changes

The net effect of these changes in Board policy has been to increase the average PCD intervals for YA wards. As seen in Table 5-2, the average PCD interval for all YA wards was 10.4 months in 1976 and 16.9 months in 1981. This represents an increase of 6.5 months. Part of this increase in PCD intervals is artificial. Some increase resulted from a change in the method of recording PCD intervals beginning in 1979. Because of the change, the average PCD interval for 1978 is approximately one-half month low, and those for 1977 and 1976 are approximately one month low. The remaining increase, approximately 5.5 months, reflects the changing YOPB policy.

Similarly, the distribution of PCD intervals shifted. Significantly fewer cases are being assigned a PCD interval of nine months or less, while more are being assigned the longer intervals. This, of course, increases the average PCD interval.

Table 5-2
PAROLE CONSIDERATION DATE INTERVALS AT
INITIAL APPEARANCE HEARINGS, 1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
FIRST COMMITMENTS AND PAROLE VIOLATORS:						
Avg PCD interval	10.4	10.7	12.4	15.3	16.0	16.9
Percent Distribution of PCD intervals:						
01-09 months	51.8	49.2	38.5	26.6	22.3	17.4
10-12 months	27.4	27.1	27.6	29.1	30.0	32.0
13-24 months	16.8	20.3	29.4	39.3	41.2	43.0
25 months or more	4.0	3.4	4.5	5.0	6.5	7.6
RECOMMITMENTS:						
Avg PCD interval	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	14.7	15.2

The Board's harsher treatment of the more serious offenses is seen in the average PCD intervals given for various offenses. From 1976 through 1981, PCD intervals for these serious offenses (murder, robbery, assault, sex offenses) increased by the greatest amount, while PCD intervals for less serious offenses increased by a smaller amount or remained stable.

In some cases, the effect of past policy changes is only now beginning to be felt. For example, an offense that drew a three-year sentence prior to the June 1978 changes may now draw an additional two years. For wards committed more recently, these additional years have not yet impacted on institutional population.

5.2.4 Proposed Changes to Board Policy

Changes currently being considered would further affect the institutional population. In early 1982, existing parole consideration date intervals were scrutinized by a committee consisting of four Board members, staff counsel of YA and YOPB, Deputy Secretaries of the Youth and Adult Correction Agency, and YA staff. After an extensive review of existing offense categories, specific offenses, assigned PCD's, and levels of decisionmaking, the committee proposed amendments to Board policy.

The committee had the difficult task of weighing the fiscal impact of any changes against the need to protect the public. The committee attempted to strike a balance between these needs by increasing the PCD intervals for the more violent offenses, while decreasing those for certain nonviolent offenses.

Nonetheless, YA staff estimate that if approved and written into the Administrative Code, the proposed changes will increase the Department's bed needs by approximately 100 beds (Ahumada, February 26, 1982, p. 1).

5.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUTH AUTHORITY WARDS

PCD intervals are affected by changes in the characteristics of wards committed to YA. The characteristics that most strongly influence LOS are commitment offense and prior record of the ward. Table 5-3 shows ward characteristics of first commitments between 1976 and 1981.

Table 5-3
CHARACTERISTICS OF FIRST COMMITMENTS TO YA
1976 - 1981

Characteristics	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	% Chg 76-81*
TOTAL FIRST ADMNS	3559	3626	3776	3640	3968	4083	14.7
COMMITMENT OFFENSE							
(% DISTRIBUTION):	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Against Persons	44.3	45.1	46.3	47.8	49.9	49.1	27.1
Murder	3.0	2.6	2.4	2.8	2.9	3.3	26.9
Manslaughter	1.4	1.2	1.0	1.7	1.9	1.8	46.0
Robbery	24.6	23.0	24.9	24.9	25.8	24.7	15.1
Assault & Battery	12.4	14.3	14.2	14.2	14.8	14.8	36.4
Rape	2.4	2.9	2.6	2.9	3.3	3.4	68.7
Kidnapping	0.5	1.1	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.1	138.9
Against Property	42.2	45.4	47.0	46.2	43.5	44.9	22.0
Burglary	25.6	27.4	26.8	25.4	25.6	27.8	24.3
Theft (ex. auto)	8.3	8.3	9.1	10.4	9.0	9.1	25.8
Auto Theft	6.5	7.5	9.0	8.8	7.0	6.3	12.1
Forgery & Checks	1.0	1.2	1.1	0.6	0.9	0.6	-30.6
Arson	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.1	51.6
Drug	3.5	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.1	-31.2
Other Offenses	10.0	7.0	4.3	3.6	4.3	3.9	-54.8
PREVIOUS COMMITMENTS**							
(% DISTRIBUTION):	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	43.6	38.1	37.5	35.1	39.0	44.6	
One	30.0	31.3	30.9	30.6	29.8	27.9	
Two	15.8	17.0	19.3	20.2	17.3	14.9	
Three or more	10.6	13.6	12.3	14.1	13.9	12.5	
PRIOR CONVICTIONS OR SUSTAINED PETITIONS							
(% DISTRIBUTION):	n/1	n/1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	n/a	n/a	13.6	14.5	15.9	19.6	
1-4	n/a	n/a	55.5	61.1	60.2	61.4	
5-7	n/a	n/a	19.9	18.6	18.1	13.8	
8 or more	n/a	n/a	11.0	5.8	5.8	5.1	

*Percent change is calculated based on the number of wards committed for each offense category.
**Prior county level commitments.

5.3.1 Commitment Offense

Looking at Table 5-3, it appears that commitment offenses have become more serious over time. The number of wards committed for offenses against persons increased by 27%, while those committed for offenses against property increased by 22%.

Similarly, the proportion of all first commitments involving offenses against persons has climbed steadily, while first commitments for drug offenses or escapes from county camp or juvenile hall have declined markedly. The proportion of first commitments for offenses against property has not changed in a consistent manner during the past six years.

Some of the reasons for this shift in nature of commitment offense are related to legislative changes. Probation Subsidy and CJSSP encouraged counties to maintain less serious offenders in their county. AB 3121 prohibited the commitment of status offenders to YA beginning in January 1977. Finally, penalties for use of marijuana were reduced. The effects of legislation are discussed more fully in Section 6.

5.3.2 Prior History

There is very little information compiled on the prior history of YA commitments. In order to better understand why more wards are committed, we wanted to know both the number of prior arrests, petitions, or convictions sustained by the ward, and previous efforts by the county to rehabilitate or punish the offender.

Among YA staff, it is generally believed that wards committed to YA typically have a prior history of criminal behavior, and that the counties have made every attempt to deal with the offender at the local level. If this is true, then YA is being used as it should be, as the last available alternative for dealing with juvenile offenders.

The only information that YA compiles regarding prior history of wards is the number of previous commitments to county facilities and the number of prior convictions.* More detailed information is maintained in individual case history files. However, since the information is not compiled in any way, it could not be used in this study.

During the years prior to 1980, the percentage of first commitments without prior county commitments declined. Thus, the wards received by YA were more and more likely to have been committed

*For purposes of this discussion, the term "prior convictions" includes convictions in adult courts and sustained petitions in juvenile courts.

to a county facility at some prior time. In 1980, this trend was reversed--an increasing portion of first commitments had never been committed to a county facility. The percentage of first commitments without prior convictions increased. The proportion of wards with between one and four prior convictions remained about the same, while the proportion of those with five or more convictions declined.

According to YA, the primary reason for these changes is YA's rejection policy. That policy, applied by YA to adult court commitments, tends to reject those wards with a longer history of criminal and judicial involvement. The rejection policy has been used most extensively since 1980; thus, wards admitted in recent years are more likely to be younger and have fewer prior commitments or convictions.

Regardless of changes that occurred in the last few years, there are still strong indications that counties are attempting other means of rehabilitation prior to committing the ward to YA. In 1981, over half of the newly admitted wards had experienced a prior county commitment, and more than 8 out of 10 had a previous conviction.

We found that often the data do not accurately represent the entire criminal history of YA wards. What is missing is an accounting of any involvement with the justice system not resulting in a court conviction. Since very few arrests ever result in a conviction, it is likely that YA wards have had far greater criminal or judicial involvement than is reflected in the present analysis. Unfortunately, this kind of data is not compiled by YA.

5.3.3 Effects of Ward Characteristics on Institutional Length of Stay

It is difficult to assess the quantitative impact of changes in ward characteristics on average PCD intervals and lengths of stay. It is likely that the wards committed to YA in recent years are more sophisticated than in the past. According to YA data, their offenses are more serious, although they are less likely to have experienced a prior county commitment, and less likely to have sustained a previous court conviction. Under the new YOPB time-setting policy, these more serious offenders must be assigned a longer PCD interval. Furthermore, these changes may indicate to YOPB that wards seen in recent years are a greater threat to public safety, and thus warrant a longer institutional stay.

5.4 SUMMARY OF LENGTH OF STAY, BOARD POLICY, AND WARD CHARACTERISTICS

Based on analysis of YA data, we found that a primary cause of overcrowding in the past six years is the ever-increasing length

of time that wards spend in the institutions. In 1976, the average length of stay was 12.0 months, compared with 13.1 months in 1981. Since a one-month increase in length of stay is equal to an increase of nearly 400 in the institution population, this change contributes heavily to overcrowding.

The two factors identified as causes of this increased length of institutional stay were: (1) changes in Youthful Offender Parole Board policy, and (2) changes in ward characteristics. Major changes in Board policy occurred in June of 1978 when the PCD interval for many of the more serious offenses nearly doubled. Since that time, minor changes have been implemented. Additionally, changes to the Administrative Code are now being considered that will further aggravate the overcrowding problem.

The offenses for which wards were committed to YA became more serious over the past six years. Between 1976 and 1981, the number of wards committed for offenses against persons increased by approximately 27%, while those for property offenses increased by 22%. YA data also indicate that wards were committed with less extensive prior records. These changes in ward characteristics reflect changes in the overall offender population. Also, certain types of offenders were committed more frequently to YA as a result of legislative changes discussed in the following section.

SECTION 6

LEGISLATIVE AND BUDGETARY CONSIDERATIONS

As we have shown above, the problem of institutional overcrowding at YA in the last few years cannot be explained solely by changes in youth population or arrests. It is closely related to changes in judicial processing, primarily at the juvenile court level. These judicial changes are partially accounted for by changes in the types of offenders processed through the juvenile justice system.

We must also look at legislative and legal changes, as well as budgetary constraints, when discussing the increased severity of dispositions. This section is based in part on documents prepared by the California Child, Youth and Family Coalition, and Arthur D. Little, Inc.

6.1 LEGISLATIVE CHANGES

While California now has a determinate sentencing system for adult offenders, California's juvenile justice system operates on different principles. These principles are carried out through the use of indeterminate sentencing. In addition, another section, W&I Code Section 726, affects the length of institutional stays faced by juveniles by providing that minors may not be incarcerated in excess of the maximum term of imprisonment, which could be imposed upon an adult convicted of the same offense.

The current "get-tough-on-crime" attitude has manifested itself through dozens of legislative measures increasing penalties or disallowing probation (i.e., mandatory incarceration) for various crimes tried in the adult courts. The indeterminate system utilized in California's juvenile courts has not been similarly affected. Juvenile justice officials, however, are undoubtedly aware of the "prevailing winds" in the State Capitol. The Legislature has not passed measures to dictate the period of time a ward must spend in YA institutions or make commitment to YA mandatory. However, bills which would toughen up on juvenile offenders have been introduced. For example, one bill would have made commitments to YA equivalent to CDC commitments for purposes of sentence enhancements based upon prior prison terms.

6.2 AB 3121: CHANGES IN JUVENILE COURT PROCEDURES

AB 3121, passed by the Legislature in 1976, became effective January 1, 1977. This law changed the handling of juvenile offenders. The new law:

". . . was designed to encourage alternative approaches to dealing with status offenders (Section 601s) by mandating the deinstitutionalization of Section 601s and

allowing for more probation and community services. AB 3121 also changed the juvenile court's handling of criminal offenders (Section 602s). . .by: (1) introducing a prosecuting attorney to file all Section 602 petitions and attend all hearings; (2) requiring rules of evidence in juvenile proceedings; and (3) revising hearing presumption regarding fitness to ease the movement of 16- and 17-year-old violent offenders to adult court." (CYA, January 1980a, p. i).

The enactment of this law reflected the prevailing attitude of "getting tough" on criminals. In terms of YA overcrowding, the two most significant features of AB 3121 were the decriminalization of status offenders and the introduction of district attorneys (DAs) into juvenile court proceedings. The law transferred responsibility for the filing of Section 602 petitions from probation officers to DAs, mandated that the DA act as prosecutor and representative of the people in adjudicatory hearings, and provided DAs the opportunity to participate in dispositional hearings.

The district attorney's new role in juvenile court substantially impacted the nature and outcome of juvenile proceedings. Prior to 1977, Section 602 petitions were filed by probation officers, who, presumably, worked with the judge to identify the most "rehabilitative" disposition for the juvenile. With the introduction of district attorneys, the orientation of juvenile proceedings shifted. According to researchers assessing the impact of AB 3121, the DAs "were more zealous prosecutors than the probation officers, and. . .their prosecutions led to more Section 602 adjudications and more orders for secure custody." (Schneier, 1982, p. 8). This was a result not only of the introduction of DAs in juvenile proceedings, but also the noticeable lack of any mandates or financial support for defense representation. Thus, the "infusion of adversary skills on the prosecution side in 1977 was not matched by an infusion of new talent or skill on the defense side." (Steinhart, February 1980, p. 12.)

When YA studied AB 3121, they came to slightly different findings regarding the handling of Section 602 offenders. Their statewide data showed an increase in the number of petitions handled by juvenile courts following enactment of the law, but no changes in dispositional practices. However, for a Northern California sample of juvenile cases, Section 602 dispositions became more severe for the more serious offenses.

Although these research findings do differ, it is clear that AB 3121 has had its intended effect: It has dealt more harshly with serious juvenile offenders. This would account for some of the increase in YA commitments since 1977.

6.3 PROPOSITION 8

Proposition 8, passed by California voters in June 1982, states that "[n]otwithstanding any other provision of law, no person convicted of murder, rape or any other serious felony, as defined in Section 1192.7 of the Penal Code, committed while he or she was 18 years of age or older shall be committed to Youth Authority."

The constitutionality of Proposition 8 was thrown into doubt when challenges were brought based upon the "single subject rule". The California Supreme Court, in a swiftly-rendered decision, held that this measure did not violate the "single subject rule". The Court refused to rule, however, on the constitutionality of the separate sections of the initiative. Therefore, it is possible that a case will arise concerning the provision cited above. The Court will rule, at that time, on the section's constitutionality.

This provision, if implemented as written, will dramatically affect commitments to YA, as many of those who would have been committed to YA from the criminal (adult) courts will be sent to CDC. Thus, CDC's population will increase by the amount of the YA population decrease. YA originally estimated that their FY 83-84 ending population would be 6017. YA estimates that Proposition 8 will reduce that figure by approximately 600, resulting in an ending population of 5417. That figure is well below the 5872 wards confined in YA at the end of 1981.

6.4 BUDGETARY CONSTRAINTS

Many counties in California are faced with a variety of budget problems, often resulting from reduced state funding (e.g., Proposition 13). We assessed the effects of these budgetary problems on juvenile and criminal justice activities through a review of literature and individual questionnaire responses. (More detailed discussion on budgetary constraints can be found in Arthur D. Little, Inc. [November 1981] and Steinhart [February 1980].)

6.4.1 Literature Review

Proposition 13, passed by California voters in June 1978, placed severe restrictions on local revenue sources available to counties. Prior to this, cities and counties derived a larger portion of their funding from property tax revenues. Taxation rates could be adjusted based on the budgetary needs of the county. In FY 1978, over half of county discretionary funds and over one-quarter of city revenues were derived from property tax revenues.

Limitations placed on property tax rates by Proposition 13 have severely restricted the ability of counties to generate revenues.

In an effort to avert fiscal crisis, the state initially provided "bailout" funds to counties. Because of this, and because of a healthy state economy, basic criminal justice functions were preserved during the early years of Proposition 13.

The serious impact of Proposition 13 is now apparent. The budgets of many probation departments have been severely cut. According to Tim Fitzharris, Executive Director of the California Probation, Parole and Correctional Association, average budget cuts have been approximately 11% (Drager, July 1979, p. 242). In its FY 1981 budget, the Los Angeles County Probation Department was cut by approximately 15% or \$15 million.

Resources for capital funding were also severely reduced. Several counties were unable to maintain or construct jail facilities that comply with licensing standards.

The budget cuts following Proposition 13 are cited as a factor in minimizing the effects of the County Justice System Subvention Program. "Representatives of local government often note that the potential impact of the CJSSP in terms of new or expanded justice system services was virtually negated by the enactment of Proposition 13. . ." (Arthur D. Little, November 1981, p. III-14). State bailout funds were essential to preserve existing, bare-bones basic criminal justice services (i.e., police, courts, corrections). Minimal resources were available for the development of the local level, community-based alternatives to incarceration envisioned in the Subvention Program.

6.4.2 Questionnaire Responses

Seeking firsthand knowledge of the effects of budget cuts on juvenile justice system activities, we asked probation officers and juvenile court judges about the financial situation in their counties.

PROBATION OFFICERS. We asked probation officers whether their counties had experienced budget cuts, staff reductions, or increased caseload sizes between 1976 and 1981. The respondents were nearly unanimous in emphasizing the drastic budget cuts that have occurred in their departments. In 6 of the 7 counties that responded, at least one individual indicated that caseload size increased. In 5 of these counties, the increases were a direct result of staff reductions, while the sixth county cited increasing referrals as the cause. The caseloads in two counties increased from 75 to 120 and from 70 to 130, while a third county recently lost 250 probation officers, and a fourth lost 16% of its staff.

Budget cuts and staffing reductions of this magnitude clearly affect both the quantity and quality of supervision provided to probationers. Several counties were forced to eliminate

essential services, such as informal probation and rehabilitative casework. Another detrimental outgrowth of increased caseload size is that an increasingly greater portion of a probation officer's time must be devoted to paperwork (e.g., court-ordered reports, filing of petitions), thus leaving even less time for supervision.

JUVENILE COURT JUDGES. All of the juvenile court judges interviewed emphasized the budget problems that their counties are experiencing. Many expressed their frustration at the loss of the local programs which were seen as less costly, and more effective, than YA.

Many judges indicated that in their counties, the most serious budget problems are yet to be experienced. Several stated that the county boards of supervisors are now in the process of implementing further reductions in services and programs.

The reduction in probation services and local programs can affect YA commitments in several ways. First, if probation officers are unable to provide informal probation, they may be more inclined to petition the case to court, thus subjecting the juvenile to the possibility of a YA commitment. Second, we found that the "availability of adequate supervision through county probation" was a relatively important factor in juvenile court judges' sentencing decisions. Specifically, this was ranked as seventh out of 20 factors. Thus, as caseloads increase and supervision time decreases, judges may be more inclined to commit a juvenile to YA. Finally, if local facilities/services are overburdened or eliminated completely, counties may have nowhere to turn other than to state facilities.

6.5 PROBATION SUBSIDY: FISCAL INCENTIVES FOR LOCAL SENTENCING ALTERNATIVES

Since 1965, California has tried several means of providing counties with financial incentives to retain offenders at the local level. The first effort, the Probation Subsidy Program, was initiated at a time when California's juvenile population, arrests, and commitments to YA were increasing dramatically. In 1965, the number of first commitments to YA had reached an all-time high of 6189, resulting in a need for additional institutional capacity. (Some of the information in this section is based on Griffiths, 1981, and Washburn, June 1978.)

The Probation Subsidy Program was designed to decrease the use of state correctional institutions by providing financial subsidies for local probation services.

"If a county reduced its commitments during a given year below an 'expected number of commitments' (arrived at by determining the past commitment performance over a

five-year period), that county was reimbursed in accordance with the number of hypothetical state commitments treated in the home community. The more that counties reduced their commitments to state institutions the more they were reimbursed." (Griffiths, 1981, p. 2.)

There is little doubt that the Subsidy Program reduced commitments to state facilities, at least temporarily. This was particularly true for juvenile court commitments to YA. First commitments dropped from 4648 in 1965 to only 1464 in 1971. Female commitments dropped even more substantially, from 980 in 1965 to 223 in 1973. While the counties retained the younger, less serious offenders at the local level, YA received the older and more seriously delinquent youths. As the juvenile court commitment rate dwindled to about 30% of what it was prior to Probation Subsidy, YA no longer needed additional institutions. The available bed space allowed YA to transfer older wards who had previously been housed at the California Department of Corrections to YA facilities. This, too, effectively increased the average age of YA's institutional population by about three years, from 16 to 19.

In addition to changing the types of offenders committed to and housed in YA, Probation Subsidy led to an increase in the average length of institutional stay from 9.4 months in 1965 to 12.7 months in 1975. This was an outgrowth of two factors: (1) institutional staff no longer had the population pressures which had previously forced the release of wards in order to make room for new admissions, and (2) there was a disproportionate increase in wards committed for more serious offenses, as counties retained those charged with lesser offenses. As the length of stay increased, the daily population also increased.

Unfortunately, the positive effects of the Subsidy Program diminished over time. The reduction in commitments peaked between 1971 and 1973, followed by a gradual increase in commitments. The same trend occurred with regards to another goal of the Subsidy Program: to provide more even administration of justice. Prior to the Program, there were wide sentencing discrepancies between counties. The Program intended to "even out" differences in commitment rates through its financial incentives. This goal was achieved during the early years of the Program, until 1972-73. However, with the passage of time, counties shifted toward their previous commitment rates and the discrepancies reappeared.

By 1974, criticism was mounting against the subsidy law. Opponents charged that it discouraged counties from sentencing serious offenders to state correctional institutions. Law enforcement pointed out that the reduction in state commitments placed a heavier load on their agencies. In lieu of going to YA or prison, offenders were likely to receive a combination jail

and probation sentence. It was felt that this led to more crime as a result of their presence in the community.

Additionally, the fixed subsidy of \$4,000 for each reduced commitment did not keep pace with inflation. As the cost of providing local probation services increased, the subsidy became less of a financial incentive for retaining offenders at the local level. Finally, there was criticism of the provision that Subsidy monies could only be used for probation services, and not for prevention or diversion activities.

6.6 COUNTY JUSTICE SYSTEM SUBVENTION PROGRAM

In response to these criticisms, the Subsidy Program was replaced by the County Justice System Subvention Program (CJSSP) in July 1978 (enacted by AB 90 and AB 2091). The provisions of these bills are contained in Article VII, Division 2.5, Chapter 1, Welfare and Institutions Code. (Arthur D. Little, Inc., conducted a thorough evaluation of CJSSP, resulting in the publication of numerous reports. We found these reports useful in preparing this section. See also work by David Steinhart of the California Child, Youth and Family Coalition.)

The program has two underlying philosophical features:

- (1) Counties must remain below a prescribed rate of juvenile and adult commitments to state correctional institutions in order to receive Program funds. Serious offenders, specified in W&I Code, Section 1812, are excluded and not charged to the county's commitment level.
- (2) Counties decide for themselves how to best use funds. They are encouraged to develop local sentencing alternatives for less serious offenders rather than committing them to already overcrowded state correctional institutions.

The Subvention Program was designed to work in much the same manner as Probation Subsidy. Counties maintaining appropriate commitment rates receive funding for a wide range of criminal justice activities. Like Probation Subsidy, the new Program attempts to encourage counties to retain local custody of convicted offenders (Steinhart, February 1980, p. 13). Other goals of the Program include: (1) protecting society from crime and delinquency, (2) encouraging greater selectivity in the kinds of offenders retained in the community, (3) reducing the number of offenders reentering the local judicial systems, and (4) caring for status offenders.

In 1979, the first year of the Program, counties received a total of \$55 million. By 1982, the annual allocation was approximately \$62 million. Although these Subvention monies were minimal in comparison to the total state and local operating costs of the

justice system, they were badly needed at a time when local funding has been reduced by Proposition 13.

Overall, the Subvention Program has not reduced commitments to state facilities. Comparing commitments to state institutions prior to 1978 and during the first two years of the Program, Arthur D. Little, Inc., found that 8 of their 10 selected counties actually experienced increases in commitments.

The major increases, however, have been to California Department of Corrections (CDC) rather than to YA. In FY 1979-80, 7 of the 10 counties experienced a reduction in YA first commitments as compared with the four years prior to the Subvention Program. Statistics compiled by YA show that first commitments declined by approximately 4% in 1979, the first complete year of the Subvention Program, but then increased during the following two years.

Other evaluations of the Subvention Program concluded that it has done little to reduce commitments to YA. According to the California Children, Youth and Family Coalition, there are a number of reasons for this failure. First, AB 90 calculates the adult and juvenile commitment rates together. Counties with excessive adult commitments may be disqualified from receiving subvention monies, thus removing the financial incentive to reduce juvenile commitments. Second, counties have wide discretion in allocating Subvention monies. Because of local probation cutbacks, resources typically are allocated to existing, essential criminal justice functions rather than community-based alternatives to incarceration. Special interest groups often challenge the local determination of the use of Program funds, feeling that they have not received their "fair share" of the monies.

Many counties have found it difficult to stay below their prescribed commitment rate in an era of increasingly severe public attitude toward crime and pressure for more prison sentences. According to evaluations conducted by Arthur D. Little, Inc., there were substantial increases in crime and commitment rates in the five years prior to implementation of the Subvention Program. For example, the offense rate per 100,000 population for the seven major offenses increased by 13%. First commitments to YA rose by 25.8%, while first commitments to CDC increased by 74%. These changes coincided with a shift toward increasingly violent and serious offenses.

Additionally, the legislative intent of AB 90 (the encouragement of local sentencing alternatives) conflicts with recent legislation which mandates state imprisonment for certain offenses. Bills passed since the inception of California's determinate sentencing law generally increased the punishment for criminal activities. These bills expanded the number of offenses for which probation and suspended sentences are precluded, in effect mandating incarceration. Since many of these offenses are among

those specified in W&I Section 1812, they are excluded from the calculations of county commitment levels. These offenses continue to place a burden on state correctional facilities. One such "free" commitment is robbery with an enhancement. In 1981, 414 cases were committed to YA for enhanced robbery.

Other reasons behind the minimal impact of the Subvention Program relate to existing budgetary constraints at the local, state and federal levels. These constraints are discussed in Section 6.4, Budgetary Constraints.

6.7 SUMMARY OF LEGISLATIVE AND BUDGETARY CONSIDERATIONS

It is apparent that fiscal and political trends of the past six years seriously affect the ability of counties to handle convicted offenders at the local level. This, in turn, affects the level of commitments to both adult and juvenile state correctional facilities. Hoped-for reductions in commitments, like those achieved in the early 1970's as a result of the Probation Subsidy Program, simply have not been realized by its successor, the County Justice System Subvention Program. Although partially a result of flaws in the Program itself, much of the failure must be attributed to budget cuts and a stagnant state economy. The important lesson to be learned from past legislative efforts is that any future attempts to reduce the number of wards committed to YA must incorporate effective means of supporting local sentencing alternatives and, more importantly, maintaining these over a long period of time.

While past legislative efforts to reduce YA commitments did not have any appreciable long-term effects, Proposition 8 may significantly reduce YA's population. If Proposition 8 is implemented as written, YA may receive 600 fewer wards in FY 83-84 than originally estimated.

SECTION 7

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

During the past six years, the YA institutional population increased significantly. At the beginning of 1976, YA institutions housed 4579 wards. By the end of 1981, this figure had jumped to 5876, well over the number of usable* beds of the institutions. Budgeted capacity, however, has been increased to accommodate the larger population.

Our purpose in undertaking the present study was to find out why YA's institutional population has increased so dramatically. We first examined the admissions and releases that occurred among the YA population between 1976 and 1981, in order to assess their relative importance as contributors to institutional overcrowding.

7.1 POPULATION TRENDS IN THE YOUTH AUTHORITY

We identified the following major findings regarding admissions to YA:

- FIRST COMMITMENTS. Between 1976 and 1981, the number of first commitments increased in every year except 1979. In 1976, 3558 wards were newly admitted to the YA, compared to 4083 in 1981. This represents an increase of 14.8%, or 525 wards.

This increase was primarily a result of an increase in the number of first commitments from juvenile courts. Commitments from this source rose by 23.7%, or 417 cases, between 1976 and 1981. The remaining 108 wards (525 minus 417) were accounted for by an increase in first commitments from the adult courts.

- PAROLE RETURNS. While the number of first commitments increased between 1976 and 1981, the number of parolees returned to YA declined slightly. In 1976, a total of 1105 parolees were returned to YA, compared with 1002 in 1981. While the number of parolees returned without a new commitment increased, those with a new commitment declined (i.e., recommitments).

This decline in recommitments was most evident at the adult court level. In the past, the majority of all recommitments came from the adult courts. However, between 1976 and 1981, adult court recommitments dropped from 62% to only 20% of the total number of recommitments (from 380 to 81).

*Excluding beds reserved for special purposes (e.g., detention, hospital).

Recommitments from juvenile courts increased in 1977, but have declined since that time.

The major findings regarding releases from the Youth Authority were as follows.

- PAROLE RELEASES. The number of wards released on parole showed a general decline over the years 1976 through 1981. In 1976, 4892 wards were paroled, compared with 4200 in 1981. This represents a decline of 14.1%, or 692 wards. We found that a smaller and smaller portion of YA wards were released each year, resulting in a larger remaining population.

TO SUMMARIZE, our findings indicated that the two basic factors which contributed to institutional overcrowding during the years 1976 through 1981 were: (1) an increase in the number of new commitments, primarily from the juvenile courts, and (2) a decrease in the number of parolees released from YA. The decline in parole releases is more clearly understood in relation to the increase in average length of stay (see Section 7.6).

Based on our preliminary literature review and discussions with YA staff, we identified a number of likely causes of these trends. These causes can be categorized into seven areas:

Causes related to increased YA admissions

- (1) Demographic trends (juvenile and adult population)
- (2) Judicial processing trends (juvenile and adult justice systems)
- (3) Changes in offender characteristics

Causes related to declining YA releases

- (4) Trends in the length of time that YA wards spend in institutions
- (5) Youthful Offender Parole Board Policy
- (6) YA ward characteristics

Causes related to both increased admissions and declining releases:

- (7) Legislation and budgetary considerations

In general, we placed more emphasis on an analysis of juvenile court commitments than on adult court commitments, since the latter are declining and thus their impact is less. YA's policy of rejecting increasing numbers of adult court commitments (until September 1982) further reduced the effects of processing decisions at this level.

7.2 DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

Between 1976 and 1981, the overall population of juveniles (aged 10 through 17) declined by 5.5%. At the same time, the overall population of young adults (aged 18 through 20) increased by 9.6%. Combined, the population of youth aged 10 to 20 declined by 1.3% between 1976 and 1981.

Estimates prepared by YA compare the population of young males (aged 13 through 20) in each ethnic group. Despite a slight decrease in the total 13- through 20-year-old male population between 1975 and 1980, Blacks increased by 2.6%, Hispanics increased by 28.6%, "Others" increased by 59.2%, and Whites declined by 11%. The impact of this change is apparent when commitment rates per 1,000 felony arrests are compared: Blacks averaged 34.5 commitments, while Hispanics averaged 28.3, and Whites averaged 19.2. It is likely this growing number of young, minority-group males is reflected in the population of offenders seen in the juvenile and adult justice systems. And the fact that an increasingly larger portion of YA wards are minorities undoubtedly reflects the population shifts.

7.3 ARREST TRENDS

We identified several major trends among juvenile and young adult arrests:

- JUVENILES. Overall, juvenile arrests for law violations declined by 11.2% from 1976 through 1981, with felony arrests declining by 9.7% and misdemeanors by 12.1%.

At the same time, arrests for offenses against persons (homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault) remained nearly stable, while property arrests (burglary, theft, auto theft) declined by 12.3%.

- YOUNG ADULTS. While arrests of juveniles declined, those of young adults increased. Statewide, between 1977 and 1981 (data not available for 1976), there was a 20% increase in felony arrests and a 30% increase in misdemeanor arrests among this age group. Serious personal felonies and serious property felonies increased by 16% and 20% respectively. Between 1977 and 1981, population of 18- through 20-year-olds increased by only about 6%. Thus, arrests rose disproportionately.

TO SUMMARIZE, arrest trends reflect population trends: The more serious juvenile arrests are stabilizing or declining, while those of young adults are increasing.

7.4 JUVENILE AND ADULT JUSTICE SYSTEM PROCESSING TRENDS

The likelihood of a commitment to YA from juvenile court is very small when compared to criminal (adult) court. Among petitions sustained in the juvenile court, only 1.9% of initial petitions and 6.5% of subsequent petitions were committed to YA in 1981. In criminal courts, approximately 25% of the convictions of young offenders (under 20 years) arrested on felony charges resulted in a YA sentence.

7.4.1 Juvenile Justice System

Between 1976 and 1981, there were several prominent changes in the volume and processing of cases at each level of the juvenile justice system, some of which have affected YA's population.

- **LAW ENFORCEMENT.** The total number of arrests (law violations and status offenses) handled by law enforcement agencies declined by 23%. A larger portion of those arrested were referred on to probation.
- **PROBATION.** Probation departments handled 15% fewer initial referrals in 1981 than in 1976. A greater portion of initial referrals were petitioned to juvenile court in 1977 than in 1976, a portion which decreased in each of the succeeding years.
- **COURTS.** The courts handled 15% fewer initial petitions and 2% more subsequent petitions in 1981 than in 1976. The proportion of initial petitions that was sustained and the YA commitment rate for initial petitions increased, resulting in even more YA commitments each year. For subsequent petitions, the commitment rate increased significantly in 1977. Since 1977, both the number and rate of commitments have declined. (Findings for subsequent petitions are based on 57 counties, since reliable data were not available for Los Angeles.)

Based on these findings, increased juvenile court commitments to YA were not a result of a mere increase in the number of cases processed through the system. Rather, they were a function of changes in the way that the system responds to the cases received. Of particular importance is the increasing severity of court dispositions for initial petitions. These changes are partially a result of the increased severity of offenses. Based on data from 57 counties, the number of felony cases among initial probation referrals and initial juvenile court petitions increased between 1976 and 1981.

7.4.2 Adult Justice System

Both the population of youth aged 18 through 20 and the number of arrests involving that age group increased during the years 1977 through 1981 (arrest data not available for 1976). The number of cases entering the adult justice system, and the number of cases which could subsequently be sentenced to YA, increased by roughly 20%.

Between 1976 and 1981, several changes in adult system processing of young adult (under 20) felony arrests occurred:

- **LAW ENFORCEMENT AND DISTRICT ATTORNEY DISPOSITIONS.** Law enforcement officials and district attorneys became more selective, choosing only the more serious cases for eventual court prosecution.
- **COURT DISPOSITION.** The conviction rate increased in a fairly consistent manner between 1976 and 1981. Among those offenders who were sentenced by the superior courts: (1) prison sentences were meted out with increasing frequency; (2) sentences that combined probation and jail were used with increasing frequency until 1979 and 1980, but then declined; (3) probation alone, and jail alone, were used less frequently; (4) since 1977, YA was used increasingly more often.

YA screens cases committed from the adult courts prior to their acceptance. Thus, these commitments are dependent not only upon judicial processing decisions, but also YA rejection policies. YA can modify its rejection policies based upon population pressures. A stringent rejection policy in effect from July 1981 to September 1982 resulted in a large portion of the adult court commitments being rejected based on the lack of available space. The reduction in parole returns from the adult courts in 1981 was undoubtedly related to the stringent policy.

Although the policy of rejecting cases based on a lack of available space has been rescinded, YA continues to reject cases which it feels cannot materially benefit from YA training and treatment programs. Thus, YA is able to exert a great deal of control over the number of adult court admissions through its rejection policies.

7.5 OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

Based on our literature review and interviews with juvenile justice system officials, we found that two of the most important factors in determining how a case will be handled are the seriousness of the offense and prior record of the offender. Thus, we anticipated that the juvenile justice system processing trends we identified might be related to changes in these two characteristics.

Through our BCS data analysis, we found that offenses handled by the juvenile justice system have become progressively more serious. This was supported by questionnaire responses from probation officers, district attorneys, and juvenile court judges. Respondents felt that juvenile offenders handled in 1981 were more sophisticated and were more frequently involved in gangs than those in 1976. Also, the combined responses of probation officers, DAs, and juvenile court judges showed a trend toward longer prior records of juveniles. Probation officers and juvenile court judges both indicated that the increasing seriousness and longer prior records of offenders were associated with higher commitment rates.

If these responses are indicative of statewide trends, then the juvenile offenders of recent years are quite different from those of 1976: They are more sophisticated, more likely to participate in a gang, and have a more extensive prior record. These changes undoubtedly played a part in the juvenile justice system processing trends that occurred between 1976 and 1981.

We were also interested to learn why YA commitment rates vary so dramatically from one county to another. Among counties which had relatively high commitment rates, probation officers and juvenile court judges alike cited the particularly serious nature of offenders in their community. In the counties which had relatively low commitment rates, judges highlighted two important reasons for the low rates: (1) the counties make a concerted effort to find local placements, using YA only as a last resort, and (2) the counties have good local alternatives available.

7.6 LENGTH OF INSTITUTIONAL STAY

Based on our analysis of YA data, we found that a primary cause of overcrowding in the past six years is the ever-increasing length of time that wards spend in the institutions. In 1977, the average length of stay dropped to a low of 10.9 months, compared with 13.1 months in 1981. Since a one-month increase in length of stay is equal to an increase of nearly 400 in the institution population, this change contributes heavily to overcrowding.

The two factors identified as causes of this increased length of institutional stay were: (1) changes in Youthful Offender Parole Board policy, and (2) changes in ward characteristics.

- YOPB POLICY. A major change in Board policy occurred in June of 1978 when the PCD interval (i.e., sentence length) for many of the more serious offenses nearly doubled. Since that time, other minor changes have continued the trend to increase PCD intervals. The net effect of these changes has been to increase the average PCD interval for YA wards from 10.4 months in 1976 to 16.9 months in 1981.

Additionally, changes to the Administrative Code are now being considered that will further aggravate the overcrowding problem. YA staff estimates that the proposed changes will increase the Department's needs by approximately 100 beds.

- WARD CHARACTERISTICS. The offenses for which wards were committed to YA became more serious over the past six years. Between 1976 and 1981, the number of wards committed for offenses against persons increased by approximately 27%, while those for property offenses increased by 22%. YA data also indicate that wards were committed with less extensive prior records.

Since a ward's sentence length is based on the commitment offense, we know that the more serious offenses of recent years contributed to the overall increase in average PCD interval.

7.7 LEGISLATIVE AND BUDGETARY CONSIDERATIONS

Fiscal and legislative trends of the past six years seriously affected the ability of counties to handle convicted offenders at the local level. This, in turn, affected the level of commitments to both adult and juvenile state correctional facilities.

7.7.1 Legislative Changes

The current "get-tough-on-crime" attitude has prompted many legislators to introduce bills toughening penalties and mandating incarceration for various crimes tried in the adult courts. However, given the purposes and indeterminate sentencing policy of the juvenile justice system, legislators have not increased the penalties for offenses adjudicated in the juvenile courts (i.e., increase the minimum length of institutional stay, make commitment to YA mandatory). Nonetheless, juvenile justice system officials are not unaware of these pressures to toughen the stance against offenders.

7.7.2 AB 3121

AB 3121, enacted in January 1977, was in large part a response to public demand for reforms in the juvenile justice system. The primary intent of the law was to remove status offenders from the jurisdiction of the juvenile courts and to encourage a harsher response to more serious juvenile offenders.

In terms of YA overcrowding, the most important features of the law were: (1) the deinstitutionalization of status offenders, thus prohibiting commitment to YA; and (2) the introduction of DAs into juvenile court proceedings. The law transferred responsibility for the filing of Section 602 petitions from probation

officers to DAs, mandated that the DA act as prosecutor in adjudicatory hearings, and allowed DAs to participate in dispositional hearings.

The changes mandated by AB 3121 resulted in a more adversarial approach to juvenile proceedings. DAs prosecuted juvenile cases more zealously than their predecessors, the probation officers, leading to more sustained petitions and orders for secure placement among Section 602 (delinquent) offenders.

It is clear that AB 3121 achieved its intended effects: It has dealt more harshly with serious juvenile offenders. This contributed to the increase among juvenile court commitments to YA since 1977.

7.7.3 Proposition 8

Proposition 8, passed by California voters in June 1982 will greatly affect commitments to YA. The initiative provided that persons convicted of specified serious felonies could not be committed to YA if over 18 at the time the offense was committed. Thus, juvenile offenders who would now be committed to the YA would have to be sentenced to CDC. CDC's population, therefore, will increase by an amount equivalent to the reduction in YA's population. YA estimates there will be 600 fewer commitments due to Proposition 8 in FY 83-84 than originally estimated.

7.7.4 Budget

Many counties are faced with a variety of budgetary problems, often resulting from reduced state funding. Proposition 13, passed by California voters in June 1978, severely restricted the revenues available to cities and counties by "freezing" property tax rates at a low level. In an attempt to avert fiscal crisis, the state initially provided "bailout" funds to counties, which helped to preserve basic criminal justice functions.

As state bailout funds diminished and the economy in general stagnated, the full fiscal impact of Proposition 13 became apparent. Our interviews with local juvenile justice system officials showed that many essential services have been curtailed or eliminated entirely. Juvenile court judges, in particular, expressed frustration at the loss of local programs which were seen as less costly and more effective than YA. Unfortunately, if local facilities and services are overburdened or eliminated completely, counties may have nowhere to turn other than state facilities.

7.7.5 Probation Subsidy Program

Since 1965, California has tried several means of providing counties with financial incentives to retain offenders at the local level. The Probation Subsidy Program was initiated at a time

when California's juvenile population, arrests, and commitments to YA were increasing dramatically. The Program provided financial subsidies to counties which stayed under a specified level of commitments to state facilities.

During its early years, the Subsidy Program successfully reduced juvenile court commitments to YA: First commitments dropped from 4648 in 1965 to only 1464 in 1971. However, the positive effects of the Program diminished over time, as county commitment rates shifted toward pre-Subsidy levels.

7.7.6 County Justice System Subvention Program

In response to growing criticism of the Subsidy Program, California initiated the County Justice System Subvention Program (CJSSP) in July 1978. The Subvention Program was designed to work in much the same manner as Probation Subsidy. Counties maintaining appropriate commitment rates received funding for a wide range of criminal justice activities. Like Probation Subsidy, the new Program attempts to encourage counties to retain local custody of convicted offenders.

Statistics compiled by YA show that first commitments declined by approximately 4% in 1979, the first complete year of CJSSP, but then increased during the following two years. Other evaluations of the Program concluded that it has done little to reduce YA commitments. The two principle reasons cited for this failure are:

- (1) Counties with excessive adult commitments may be disqualified from receiving subvention monies, thus removing the financial incentive to reduce juvenile commitments.
- (2) Counties have wide discretion in allocating subvention monies. Because of local probation cutbacks, resources typically are allocated to existing, essential criminal justice functions rather than community-based alternatives to incarceration.

Thus, reductions in commitments achieved in the early 1970's as a result of the Probation Subsidy Program simply have not been realized by its successor, the County Justice Subvention Program. Although partially a result of flaws in the Program itself, much of the failure must be attributed to budget cuts and a stagnant state economy.

The important lesson to be learned from past legislative efforts is that any future attempts to reduce the number of wards committed to YA must incorporate effective means of supporting local sentencing alternatives and, more importantly, maintaining these over a long period of time.

SECTION 1

BACKGROUND

During the past decade, correctional institutions across the country have been plagued by burgeoning inmate populations. Population density and overcrowding can affect inmate behavior. A crowded prison environment, forcing inmates already prone to antisocial behavior into closer proximity to each other, can endanger the physical and psychological well-being of inmates. The prisons at Attica, New York and New Mexico were overcrowded when rioting erupted. Incidents of inmate stabbings and other violence purportedly increase during periods of overcrowding. The concern with crowding and behavior is not a new one. Many studies on the effects of crowding on human and other animal behavior were conducted as early as the 1960s. Systematic research on overcrowding in adult or youth correctional facilities, however, is relatively sparse. This research is essential before policymakers can accurately assess the effects of overcrowding and establish standards to minimize negative effects.

The constitutional prohibition against "cruel and unusual punishment" has fostered many legal actions across the country, as well as here in California. Although YA has not been drawn into these actions, California's county jails and state facilities elsewhere have been sued on the grounds that overcrowded conditions constitute "cruel and unusual punishment".

Class action suits focus upon conditions often associated with prison crowding. The right to protection from violence, the right to basic care, and the right to be free of psychological debilitation are basic to the Constitution's guarantees. Court decisions on the "cruel and unusual punishment" issue concur with the experts in the field, finding that crowded conditions often foster the worst in those incarcerated and in the institutional system itself (Clements, 1979, p. 217). In the juvenile justice system, legal problems are compounded by mandates that juvenile institutions rehabilitate rather than punish.

1.1 PURPOSE OF PART II

In Part I of this study, we assessed the causes of overcrowding in California's Youth Authority, looking at various demographic, judicial, and correctional trends during the past six years. The effects of overcrowding constituted the primary focus for the second phase of our efforts. Part II is designed to answer four general questions:

- Does overcrowding increase stress among wards?
- Does overcrowding increase stress among staff?
- Can YA fulfill its legislative mandate (i.e., the protection of society through rehabilitation of wards) when overcrowded?
- How does overcrowding affect budgetary considerations?

PART II

EFFECTS OF OVERCROWDING

Proposition 8, as enacted by California voters in June 1982 (see Part I, Section 6.3 for a more thorough discussion of Proposition 8) is generally expected to decrease YA's ward population. This expected decrease, however, could quickly vanish and temporarily be replaced by more severe crowding than before under a current plan to shift administrative control of several institutions. It is anticipated that administrative control of YA's Youth Training School (YTS) in Chino will be transferred to the California Department of Corrections (CDC), while a portion of CDC's California Institution for Men in Chino will be transferred to YA. According to YA staff, the transfer would not be completed until at least 1984. These changes alone will cause a net loss of approximately 800 beds--a loss that will be offset only partially by a reduction of about 600 "Proposition 8" wards.

Even assuming that overcrowding is for now a less pressing issue, it is still essential to carefully scrutinize the problem. It is inevitable that population pressures will reassert themselves in the future. If a proper foundation is laid now, many of the problems associated with overcrowding can be minimized by action taken by policymakers at an earlier stage.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

1.2.1 Data Sources

In assessing the effects of overcrowding, we relied on three primary data sources: (1) existing studies identified during a review of the literature available on the topic; (2) data compiled by YA's Management Information Systems Section, Budget Office, and Staff Services Section, and by the State Controller's Office; and (3) discussions with YA administrative staff.

1.2.2 Site Selection and Description

We examined six-year trends first for all YA institutions (ten schools and two principal reception centers) and then more specifically for six individual facilities. The more specific detailed analysis of the individual facilities is important since, when looking at figures for all of YA, the overcrowding experienced in some facilities may be offset if others are operating under their budgeted capacity.

The six sites chosen for in-depth study include two reception centers and four schools: Northern Reception Center and Clinic (NRCC), Southern Reception Center and Clinic (SRCC), O.H. Close, Preston, Ventura, and Youth Training School (YTS). In choosing these facilities, we tried to include: (1) an even geographical representation; (2) a range of institutional size, population characteristics and living unit types; and (3) representation of male and female living units. Each of these facilities was overcrowded, to varying degrees, at some point between 1976 and 1981.

Reception centers constitute a ward's first contact with YA. The reception center's function is limited primarily to initial diagnostic studies on wards (i.e., background information which assists in placement decisions).^{*} Typically, a ward remains at the reception center for 30 days before being transferred to the assigned school or camp for "treatment". The physical layout of the two reception centers is very similar. Each consists of seven living units circling a central recreation area. All of the normal sleeping areas are single rooms.

YA attempts to limit its most severe crowding to the reception centers, holding wards until space becomes available at an appropriate school or camp. YA shields these facilities as much as possible from overcrowding, since their treatment programs may be negatively impacted by overcrowding.

The four schools encompass a range of sizes and types. O.H. Close provides academic and treatment programming for younger male wards (aged 13-17). With a total bed capacity** of only 379, the facility consists of 7 open dormitories and 99 single rooms. One of the least secure YA facilities, O.H. Close is part of a larger complex of institutions located in Stockton.

The Ventura School in Camarillo has a bed capacity of 576. It consists solely of single rooms and is the only YA facility which houses females. Programming is coeducational, focusing on academic instruction and vocational training.

The Preston School in Ione consists of 7 open dormitories and 4 units with single rooms. Its primary emphasis is vocational training, although there are academic classes, an intensive drug training program, and an extensive treatment unit with specialized counseling for psychologically disturbed wards. The facility handles older wards and wards who have been transferred from other facilities for disciplinary or other reasons.

One of the largest juvenile facilities in the country, the Youth Training School in Chino has a bed capacity of over 1200, consisting solely of single rooms. YTS handles older, more sophisticated wards, offering vocational and academic training. YTS and Preston are the most secure YA facilities, handling similar offenders. The primary difference is geographic--YTS dealing primarily with Southern California wards and Preston handling wards from Northern California.

^{*}Each of the two reception centers also runs a small, intensive care treatment program for psychologically disturbed wards. However, this only represents a small portion of their total population.

^{**}Defined as total number of beds, less those allocated for hospital and detention purposes.

1.2.3 Measures and Data Analysis

After a review of existing literature and after preliminary discussions with YA administrative staff, we identified several methods with which to measure overcrowding and its effects. We relied primarily on archival data maintained by YA for the years 1976 through 1981, since the scope of the study did not warrant extensive on-site, individual data collection efforts.

In determining the relationship between ward population and behavior in YA, we studied the years 1976 through 1981, comparing various measures of population (i.e., average daily population, admissions, and overcrowding) with measures of behavior (i.e., ward illness, grievances, and disciplinary incidents; staff illness and injury).

We relied upon a widely used measure of the degree of association between two variables, the "coefficient of correlation" or "r". Correlation coefficients assess the relatedness (or unrelatedness) of two variables over time. For example, if we correlate average daily population with ward violence and obtain a high enough value of "r", we can assume that violence is related to population.* Using this measure, we can consider each year rather than simply the change between 1976 and 1981.

In comparing ward and staff behavior with population, we used both the numbers and rates of incidents. We would expect the number of incidents to increase when population increases, simply because of the increased number of wards. However, an association with incident rates would indicate that behavioral changes are not merely a result of increased population.

*Values of the coefficient may range from -1 to +1 and, generally, the further "r" is from zero, the stronger the relationship. We considered a relationship to be "significant" if the correlation coefficient exceeded a pre-specified value (+ or -.73 for significance at the .10 level). When our analysis indicates a significantly positive or negative relationship between two measures, we can assume with relative certainty that the two are related. However, if our analysis does not show a significant relationship (i.e., a significant value of "r"), it does not necessarily signify that the measures are unrelated. It may be that the measures do not accurately measure the concept that we are assessing (i.e., stress). Or the measures may not be sufficiently sensitive to show differences over time. For a detailed discussion of correlation coefficients and their interpretation, see Hamburg, 1970.

SECTION 2

WHAT IS OVERCROWDING?

The concept of "overcrowding" can be measured in various ways. In general, these measures describe either the "spatial density" or "social density" of a facility. Spatial density refers to the number of square feet per person, while social density refers to the number of occupants in a housing unit. It is important to understand the differences between these measures, since the definition used can often determine whether or not a facility is deemed to be overcrowded.

In reviewing literature related to overcrowding in adult and youth correctional facilities, we found that some studies focus only on total institutional population, while others compare the population to some measure of capacity. Even the capacity of a given facility can vary, depending upon whether one looks at the total number of beds or the budgeted capacity (which only includes staffed beds). Some of the more sophisticated studies look at the amount of space available for each inmate.

2.1 MEASURES OF OVERCROWDING USED IN THE PRESENT STUDY

For our study of YA, we compared the average daily population of each facility with its budgeted capacity. Each year, the Department of Finance and the Legislature establish a "budgeted capacity" for YA, based in part on YA's estimate of its ward population for the following year. Since state budgetary considerations also affect the amount of money allocated to YA, the budgeted capacity may fall short of YA's ward population estimate. Staffing levels are based upon this budgeted capacity.

For purposes of this study, we have defined crowding as average daily population divided by budgeted capacity. When this figure is greater than 1, the facility has exceeded its budgeted capacity and is thus overcrowded. When a facility is not overcrowded, the average daily population will be less than the budgeted capacity, and our figure will be less than 1. Our overcrowding figure is not dichotomous. That is, there are degrees of overcrowding.

There are several limitations to our measure of overcrowding which must be noted. First, the budgeted capacity figure which we rely on is not necessarily equivalent to the physical bed capacity of the facilities. Second, our measure of overcrowding relates only to social density, without consideration of the spatial density of the facilities.

To supplement our overcrowding measure, we also examined the average daily population and the total number of admissions each

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1 OF 3

year. We correlated various measures of ward and staff behavior with average daily population, institutional admissions, and overcrowding, assessing the relative importance of each. It is important to include all three measures of population, since they are not always related to each other. For example, admissions may drop and average daily population rise without any change in our measure of overcrowding if the budgeted capacity is similarly increased.

2.2 OTHER COMPONENTS OF OVERCROWDING

There are many other factors--factors which often vary from one institution to another--which may have a considerable impact on the effects of overcrowding. As such, these factors can "confound" our analysis of crowding. Some of the factors which are particularly important include type and size of living units and institutions, ward characteristics, and amount of daily activity.

2.2.1 Type and Size of Living Units and Institution

There is evidence that inmates in different sizes and types of living units exhibit varying responses to overcrowding, even if the spatial density (amount of physical space per inmate) is the same. All other conditions being equal, the sheer size of a living unit is a variable that can produce physiological and psychological effects. Combined with overcrowding, larger living units generally produce more negative results on human behavior than do smaller living units.

Similarly, overall institutional size is closely related to the effects of overcrowding. Larger institutions consistently demonstrate higher rates of suicide, death, and disciplinary incidents than smaller facilities (McCain, Cox, and Paulus, December 1980; Brown and McMillen, August 1979). Thus, the sheer population size of an institution exerts a negative influence on its inmates.

2.2.2 Characteristics of Inmates

Tolerance of overcrowding differs among individuals, apparently due to background factors and past learning (McCain, Cox and Paulus, December 1980; Clements, 1979). This is a particularly important factor in YA, due to the changing nature of its wards. Over the years, YA wards have become more sophisticated and are more likely to be committed for serious offenses, to come from an urban environment, and to be a minority-group member (Lerner, 1982, p. 27). These changes may influence the effects we attribute to overcrowding, either enhancing or mitigating them.

A corollary to this is that YA was designed for younger, smaller wards. A living unit which was once comfortable for 50 boys may be totally inadequate for 50 large young men (Lerner, 1982, p. 45).

2.2.3 Daily Routine of Wards

The effects of overcrowding may either be attenuated or ameliorated by daily activity. Wards confined to crowded sleeping quarters or idle for long periods of time typically react more negatively to overcrowding than those who are not (Clements, 1979).

2.2.4 Controlling for Confounding Variables

Studies that include on-site, individual data collection efforts can control for some of these confounding factors. Since we relied on archival data, we could not exert such controls. However, we did include aggregate measures, such as the percent committed for offenses against persons, comparing these measures against the effects of overcrowding. We also examined the differences between single-room facilities and those that encompass both dormitories and single rooms, between small facilities and larger ones. There may, however, be other confounding factors which researchers have not identified.

2.3 POPULATION AND CROWDING TRENDS IN YA

Table 2-1 shows trends over time in the admissions, average daily population, capacity, and overcrowding of YA institutions (reception centers and schools). Total admissions fluctuated each year, while the average daily population increased steadily from 1977 through 1981. This seeming contradiction results from the fact that the average length of stay increased each year (see discussion in Part I, Section 5).

The budgeted capacity of YA institutions is less than the total bed capacity, since only a certain number of beds are useable at a given time. (Capacity figures for the six facilities are shown in Appendix Table B-2). The difference between the two measures of capacity is important in our discussion of overcrowding. When the institutional population is higher than the budgeted capacity, it might be possible to increase the useable bed space, raising it to a level that is closer to total bed capacity.

Table 2-1

Admissions, Average Daily Population, Capacity and Crowding
in YA Institutions (Schools and Reception Centers)
1976 - 1981

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	% Chg 76-81
Total Admissions*	16,175	14,835	15,138	14,964	15,532	14,475	-10.5
First Admissions & Parole Returns	4,661	4,721	4,893	4,707	5,051	4,537	-2.7
Average Daily Population	4,085	3,688	4,029	4,547	4,763	5,208	27.4
Budgeted Capacity**	4,052	3,623	4,025	4,534	4,721	5,228	29.0
Bed Capacity***	5,097	5,093	5,074	5,085	5,085	5,236	2.7
Crowding	1.009	1.018	1.001	1.003	1.009	.996	

NOTE: Crowding equals average daily population divided by budgeted capacity.

During fiscal year 1981-82, a total of 239 institutional beds technically could not be used because they were unstaffed (20 beds), were used as office or storage space (59 beds), or were "lost" to special programs (160 beds). Certain living units designed to house, for example, 50 wards may be budgeted to house only 35 or 40, in order to implement an intensive treatment program, such as a drug or alcohol program. The budgeted capacity was further reduced by 135 beds in order to accommodate daily turnover or overcrowding.

The figures shown in Table 2-1 reflect the relationship between average daily population and budgeted capacity. Using this measure, the institutions were overcrowded during the first five years of our study (1976-1980). Average daily population then dropped below the budgeted capacity in 1981.

Population trends in our six selected facilities, shown in Appendix Table B-1, mirror the trends in YA institutions overall. While the average daily population in each facility rose, admissions declined in three of the institutions and increased in the remaining three.

Appendix Table B-3 shows that none of our six sites was overcrowded in 1976. In the following years, they varied in the severity of overcrowding experienced. The importance of these differing trends is highlighted in our analysis of the effects of overcrowding presented in the following sections.

*Includes first admissions, parole returns, contract cases, transfers between institutions, temporary parole detention, escape returns, and all other arrivals.

**Average for four calendar year quarters.

***As of June 30 of each year.

SECTION 3

CROWDING AND STRESS

The relationship between crowding and stress has been studied in both correctional and non-correctional settings. Although experts generally agree that crowding is linked to both physical and psychological stress, the specific findings of various studies differ. These variations are probably attributable to differing methodologies (e.g., study setting, methods of data collection, measures used).

Early studies on the effects of crowding in non-correctional settings identified a variety of stress-related effects of overcrowding, including illness complaints, feelings of loss of control, and social or psychological withdrawal (see McCain, Cox, and Paulus, 1980, p. 4, for example). Some studies noted that individuals can tolerate crowding for short periods of time or if they know that the crowded conditions have a definitive end. It has also been found that the effects of crowding can be ameliorated if the individual has a strong personal-social identity or a sense of belonging to a "community" (Clements, 1979, p. 219).

While certain factors lessen the stress associated with crowding, others serve to enhance stress. Studies have shown that perceived or real threats to one's personal safety increase the psychological stress of crowding. If an individual is confined to the crowded conditions for long periods of time, if the crowded setting is "closed", or if resources are limited, psychological stress may be further enhanced (Clements, 1979, p. 219). The ability to control one's personal space and privacy or to avoid unwanted social interactions has also been identified as related to crowding-induced stress (Sommer, 1969; Baum and Valins, 1973).

It is apparent that many of the conditions found to ameliorate crowding-induced stress are lacking in correctional settings, while the stress-enhancing conditions typify the correctional environment. The most obvious stress-enhancer, namely confinement for long periods of time, exists in any prison or youth institution environment, whether crowded or not. The mere act of confinement promotes anxiety, whether living units are densely populated or not (Nacci, Teitelbaum and Prather, 1977, p. 27). Given the inextricable link between involuntary confinement and crowding, it is difficult to determine the negative effects of each, independent of the other.

The studies of institutional crowding that we reviewed utilized various measures of stress. Some researchers looked at emotional, psychological or physical health, while others looked at disciplinary incidents (ranging from minor to serious incidents), riots, deaths or suicides.

Some of these criteria exist in archival data maintained by the institutions, while others necessitate on-site data collection. The particular measure used in a study may affect the relationship found between overcrowding and stress.

Some researchers hypothesize that stress springs from internalized feelings engendered by crowding, feelings such as loss of control over one's life, overstimulation of one's senses, or fear for personal safety. Others attribute stress to the lack of privacy or lack of activity associated with overcrowding. There is also a suggestion that overcrowding, by increasing the opportunity for negative encounters or unwanted social interactions, leads to stress. (See McCain, Cox and Paulus, December 1980, pp. 137-138 for discussion.)

The difference between each of these interpretations is the so-called "intervening variable" (helplessness, overstimulation, fear, lack of privacy, etc.). While factors such as fear and lack of privacy appear most consistent with the YA setting, it is likely that various interpretations may be true for certain individuals or in certain situations.

3.1 STRESS AMONG YA WARDS

In the course of this study, we looked at correlations between crowding and stress for both YA wards and YA staff. Presumably, crowding is more likely to produce stress among wards than staff. While both may be subjected to fear for their personal safety, frequent or unwanted contacts with others, and sensory stimulation associated with crowded conditions, YA wards must confront the added impact of involuntary confinement.

Our information on ward behavior was drawn primarily from archival data. Initially, we identified five ways we might measure stress-related behavior: illnesses, grievances, disciplinary incidents, escapes, and deaths. These were chosen after discussions with YA administrative staff and reviews of other studies. A preliminary review of the data indicated that deaths occurred so infrequently in YA that they did not warrant analysis. Thus, they were excluded from the report. The following subsections discuss the four remaining measures and their relationship to overcrowding.

3.1.1 Ward Illnesses

There is considerable evidence suggesting that crowding impacts the emotional and physical health of wards. Possible explanations for this relationship include: (1) wards are more susceptible to illness when under stress; (2) wards are more likely to complain when under stress; and (3) the lack of privacy associated with overcrowding results in higher levels of illness.

In a recent study of YA, Lerner suggested that the "environmental insults" that wards are subjected to are a critical factor in undermining health: ". . .the tension of living in noisy, crowded quarters causes anxiety, dermatological problems, high blood pressure, and other stress-related diseases. . ." (1982, p. 18). Moore (1980) found illness complaint rates to be associated with privacy and environmental conditions. Inmates who had little privacy had higher illness complaint rates than those with more privacy. Inmates facing farmlands had fewer illness complaints than those facing interior courtyards.

For our analysis, we examined three measures of health/illness: outpatient contacts in the dispensary, outpatient contacts in the living units, and number of sick days per month. Figures were only available for two institutions--O.H. Close and Preston--and are for January and June of each year.

Admittedly, illness complaints are a subjective measure of actual health, reflecting a ward's own perception of his or her health. However, since we are using complaints as a measure of stress, the question of whether or not complaints are associated with actual changes in physical health is unimportant.

As shown in Table 3-1, dispensary contacts* and sick days declined in both O.H. Close and Preston between 1976 and 1981. At the same time, admissions declined in O.H. Close, but increased in Preston. The average daily populations and levels of crowding increased in both facilities.

*Outpatient contacts in the dispensary were dramatically lower in 1977 than in 1976 in both facilities, possibly as a result of a policy change. Although the number of contacts declined further between 1977 and 1981, the decline was less abrupt.

Table 3-1

Dispensary Contacts and Sick Days: O.H. Close and Preston
1976 - 1981 (January and June)

		1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	% Chg 76-81
<u>O.H. CLOSE</u>								
Outpatient Contacts	No.	8,841	1,951	1,702	1,213	2,885	1,368	-84.5
in the Dispensary	Rate	26.00	5.67	4.81	3.30	7.82	3.45	
Outpatient Contacts	No.	14,482	11,733	10,317	7,252	8,327	7,507	-48.2
on the Living Units	Rate	42.59	34.11	29.14	19.71	22.57	18.91	
Sick Days	No.	144	150	118	115	130	95	-34.0
	Rate	0.42	0.44	0.33	0.31	0.35	0.24	
<u>PRESTON</u>								
Outpatient Contacts	No.	6,059	3,816	3,072	3,998	3,862	3,634	-40.0
in the Dispensary	Rate	15.70	10.69	8.08	8.49	7.51	6.50	
Outpatient Contacts	No.	410	505	324	304	171	113	-72.4
on the Living Units	Rate	1.06	1.41	0.85	0.65	0.33	0.20	
Sick Days	No.	178	156	99	104	67	127	-28.7
	Rate	0.46	0.44	0.26	0.22	0.13	0.23	

At O.H. Close, the number and rate of outpatient contacts and sick days were negatively related to two measures of population (average daily population and crowding). However, the relationship with number of admissions was much stronger and was positive. While these findings appear contradictory at first, they are not. Admissions to O.H. Close declined, while average daily population and overcrowding both increased. Thus, the decline in illness complaints at O.H. Close is related to both the decline in admissions and the increasing size of the ward population and level of crowding.

At Preston, there was a strong negative relationship between average daily population and the number of outpatient visits on the living units. Admissions to Preston were negatively related to the number of sick days used by wards. The measure of crowding was negatively related to both the sick day rate and total number of outpatient contacts. In Preston, then, the growing ward population was associated with reduced illness complaints.

We initially predicted that illness complaints, as a measure of ward stress, would increase with crowding. However, data from O.H. Close and Preston directly contradicted our prediction. We found crowding and population to be associated with reduced levels of illness. It is possible that medical resources are overtaxed when facilities are crowded, discouraging wards from visiting the dispensary and making it difficult for medical staff to visit the living units. Similarly, staff may be unable to

leave their posts to transport wards to and from the dispensary. If either of these interpretations are correct, illness complaints would not accurately measure ward health. Thus, our assumption about health, illness complaints and stress may be faulty: that is, health and illness complaints may not be related to ward stress.

3.1.2 Ward Grievances

One indicator of the conditions of confinement, as perceived by wards or inmates, is the frequency and nature of complaints about staff or facilities. While it might be seen as a biased measure, it can indicate how wards respond to the YA environment and, indirectly, to the level of stress that they experience. YA administrative staff view grievances in a positive manner. The grievance system is intended to be part of the treatment program, encouraging wards to resolve problems in a systematic, legitimate manner.

YA has had a formal grievance system in operation in its institutions and forestry camps since mid-1975 and in its parole units since 1976. This Ward Grievance Procedure provides wards with a means of filing and resolving complaints about perceived problems. The only issues which cannot be "grieved" are Youthful Offender Parole Board decisions and certain disciplinary matters, which are appealed through separate procedures.

We looked at the number and type of grievances filed each year and at the proportion of all wards who utilized the grievance procedure.

(a) Number of Grievances

As shown in Table 3-2, 9662 grievances were filed by wards in YA institutions and camps in 1981, an increase of about 5% over 1976. During the same years, the average daily population of institutions and camps rose from 4416 to 5661, an increase of 28%. Between 1977 and 1981, however, ward population and grievances both rose by about 40%. It appears that in the first complete year of the program, 1976, staff encouraged wards to file grievances, pushing the number of cases to an abnormally high level.

Table 3-2

	Number of Institutional Ward Grievances Filed						% Chg 76-81
	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	
Total	9,192	6,867	8,935	10,512	10,194	9,662	5.1
Institutions	9,081	6,756	8,806	10,398	10,017	9,493	4.5
Camps	111	111	129	114	177	169	52.3

We found that the number of grievances is significantly related to both average daily population and overcrowding. The grievance rate (i.e., number of grievances per average daily population) peaked in 1979 and then declined. In 1976, there were approximately 2.1 grievances filed per average daily population, compared with 1.7 in 1981.

During this period, an increasingly larger proportion of wards used the grievance system, substantiating other indications that population increases are not solely responsible for the additional grievances. Between 1976 and 1979, only about 1 out of every 9 wards in the institutions and camps filed a grievance. By 1980, this figure rose to more than 1 in 3. In 1981, 52% of incarcerated wards filed a grievance.

There are several possible interpretations of these findings. On the negative side, it may be that conditions in the institutions and camps have in some way deteriorated, leading to general dissatisfaction among wards.

It is also possible that conditions have simply changed, without any subjective judgment regarding the favorability of these changes. YA staff find that the number of grievances increases when program changes are implemented in a facility, then level off as wards and staff become accustomed to the changes. In 1979 and 1980, population increases forced administrators to implement new programs and policies throughout the institutions. These changes coincide with an increase in the number of grievances filed. By 1981, the new programs were stabilized, and grievances declined. This does not, however, explain the fact that a greater proportion of wards filed grievances in 1980 and 1981, as compared with previous years.

YA staff suggest a more positive interpretation of the increasingly widespread use of the grievance system by wards, since they view grievances as a beneficial part of the treatment program. In YA's opinion, more wards are trying to resolve problems and relieve stress in a positive fashion.

A similar interpretation relates to ward familiarity with the Ward Grievance Procedure. When the system was first implemented five years ago, wards may have been unfamiliar with filing procedures and uncertain about staff reaction to grievances. As the system became more effective, wards should have been well aware of filing procedures, no longer fearing reprisal for filing grievances. Thus, we would expect more wards to use the grievance system.

As a corollary, we point out that not all grievances are justifiable. Several YA line staff members indicated that wards have learned to take advantage of the system. This may be more common now than in earlier years.

(b) Nature of Grievances

While ward complaints may address a variety of problems, in practice most grievances are individualized. Rather than grieving a specific policy or procedure, most grievances deal with the manner in which a policy or procedure affects a particular ward. For example, a ward is more likely to ask that a specific individual be allowed to visit, than to complain about the visitation rules themselves. The former is referred to as an individual grievance, while the latter is called a policy grievance.

Other grievances are classified as: staff or staff action, in which the complaint is primarily related to an action by staff; ward or ward action, involving grievance against another ward; equipment, when a complaint alleges faulty or inadequate equipment or physical facilities; and other, which includes all remaining cases (CYA, September 1, 1982, p. 8).

Grievances classified as ward, equipment, or other, constitute only a small portion of all grievances (about 8% in 1981). Conversely, individual grievances accounted for the bulk of all grievances (62% in 1981). The remaining grievances fell into the categories of policy (14%) and staff action (16%). (See Appendix Table B-4.)

In the six years studied, there were progressively more individual grievances filed, rising from a low of 4087 in 1977 to nearly 6000 in 1981. Although there were yearly fluctuations, fewer grievances were filed against staff or other wards, while more equipment complaints were lodged. The decline in grievances against staff may be attributable to improved staff performance. In 1980, YA began an extensive program of staff training in areas such as crisis intervention and use of the grievance system. As staff became better trained, wards may have had fewer complaints against them.

(c) Ward Grievances in the Six Facilities

We assessed the relationship between the three population measures (average daily population, admissions, and crowding) and grievances in our six sites using correlation matrices. Overall, a strong positive relationship emerged between the total number of grievances filed in the six facilities and both the degree of overcrowding and the average daily population. This is not unexpected. As the population increases and overcrowding worsens, there are more wards who can file grievances.

Table 3-3
Total Grievances in Six YA Facilities
1976 - 1981

		1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	% Chg 76-81
NRCC	No.	432	498	628	614	813	880	103.7
	Rate	1.67	1.87	2.33	2.28	2.95	2.64	
SRCC	No.	898	587	1,098	874	953	1,243	38.4
	Rate	2.99	1.92	3.39	2.70	2.80	3.17	
O.H. Close	No.	325	331	394	288	389	229	-29.5
	Rate	0.96	0.96	1.11	0.78	1.05	0.58	
Preston	No.	1,069	824	1,441	1,727	1,468	1,428	33.6
	Rate	2.77	2.31	3.79	3.67	2.86	2.56	
Ventura	No.	766	937	1,266	1,967	885	957	24.9
	Rate	2.31	3.31	3.99	4.46	1.79	1.71	
YTS	No.	1,573	852	902	1,900	2,204	1,913	21.6
	Rate	1.78	1.17	1.15	1.97	2.11	1.70	

The rate of total grievances (number per average daily population) was related to population trends in two facilities.* In O.H. Close, the total grievance rate was negatively related to both crowding and average daily population. In YTS, average daily population was positively related to the total grievance rate.

There was no consistent relationship between population trends and the different types of grievances in our six facilities. For example, the level of crowding in NRCC was positively related to the number and rate of staff grievances, while the level of crowding in SRCC was positively related to the number and rate of individual grievances. (See Appendix Tables B-5 through B-7.)

Among the schools, crowding was positively related to the number of policy grievances and ward grievances (Preston), and to the

*The reception centers' average daily populations include a few individuals who are undergoing diagnostic testing and are not wards of YA. These individuals cannot file grievances or be charged with disciplinary infractions. YA estimates that the diagnostic cases constitute approximately 1% of the average daily population. Thus, the grievances rates and disciplinary infraction rates shown for the reception centers are approximately 1% too low.

number of staff grievances (Ventura). There was no relationship between crowding and any of the different types of grievances at either O.H. Close or YTS. However, average daily population was positively related to the number and rate of individual and equipment grievances, and the number of other grievances.

While our findings indicate wide variations between the facilities, there is a common element. Except for O.H. Close, more and more grievances are filed as crowding increases. Furthermore, in four facilities, the grievance rate for certain types of grievances went up as crowding increased. Thus, these grievances increased more than would be expected based on ward population levels.

In summary, our analysis of grievances in all YA institutions, and in the six facilities, strongly supports the assumption that crowding and ward grievances are related. The fact that grievance rates in four of the facilities rose indicates that this is not merely a function of population increases. Instead, grievances increased significantly and disproportionately as a function of crowding.

3.1.3 Disciplinary Incidents

Studies of prison overcrowding tend to emphasize disciplinary infractions and violence, since these are the most common and visible effects of crowding. While violence is the most severe disciplinary problem, minor infractions can tax the time and resources of institutions.

One study of federal correctional institutions found that the higher the level of crowding (relative to capacity), the higher the level of disciplinary infraction rates, particularly in institutions housing younger offenders (Nacci, Teitelbaum and Prather, 1977). Another study found that increased population, without considering crowding, led to disproportionate increases in disciplinary infractions. That is, infractions increased more dramatically than population. The authors attributed this at least partially to crowding-induced stress (McCain, Cox and Paulus, 1980, pp. 10-12). Finally, Megargee (1976) discovered that disciplinary incident rates were not related to overall population, but were related instead to spatial density (i.e., amount of living space per inmate).

There is general agreement that violence is associated with crowding (Jan, September 1980; Nacci, Teitelbaum and Prather, 1977). The connection between violence and crowding may be due to any of several factors, such as increased frequency of interpersonal friction (Clements, 1979, p. 223). Altercations are more likely when crowded conditions result in unavoidable encounters between hostile individuals. Minor altercations more easily escalate into violence when tension levels are high. This is

aggravated when overcrowded living units are understaffed, leaving wards to "rule" one another through force.

The destructive consequences of violence may result from direct assaults on wards or staff, or in extortions based upon the threat of violence. The fear for one's safety engendered by frequent violence may in turn heighten fear and stress among wards. Thus, the relationship between overcrowding and violence is a circular one. Overcrowding promotes stress, which fosters violence. Violence leads to higher stress (due to fear for personal safety), which in turn breeds even more violence.

Lerner points out that while YA endeavors to reduce disciplinary problems, the physical and environmental conditions associated with overcrowding, as well as the large-scale design of many YA facilities, still lead to unacceptably high levels of violence (Lerner, 1982).

(a) Disciplinary Incidents in YA

The relationship between ward density, living unit size and violent behavior has been the subject of several YA studies. The most recent project reduced the number of wards in several open-dorm living units at the DeWitt Nelson Training Center by 23%. The reduction in living unit size produced a significant and disproportionate decrease in violence. YA noted that the reduction in living unit size resulted in more frequent staff-ward interaction, which helped to lessen the number of violent incidents (CYA, April 1981b).

A previous study, the Preston Institutional Violence Reduction Project, compared violence levels in two open-dormitory living units which had different population levels. In one unit, 1 staff member was added so that 6 staff members supervised 47 wards. In the other, 5 staff members supervised a reduced population of 38 wards. Although the ward-staff ratios were similar, only the unit with reduced ward population experienced a reduction in violence. Thus, adding staff to a large YA living unit is not sufficient to reduce violence (CYA, January 1980b).

For our analysis, we found that the best measures of ward violence or infractions are collected by YA through their Disciplinary Decision-Making System (DDMS). YA records all disciplinary incidents through this system, ranging from minor infractions resolved by living unit staff to serious assaults requiring YOPB action.* We concentrated on three measures: total disciplinary incidents (referred to simply as DDMS), assaults on wards, and assaults on staff.

*If a ward is involved in multiple incidents which are heard at a single disposition hearing, only one--the most serious incident--is tabulated.

ALL INSTITUTIONS. Table 3-4 shows the number and rate of disciplinary incidents in YA institutions (schools and reception centers) from 1976 through 1981. The total number of disciplinary incidents has risen each year, increasing by nearly 80% in just 6 years. In 1981, more than 5,000 incidents were reported.

Table 3-4

Disciplinary Incidents Among Wards in YA Institutions
(Schools and Reception Centers)
1976 - 1981

		1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	% Chg 76-81
<u>Total Disc.</u>	No.	2,947	3,761	3,889	4,719	5,212	5,267	78.7
	Rate	.72	1.02	.97	1.04	1.09	1.01	40.3
<u>Ward-on-Ward</u>	No.	517	405	459	544	736	501	-3.1
	Rate	.13	.11	.11	.12	.15	.10	-23.1
<u>Ward-on-Staff</u>	No.	185	107	72	87	80	92	-50.3
	Rate	.05	.03	.02	.02	.02	.02	-60.0

Similarly, the rate of disciplinary incidents (number divided by average daily population) increased by 40% between 1976 and 1981. The rate peaked at 1.09 in 1980. Our analysis showed a high correlation between the number of disciplinary incidents and average daily population. However, we found no significant relationship between the rate of disciplinary incidents and either crowding, average daily population or admissions.

The number and rate of ward-on-ward assaults peaked in 1980, then declined in 1981. The incidence of ward-on-staff assaults declined considerably--from 185 in 1976 to 92 in 1981. Staff assault rates also declined. Our correlation analysis did not show any relationship between ward or staff assaults and institutional population measures.

SIX SITES. Table 3-5 shows the level and rate of disciplinary incidents (DDMS) in our six study facilities. Between 1976 and 1981, the number of total disciplinary incidents increased in every facility. In O.H. Close, disciplinary incidents remained nearly stable, while NRCC experienced more than twice as many incidents in 1981 as they had in 1976.

Table 3-5
Disciplinary Incidents in Six YA Facilities
1976 - 1981

		1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	% Chg 76-81
NRCC	No.	143	188	233	151	193	313	118.9
	Rate	.55	.70	.86	.56	.70	.94	70.9
SRCC	No.	105	95	85	122	110	147	40.0
	Rate	.35	.31	.26	.38	.32	.38	8.6
O.H. Close	No.	225	191	185	220	279	230	2.2
	Rate	.66	.56	.52	.60	.76	.58	-12.1
Preston	No.	339	515	596	811	893	885	161.1
	Rate	.88	1.44	1.57	1.72	1.74	1.58	79.5
Ventura	No.	339	692	658	841	230	386	13.9
	Rate	1.02	2.45	2.08	1.91	.47	.69	-32.4
YTS	No.	791	893	763	1,024	1,232	1,286	62.6
	Rate	.89	1.23	.97	1.06	1.18	1.14	28.1

DDMS rates differ widely among the facilities. In 1981, the highest DDMS rates were experienced in Preston (1.58) and YTS (1.14), the two facilities for the older, more sophisticated wards. In previous years, Ventura had also experienced high levels of DDMS incidents, but the rate dropped appreciably in 1980. Preston, Ventura and YTS also have the highest budgeted capacities and population levels of all facilities studied.

SRCC had the lowest DDMS rate in each of the six years (.38 in 1981). In 1981, the DDMS rates at NRCC and O.H. Close were somewhat higher than SRCC (.94 and .58 respectively). In two of the facilities, the DDMS rate declined while it increased in the other four. Our correlation analysis did not support a significant relationship between crowding and disciplinary incidents except at NRCC and Ventura. In NRCC, both the number and rate of disciplinary incidents were positively related to crowding. In Ventura, crowding was positively related to the number of DDMS incidents, but negatively related to the rate.

In 1981, ward-on-ward assault rates ranged from a low of .03 (SRCC) to a high of .09 (YTS and Preston). The ward-on-staff assault rates were quite low that year (between .00 and .02). Surprisingly, the number and rate of assaults on wards and on staff declined between 1976 and 1981 in each facility. In general, ward assaults peaked in 1979 and 1980, then dropped. Since

the number of staff assaults is quite low in individual facilities, the only apparent trend is the overall decline in incidents. We found strong negative correlations between crowding and assault rates in three of the four schools (O.H. Close, Ventura, YTS), but not in either reception center. (See Appendix Tables B-8 and B-9.)

WARD CHARACTERISTICS. There is some support for the notion that such prison incidents are natural results of the aggressive nature of many of the wards or inmates. This suggests that assault rates are related to offender characteristics, rather than to population measures (Farrington and Nuttal, 1980). It would then follow that the more violent offenders there are in any facility, the more disciplinary incidents there should be. To explore this possibility, we correlated several measures of ward characteristics (i.e., number and percent of wards committed for an offense against the person) with the number and rate of disciplinary incidents and assaults.

In NRCC, Preston, and YTS, we found a significant positive relationship between the number of wards committed for personal offenses and the number of DDMS incidents. Since we had not found any correlation between DDMS incidents and crowding in the two schools (Preston and YTS), DDMS incidents in these facilities are better explained by ward characteristics than by crowding. None of the other facilities showed any significant relationship between ward characteristics and DDMS incidents.

Ward characteristics were negatively correlated with total assault rates in SRCC, Preston and Ventura. Comparing the relationships between assaults and crowding, and assaults and ward characteristics, we found that in some facilities the incidence of assault is closely related to crowding, while in other facilities it is related to ward characteristics. Apparently, changes in ward behavior are linked to individual variations between the facilities.

Overall, crowding in our selected sites was generally related to an increase in the number and rate of disciplinary incidents, but to a decrease in the assault rate. Increase the percentage of wards committed for offenses against the person was similarly related to increased DDMS incidents and reduced assault rates.

At first glance, these conclusions appear to contradict the premise that crowding breeds violence. However, there may be several explanations for these unexpected findings. First, violent incidents may not appropriately measure stress in YA. Since approximately half of YA's beds are in single rooms, the opportunities for aggressive behavior are reduced. In this situation, the level of total disciplinary incidents may be a more accurate gauge of ward stress.

Second, reported incidents may not accurately reflect actual behavior in the facilities. Based on informal discussions with line staff, Lerner concluded that staff may be more reluctant to report assaultive behavior during times when the facilities are crowded, since they may result in time adds (1982, p. 51). This is consistent with YA's new policy, implemented in the past year when overcrowding was at a peak, reducing time adds in order to ease population pressures. Third, the drop in assaultive behavior may be related to increasingly widespread use of the grievance system. If wards are able to vent anger or stress through legitimate means (i.e., grievances), they may not resort to physical attack.

It is also possible that changes in staff behavior occurred as a function of overcrowding. Many studies indicate that crowded conditions force staff to focus most of their attention on security and control. Under these circumstances, staff may be better able to control potential assaults.

3.1.4 Crowding and Escapes

We anticipated that escapes would increase with overcrowding. It seemed logical that staff, responsible for larger numbers of wards, would be less able to monitor the activities of each ward. In addition, the stress experienced by wards in overcrowded institutions also would appear to provide greater incentive for escape.

Our analysis did not substantiate our anticipations. Between 1976 and 1981, escapes declined in all but one institution (Ventura). Preston did experience a large number of escapes in 1980, but this was not significantly related to population density, average daily population, or admissions.

Changes in security measures and programming presumably account for the decline in escapes. According to YTS administrators, staff are now better trained in monitoring ward behavior. Program changes have also been made which facilitate control of institutionalized wards.

We should note that a YA project at DeWitt Nelson Training Center found that escapes declined when the population in several open dormitories was reduced (CYA, April 1981b). In terms of our analysis, overcrowded conditions might have led to more escapes had YA not improved security measures and staff training.

3.2 STRESS AMONG STAFF

Considerably less attention has been focused on how crowding affects institutional staff. Presumably, since staff members exercise greater control within the crowded conditions, and since they return home at the end of each day, they are better able to

protect themselves against the effects produced by overcrowded situations. We found, however, other less obvious manifestations of overcrowding-induced stress among staff.

A study conducted by YA at Preston School compared staff turnover and sick leave usage with changes in ward population and staffing. The sick leave analysis did not reveal any consistent trends, since additional staffing was associated with higher rates of sick leave in one unit and lower rates in the other. YA found staff departures were much less frequent during the project period than during previous years. There is some possibility that the reduction in staff departures was attributable to either reduced ward population and additional staffing or to the fact that staff members who have a personal commitment to the project postponed transfers or terminations (CYA, January 1980b, p. 36).

Overcrowding's impact upon program management could constitute another source of staff stress. Crowded conditions often negate staff efforts to interact with wards, since attention is focused on security (see Lerner, 1982, for example). Staff members may be frustrated by their inability to relate to large numbers of wards and to attend to other matters. For example, disciplinary incidents may go unreported when staff cannot afford the time to leave their posts.

Our interviews at YTS and NRCC highlighted the discouragement felt by many staff members. Several YTS counselors lamented undesirable changes in effective drug-abuse programs, changes forced upon them with the occurrence of overcrowding. As the number of wards assigned to the program rose from 80 to 104, caseloads increased, leaving less individual time for each ward. The original nine-month program shrunk to three months with the onset of overcrowding. The counselors feel their chances of successfully treating wards have been considerably reduced.

Counselors at NRCC noted that overcrowding in a reception center results in "daily battles to find beds for everyone". YA endeavors to limit its most severe crowding to reception centers, since reception center programs are minimal and thus would not be impacted as seriously as the treatment efforts undertaken at the schools.

While this policy favors the schools, it often has unexpected effects on the reception centers. According to staff, reception centers were relatively free of disciplinary problems before overcrowding. Wards, aware that their stay would be short, remained on their "best behavior", knowing this could result in time cuts when their cases were before YOPB. When the schools are filled to capacity, a ward's stay at the reception center is extended until space is available. Staff members indicated that once the placement and length of stay decision is made, there is less incentive for good behavior. Our analysis of DDMS incidents

confirmed this (i.e., DDMS incidents rose considerably between 1976 and 1981). This further burdens staff already trying to cope with larger ward populations.

Another negative impact overcrowding may have on staff is assaults and the fear of assaults by wards. This most often occurs when staff members intervene in encounters between wards. While relatively few staff assaults were reported during the past four years (92 assaults throughout the schools and reception centers in 1981), staff are still anxious for their safety. This tension serves to intensify the already-dangerous working conditions, thus reducing staff's ability to handle disciplinary problems. This has been cited as a cause of high staff turnover, and also may be a factor in incidents of injury and illness.

Interviews with staff at YTS and NRCC indicated that high unemployment further aggravates stress among staff. Dissatisfied YA employees are less apt to leave when other opportunities are more limited. The resultant anxiety compounds existing problems.

It seems that exposure to crowding-induced stress can affect staff morale, health, and effectiveness. Furthermore, the effects of overcrowding on ward behavior and program management may intensify already high levels of staff tension.

As part of our study, we wanted to measure indicia of staff stress by looking at turnover, sick leave, and injuries. Since data on staff turnover was not available prior to 1980, we chose to exclude this from our analysis.

Staff injuries are classified as the result of "ward disturbances", "environment", or "other". We anticipated that the first category would be most closely related to crowding. "Environmental" injuries are those such as tripping over equipment, running into a desk, etc. All remaining injuries are included in the "other" category.

Our findings regarding staff injuries showed little consistency. Only two facilities exhibited a significant association between crowding and injuries. At SRCC, crowding was positively related to the rate of injuries due to ward disturbances. At YTS, crowding was positively related to the number of total injuries, as well as the number and rate of "other" injuries. (Injury rates are defined as number of injuries divided by number of staff positions.) The few remaining relationships found did not fit any pattern. Some were negative and others were positive; some related to "other" injuries and others to total injuries.

Similarly, our data on usage of sick leave by staff did not present any consistent trends. We could not find any relationship between measures of population and utilization of sick leave. The number of days of sick leave taken increased over the

years, primarily due to increased staff positions. Between 1976 and 1981, the sick leave rate (average number of days used by each staff member) dropped in four of the facilities, and rose only slightly in the other two.

We thus conclude that our measures of stress (staff injuries and sick leave usage) do not indicate any correlation between crowding and the level of staff stress. It must be noted, however, that the measures used may not accurately reflect stress, or may not be sufficiently sensitive to identify changes that have occurred.

SECTION 4

CROWDING AND REHABILITATION

Few researchers have attempted to analyze the relationship between crowding and rehabilitation. There are several reasons why information on this topic is relatively sparse.

First, most studies of crowding are conducted in adult prison settings, where rehabilitation per se is not a primary concern. While some studies of adult prisons include rearrests or convictions, they are the exception and not the rule.

Second, there is no agreement on which treatment strategies have proven successful in rehabilitation. Wilson (1980), argues that there are no known treatment methods which enhance rehabilitation.

Finally, without any real understanding of which treatment techniques are effective, it is difficult to define and measure rehabilitation.

Lerner (1982) expresses a less pessimistic view of rehabilitation. After extensively interviewing YA wards and staff, he concluded that YA's progressive treatment programs could potentially be effective. However, he found that staff efforts at rehabilitation are negated by the oppressive living conditions fostered by the physical structure of YA institutions. The physical conditions are intensified by crowding, thus further negating staff rehabilitation attempts.

We noted in Section 3 that crowding directly affects the level of stress among YA wards and staff. To the degree that overcrowding-induced stress is a barrier to effective treatment and rehabilitation, our previous discussion is also relevant here.

We initially intended to correlate crowding with measures of rehabilitation such as participation in academic and vocational programs and parole revocation rates. We ultimately decided to forego this facet of the study after finding that the correlation analysis did not reveal any consistent findings. Discussions with YA staff revealed that program participation was also affected by many factors other than crowding, such as ward characteristics and changes in program emphasis.

Our discussion of the effects of crowding on rehabilitation is based on the available literature and on interviews with YA staff. For our purposes, we assumed that rehabilitation is enhanced by increased ward-staff interaction and by greater involvement in educational, vocational, or therapeutic programs geared to the ward's needs. We then used these as the best

available indicators of rehabilitation. Keeping in mind the limitations of trying to measure rehabilitative effectiveness, we also reviewed studies of the relationship between crowding and recidivism.

4.1 PROGRAM PLACEMENT

A key component of YA's rehabilitative efforts is the individualizing of treatment programs for each ward. Every effort is made to select the institution and specific living unit most closely matched to a particular ward's needs.

The Youthful Offender Parole Board (YOPB), at its initial hearing, determines the most appropriate institutional placement for each ward, based on prior reports and a staff evaluation. Information considered includes the ward's age, maturity level, place of residence, perceived delinquent sophistication, educational and vocational needs, as well as the various programs offered by each institution.

The final determination of institutional placement, however, is made by YA. When facilities are crowded, this determination is necessarily based on population management concerns. Crowding thus reduces administrative flexibility in handling wards. As such, wards are not always placed in the institution selected by YOPB as most ideal for rehabilitation.

We observed several Board hearings in the early part of 1981, at a time when YA was facing particularly severe population pressures. We found Board members to be frustrated by the lack of flexibility in placing wards and by their inability to make the final placement decision. Assuming that there is some rehabilitative value in YA institutional programs and that the Board is an adequate judge of appropriate institutional placement, failure to place wards in the recommended institutions results in a decline in prospects for rehabilitation.

Once placed in an institution, the ward is assigned to a specific living unit and treatment programs (e.g., high school classes, masonry trade classes). Ideally, this decision would be based upon criteria similar to those used in choosing the appropriate institution. However, as living units and programs become crowded, staff must make placement decisions on a space-available basis, and are less able to consider the needs, interests and aptitudes of any specific ward.

Even in uncrowded conditions, certain "high demand" programs (e.g., drug abuse treatment programs, specific vocational classes) have only a limited number of slots available. Some wards must therefore be placed in less desirable programs. Crowding further accentuates this situation.

When wards are placed in a less-than-ideal institution or living unit, the negative impact on wards can be even greater than expected. Crowded living units may house many incompatible wards. Violent offenders may be placed with those who have committed lesser property offenses. This can create an intensified atmosphere of verbal and physical abuse, allowing more sophisticated wards to dominate less sophisticated ones. Clements (1979) suggests that this increases stress levels far beyond what would be anticipated merely by the addition of a few more wards.

When wards are given unsuitable placements, a greater proportion of staff time must be spent resolving potential crisis situations and reducing tension. Less time is left for counseling or individual attention. Crowded conditions can also mask staff inabilities, becoming a convenient excuse for poor performance, inaction, or inadequate service.

Thus, we see that overcrowding can cause administration and staff to lose flexibility in program planning and placement, assigning wards to institutions, living units, or programs which do not adequately meet their needs. This has both direct and indirect effects on YA's ability to rehabilitate wards.

4.2 PROGRAM QUALITY AND PARTICIPATION

Once the placement decision is made, crowding can negatively affect both wards' participation in assigned programs and the quality of these programs.

One of the most extensive reviews of crowding and program participation was undertaken by Jan (1980). An overcrowding index was calculated for four Florida institutions, then compared with various measures of program participation. Although there was considerable variation between the institutions, Jan found a weak positive relationship between overcrowding and enrollment in grades 1 through 12. At the adult institutions, overcrowding was positively related to the rate of vocational education certificates issued, but negatively related to the rate of enrollment in college-level courses.

In YA, nearly all wards, except those with severe emotional problems, participate in academic or vocational programs. Therefore, as the total number of wards increases, the number placed in YA's educational programs also increases.

Based on a study of 23 juvenile correctional facilities, McEwen (1978) showed that as program size expanded, there was less likelihood of full program participation. Thus, it is clear that as crowding increases program participation, there will be less participation by wards.

YA is not budgeted to hire additional teachers. When conditions become crowded, the teacher-student ratio declines, allowing less time for individual contact. As a result, the quality of educational and treatment programs presumably suffers. Although the teacher-student ratio is important in any classroom, it is critical in an institutional setting where many wards have educational problems and need special attention.

It is obvious that crowding has a negative effect on the quality of educational opportunities available in YA institutions.

4.3 WARD-STAFF INTERACTION

There is some evidence that the quality and quantity of ward-staff interaction is an important factor in rehabilitation. Crowding is particularly detrimental, impairing the ability of wards and staff to form meaningful relationships. This was briefly discussed in the previous discussion of program quality and participation. Most of the studies that we reviewed compared ward-staff interaction with living unit size, institution size or ward-staff ratio.

YA recently concluded, after reviewing research on the subject, that the quality of ward-staff interaction could be enhanced significantly by reducing both living unit size and the staff-ward ratio. The findings of several studies indicate that juveniles are more apt to identify with socially-acceptable (staff) values when these reductions are made. By increasing both the quality and quantity of ward-staff interaction, wards appear amenable to treatment (CYA, January 1980b).

YA found that smaller and more highly staffed living units are associated with "positive, nonviolent, and nondelinquent social relations among inmates, as well as [inmate] identification with rehabilitative goals. . . . [S]mall living unit size or a high staff-to-inmate ratio is essential to the development of a therapeutic milieu and effective use of treatment strategies" (CYA, January 1979, p. 10).

Although many of these studies were unable to control confounding variables (such as variations in treatment modalities between comparative living units) or were unable to distinguish between the effects of living unit size and ward-staff ratio, virtually all concluded that small living units are prerequisite to successful treatment.

The McEwen analysis mentioned in the preceding section found that program size (both number of wards and staff-ward ratio) was significantly related to positive ward-staff relations. Smaller programs correlated positively with closer personal relationships between youths and staff, with youth perception of greater staff

consistency, and with greater likelihood of full program participation and close supervision. Optimum program size was determined to be between 10 and 35 juveniles.

YA's concern about ward-staff interaction was a catalyst for three studies. The first study (Jesness, October 1, 1965) examined the effects of living unit size on the level and quality of staff interaction with young male wards. The experimental and control groups were closely matched except that the experimental living unit contained 20 beds, while the control unit had 50 beds. The study found that wards in the experimental unit received almost five times more staff time than wards in the control unit. More supportive, individual relationships were developed between wards and staff in the smaller unit, and the unit was described as friendlier and less regimented.

According to the results of Jesness' study, the experimental wards were more effectively rehabilitated. This conclusion was drawn when parole revocations during 15 months following release were found to be less than otherwise anticipated. Although Jesness noted that the difference in revocation rates decreased after the first 15 months, any short-term increase in rehabilitative effectiveness may be attributable to increased ward-staff interaction.

YA also evaluated the effect of changing living unit size while keeping the staff-ward ratio constant in the Preston Institutional Violence Reduction Project (CYA, January 1980b). One living unit maintained the normal population of 47 wards and was enriched by one additional staff member, while another unit was decreased to 38 wards with no additional staff. The staff-ward ratio was 10 to 1 on both units. After 15 months, the conditions on the two units were reversed.

The results showed that a decrease of nine wards on the unit was positively related to ". . . an improvement in ward-staff relationships. . . [and] improvement in social climate, including more clearly defined program expectations, less need for staff controls, and more emphasis on [potential] post-release problems" (CYA, January 1980b, p. 1). Even without an increase in the staff-ward ratio, the wards indicated that they could express their feelings more freely and that staff were more likely to take a personal interest in them. This study demonstrated that the reduction of the number of wards per living unit was more effective than to the addition of staff to an already overcrowded unit.

YA's third study in this area took place at Dewitt Nelson (CYA, April 1981b). Ward population was reduced from 50 to 37 on four living units. Although not as rigorously controlled as the two prior studies, informal observations and interviews showed that

staff members had more time for counseling and were less preoccupied with surveillance procedures after the population reduction. Noise and tension levels diminished while communication between wards and staff was enhanced.

Brown and McMillen (August 1979) contend that the quality and quantity of individualized attention decreases as the size of the institution increases. Maintenance of day-to-day control gains priority, discouraging time for interaction and rehabilitation. Thus, the impact of larger institutions on ward-staff interactions is very similar to that of larger living units.

Clements (1979) notes that while the stress-related effects of overcrowding are well documented, it is important to consider the direct effects of crowding on treatment. As population pressures increase, there are too few staff to identify and treat problems that require counseling or individual attention. Attempts at therapy are more difficult in a negative environment.

Moos' study of 51 juvenile correctional units highlighted the importance of the ward-staff ratio and its effect on treatment quality and ward-staff interaction (Moos, 1975). He determined that smaller and more highly staffed correctional programs fostered more coherent and integrated social environments. He concluded that smaller living unit size is an indispensable prerequisite to the success of treatment strategies.

The size of individual living units, as well as the overall size of the institution, clearly can limit the quality and quantity of interaction between wards and staff, thus interfering with the rehabilitative process. While none of the studies reviewed assessed the effects of crowding per se (i.e., the studies did not compare population to capacity), crowding undoubtedly intensifies the problems associated with the large living units and institutions which typify YA.

4.4 RECIDIVISM

The term "recidivism", for purposes of this study, will be generally defined as a ward's return to YA as a parole violator. Recidivism rates are the most commonly used measure of rehabilitation, allowing the statistical comparison of various types of treatment. However, the validity of using recidivism as a measure of rehabilitation is open to question, since numerous factors other than treatment influence whether or not an individual will recidivate.

Conditions in both the institution and the community can affect a ward's parole performance, which in turn can affect the probability of return to YA as a parole violator. Since many of these variables are impossible to control, any attempt to document the effects of crowding using measures of recidivism is suspect.

This may be one of the reasons that few researchers attempt to measure rehabilitative effectiveness as a function of crowding.

In his Fricot Ranch study, Jesness found that young wards from a 20-bed unit were less likely to violate parole than were wards from a 50-bed unit. After 12 months on parole, the parole revocation rate for wards from the larger living unit was 50 percent higher than the rate for wards from the smaller unit. After 15 months on parole, the difference was 38 percent. After two years, however, there were no significant differences between the two groups (Jesness, 1965; Jesness, 1971). Thus, living unit size may have a short-term impact on rehabilitation.

Farrington and Nuttall (1980) note that there are very few studies of rehabilitation which randomly assign inmates to prisons of differing size in order to control for confounding variables (e.g., age of the facility, inmate-staff ratio, degree of overcrowding, geographic location, and individual characteristics of the inmates). Furthermore, most studies do not attempt to relate crowding to behavior outside the institution.

One of the only attempts to randomly allocate offenders to different size facilities was the Jesness study, discussed previously. The significant short-term effects of that study were criticized by Farrington and Nuttall because the larger unit had a larger ward-staff ratio and a more punitive form of management.

Farrington and Nuttall examined reconviction rates for 2000 men released from English and Welsh prisons during 1965. These rates were chosen as the best available measure of correctional effectiveness. While reconviction rates were not significantly related to prison size, there emerged a strong negative relationship to overcrowding, with crowding apparently reducing prison effectiveness.

The authors theorized that the relationship might be caused by "contamination" of less sophisticated prisoners. They postulated that attempts at rehabilitation are more difficult in overcrowded conditions and that overcrowding may cause excessive stress and aggression. We should note that their analysis of recidivism was limited to the first 18 months of parole. As shown by Jesness (1971), rehabilitative effectiveness shown in the early months of parole may diminish over time.

Overall, we found little substantive research on the relationship between crowding and recidivism. The few studies identified concluded that crowding hampers attempts at rehabilitation.

SECTION 5

BUDGETARY IMPACT OF CROWDING

It is difficult to place a dollar figure on the costs of crowding experienced by YA. Although YA's operating expenses increased over the past six years, some of this is attributable simply to inflation and to the larger ward population now housed by YA, rather than directly to crowding. For example, as the ward population increases, there are proportionate increases in the costs of food, clothing, bedding, educational and vocational materials, and supplies.

We were, however, able to assess some of the effects of crowding on correctional resources. The primary area in which crowding has a disproportionate impact on the budget is staffing. Other smaller, more indirect costs of overcrowding could be associated with the additional disciplinary problems and ward grievances previously discussed in Section 3.

We must also note that when rehabilitative efforts are, of necessity, sidetracked because of overcrowding, there are ultimate long-term costs to society. These costs, along with the additional costs to wards and staff, are impossible to assess.

5.1 STAFFING AND PERSONNEL COSTS

When faced with crowding, YA can adjust institutional staffing levels by hiring intermittent employees on an as-needed basis, by providing overtime hours to permanent staff or by creating additional permanent positions. The Department of Finance (with the State Legislature) allocates a maximum dollar amount yearly to be expended in each category, thus limiting YA's flexibility in choosing among these options.

It is often difficult for YA to add permanent positions in response to overcrowding, since it is faced by continually changing daily populations and by budget constraints. YA can only add youth counselor and group supervisor positions, since the Department of Finance requires that the academic and vocational classes be overcrowded rather than hire additional instructors.

The reception centers can respond to crowding more quickly than the schools due to their large intake and rapid turnover. Unlike the schools, the reception centers use an "overcrowding coverage formula" to establish staffing levels. At SRCC, for example, there are typically two counselors assigned to each 50-ward unit during the day. A population increase of 5 wards warrants 1 additional counselor, while a 12-ward increase requires 2 counselors.

The budgetary impact stems from the higher staff-ward ratio required when living units are crowded. The staff-ward ratio is 1 to 25 under normal circumstances, compared with 1 to 16.5 when crowded. Personnel costs per ward, then, are considerably higher when the reception center populations exceed 50 wards per living unit. At SRCC, the staff-ward ratio increases when the daytime population exceeds 313. During the past four years (1978 through 1981) the average daily population at SRCC fluctuated between 324 and 392. While this is only a rough measure of daily staffing costs, we can assume that personnel costs per ward were higher in those years as a direct result of overcrowding.

All YA facilities regularly use overtime and intermittent time to replace staff who are temporarily absent (e.g., sick leave or training). The use increases beyond normal levels when the facilities become crowded. Since we were unable to obtain fiscal records prior to 1980, we could not correlate overtime and intermittent costs with measures of crowding. However, we did compare records for 1980 and 1981, since average daily populations increased substantially in 1981.

The reception centers used intermittent employees much more frequently in 1981 than in the previous year, as average daily population and crowding increased in both facilities. The centers used 151,591.37 hours of intermittent time in 1981, nearly twice as many hours as in 1980 (89,097.26). The reception centers also increased the number of permanent positions from 521 in 1980 to 539 in 1981 (figures based on quarterly estimates). The use of overtime by regular employees in the reception centers was approximately the same in both years (66,210.23 in 1980, 66,086.31 in 1981).

In the four schools studied (O.H. Close, Preston, Ventura and YTS), fewer hours of intermittent time were used in 1981 than in 1980 (225,063.65 in 1980, 216,351.10 in 1981), while regular employees used more overtime (201,490.10 in 1980, 221,043.22 in 1981). Overall, the combined use of overtime and intermittent hours was higher in 1981 than in the previous year. At the same time, the four schools lost approximately 20 staff positions.

We cannot say with certainty that the additional overtime hours, intermittent hours, or staff positions in the reception centers, or the additional overtime hours in the schools, are attributable to overcrowding. Other factors were also significant, including the state freeze on hiring. But the fact that the ward population increased in all of the facilities implies that crowding is partially responsible. The associated monetary costs are the single most apparent budgetary impact of crowding.

5.2 COSTS OF WARD GRIEVANCES

In Section 3, we noted that crowding is associated with a higher level of grievances in YA institutions. Resolution of a

grievance requires staff time. The amount of time depends upon whether the grievance is handled formally or informally, and whether the ward appeals the grievance. A brief summary of the grievance resolution procedures clarifies these differences.

Upon the filing of a grievance, the ward has the right to a hearing before a grievance committee consisting of equal numbers of staff and wards. Although the grievance can be resolved informally prior to the committee hearing, staff members must prepare a written response regarding the disposition of the grievance in either situation.

Grievances not resolved to the satisfaction of either the ward or the staff can be appealed through the various levels of review (e.g., treatment team supervisor, program administrator, superintendent). If, after review, the grievance is not satisfactorily resolved, the matter can be appealed to the director of YA or to a professional arbitrator.

It is apparent that the higher the level of review, the more staff time must be devoted to a grievance. Approximately half (47%) of all grievances filed in 1981 were resolved informally, requiring only minimal staff time. An additional 30% reached the level of the institution's superintendent or the director of YA, and less than 1% required independent review. Grievances appealed to these levels incur the greatest staff time. (Some of the grievances heard by the institution's superintendent may be "emergency grievances", which do not follow the normal process of committee review and thus are not as costly in terms of staff time. The remaining grievances were resolved by treatment team supervisors or during committee hearings.

We were unable to determine whether crowding affects review practices, for example whether a greater portion of the grievances to be appealed during overcrowding. We do know that as progressively more grievances were filed, there generally were more grievances appealed through the highest levels of review. More time is therefore required of the superintendent, director or independent reviewer, as well as of staff involved in the earlier stages of review.

In some instances, staff may be able to complete the grievance review process during normal working hours, thus incurring no additional costs. If this becomes impossible, the additional time emerges as overtime.

If staff are able to complete the grievance review process during their normal working hours, there is no monetary impact. In some instances, the review process might require overtime. There are also direct costs incurred by the use of professional arbitrators.

We can assume that any increased costs associated with the ward grievance process in recent years are related to the higher population levels. Since we found some support for a relationship between grievance rates and crowding, it appears that crowding also imposes a financial burden on YA resources.

5.3 COSTS OF DISCIPLINARY INCIDENTS

We found that disciplinary incidents also increased during the past six years. Throughout the schools and reception centers, more than 5000 disciplinary incidents were reported in 1981, resulting in an increase of nearly 80% over 1976. At the same time, the average daily population rose only 27%. Our analysis of the six facilities indicated that the increased number and rate of disciplinary incidents were related to crowding.

Institutional staff have a range of options for reprimanding wards involved in disciplinary incidents, including restriction of privileges, program changes, lock up, transfer to another living unit or institution, extra duty, or time adds (i.e., additional months added to the ward's length of stay). The most expensive of these is obviously the addition of time, since each month that a ward remains in the institution costs approximately \$2000. Typically, time adds are reserved for the most serious incidents. Our analysis indicated that these more serious disciplinary incidents (i.e., assaults on wards and staff) declined during the six years that we studied. It is possible that this decline is related to the greater reliance on the grievance system by a larger number of wards.

Table 5-1

Use of Time Cuts and Time Adds Among Wards in YA Institutions (Schools and Reception Centers) 1976 - 1981							
	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	% Chg 76-81
<u>Time Cuts</u>							
Total Months	10,826	9,458	6,591	8,111	10,866	10,962	1.3
No. of Wards	3,168	3,010	2,495	3,492	4,325	4,345	37.2
% of ADP	77.5	81.6	61.9	76.8	90.8	83.4	
Mean Months	3.42	3.14	2.64	2.32	2.51	2.52	-26.3
<u>Time Adds</u>							
Total Months	8,266	6,029	6,208	7,600	7,407	6,271	-24.1
No. of Wards	2,334	1,725	1,751	2,267	2,265	1,836	-21.3
% of ADP	57.1	46.8	43.5	49.9	47.6	35.3	
Mean Months	3.54	3.50	3.55	3.35	3.27	3.42	-3.4
<u>Net Months</u>	-2,560	-3,429	-383	-511	-3,459	-4,691	

In 1981, about one-quarter of all disciplinary incidents resulted in time adds, compared with more than 40% in previous years. The total months of added time resulting from disciplinary incidents in the institutions dropped from 8266 in 1976 to 6271 in 1981, while the average time add dropped from 3.54 to 3.42 months.

In November 1980, YA's continuing concern about population pressures led to development of a policy to reduce time adds by encouraging other dispositions of disciplinary incidents. This policy, when coupled with the fact that there were progressively fewer assaultive incidents, accounts for the decline in time adds.

Judging from our figures, the costs associated with disciplinary time adds declined over the past six years. Additionally, time adds can be offset by time cuts, which typically are given to reward good behavior or program progress, or to reduce population pressures. Table 5-1 shows that YA gave time cuts to more wards in 1980 and 1981 than in previous years, although the average amount of time cut from wards' sentences was less. As a result of these countervailing trends, the total months of time cuts was nearly the same in 1976 as in 1981.

During each of the years that we studied, the net effect of time adds and time cuts was to reduce ward population. That is, time cuts outweighed time adds. The difference between the two was particularly large in 1981, when there were nearly 4700 more months of time cuts than time adds.

In the past few years, then, the reduction in time adds and the continued use of time cuts have been an effective means of reducing both population pressures and correctional resources in YA.

5.4 OTHER BUDGET CONSIDERATIONS

Finally, we must point out that crowding in one sense may produce a savings, since the annual cost per ward may be less. The California Department of Corrections recently announced that its annual cost per inmate declined \$400. While this is certainly not a "brighter side" of crowding, it can occur.

YA's research on living unit size poses contradictions in this area. The Preston Violence Reduction Project showed a net dollar savings--due to the reduction in violence, negative behavior, escapes and time adds--that was associated with lower ward density. A similar project at DeWitt Nelson Youth Conservation Center was not able to achieve a cost savings. While Preston experienced a net savings of 8 beds per year, the DeWitt Nelson project was unable to show any bed savings on lower density living units (i.e., 50-bed dormitories with 37 wards). At DeWitt Nelson, the budgetary impact of the reduction in violence and other acting-out behavior was not enough to offset the loss of 52 beds (CYA, April 1981b, P. 32).

SECTION 6

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this portion of our study was to assess the effects of crowding in YA, based on other studies of crowding, interviews with YA staff, and analysis of archival data. We looked at six-year trends in YA institutions as a whole and in six selected facilities (NRCC, SRCC, O.H. Close, Preston, Ventura, and YTS). Each of these facilities was overcrowded (i.e., contained more wards than it was budgeted for) during at least some of the years that we studied.

We designed our study to answer four general questions:

- Does overcrowding increase stress among wards?
- Does overcrowding increase stress among staff?
- Can YA fulfill its legislative mandate (i.e., the protection of society through rehabilitation of wards) when overcrowded?
- How does overcrowding affect budgetary considerations?

The findings presented in this report indicate that the overall population level of a facility, and the degree of crowding, may have important consequences for wards and staff, YA rehabilitative efforts and state financial resources.

6.1 STRESS AND CROWDING

The most commonly cited effect of crowding is stress among wards. We identified a variety of reasons why crowding might engender stress. Many of these are inextricably linked to the population increases, which lead to crowding, as well as to the confinement necessitated by prison settings.

Confinement itself can destroy a ward's sense of privacy and control over the environment. Increases in ward population can reduce the opportunity for meaningful activity, increasing the chances for negative encounters and unwanted social interactions. When crowding occurs, the negative impact of confinement may be intensified, as wards begin to fear for their personal safety.

We also saw a need to assess crowding-related stress among staff. Stress may be engendered by many of the same factors that affect wards, such as fear. When facilities are overpopulated, staff must cope with their inability to effectively interact with wards. Their efforts at rehabilitation may be undermined by this lack of interaction, as well as by the program changes needed to accommodate growing ward populations.

When we correlated population size and crowding with measures of ward and staff stress, we found inconsistencies between facilities. The inconsistencies are probably attributable to the different types of facilities and to the relatively short time span that we studied. It is also likely that our broad measures of stress (e.g., illness, grievances, disciplinary problems) are not sensitive enough to isolate all of the effects of crowding.

The following summarizes our findings from interviews with YA staff and analysis of archival data compiled for 1976 through 1981.

Does Overcrowding Increase Stress Among Wards?

The three measures used as indicators of ward stress were illness complaints, grievances, and disciplinary incidents.

(1) Illness Complaints

We initially predicted that illness complaints would increase with crowding. However, data from O.H. Close and Preston directly contradicted our prediction. We found crowding to be associated with reduced levels of illness.

It is possible that medical resources are overtaxed when facilities are crowded, discouraging wards from visiting the dispensary and making it difficult for medical staff to visit the living units. Similarly, staff may be unable to leave their posts to transport wards to and from the dispensary. If these assumptions are true, illness complaints do not accurately reflect ward stress.

If crowding renders medical facilities and staff unable to respond to wards' needs, this would constitute a negative impact not directly measured in this study. Staff interviews at NRCC and YTS supported this notion. When facilities are crowded, hospital beds are often used to provide extra sleeping space. As a result, there may not be beds available when a ward is actually ill.

(2) Ward Grievances

The formal grievance system utilized throughout YA provides wards with a means of resolving complaints about perceived problems, thus acting as an outlet for ward stress. While grievances may be viewed as a biased measure, their nature and frequency can indicate how wards respond to YA's environment and, indirectly, to the level of stress experienced.

During the past six years, YA's institutions as a whole experienced an increasing number of grievances. The greatest increases were found in the numbers of individual grievances (when a ward

feels that he or she has been unfairly treated) and equipment grievances (when a ward alleges faulty or inadequate equipment or physical facilities) filed. Although the number of grievances did not rise as rapidly as the population, we found that an increasingly larger proportion of wards used the grievance system.

In the six facilities that we studied in detail, there were wide variations in the number and types of grievances filed. However, there was one element common to all the institutions, except for O.H. Close. More grievances were filed as crowding increased. In four of the facilities, grievance rates for certain types of grievances went up as crowding increased. Thus, these grievances increased more than would be expected based on ward population alone.

Our analysis strongly supports the assumption that crowding prompts wards to file more grievances. The fact that grievance rates rose in four of the facilities, and that a greater portion of wards throughout all facilities filed grievances, indicates that this is not merely a function of population increases. Instead, grievances increased significantly and disproportionately as of crowding increased.

(3) Disciplinary Incidents

Studies of prison crowding tend to emphasize disciplinary incidents, particularly violent incidents, since these are the most visible effects of crowding and are important in institutional management. The three factors we used to measure unrest in YA facilities were total disciplinary incidents, assaults on wards, and assaults on staff.

Throughout YA institutions as a whole, the number of disciplinary incidents nearly doubled between 1976 and 1981. The more serious incidents, assaults upon staff and upon other wards, declined. Similarly, in our six selected facilities, we found that crowding generally is related to an increase in the number and rate of disciplinary incidents, and a reduction in assaults.

Our six-site analysis revealed that disciplinary incidents are also related to the number of wards committed for serious offenses (i.e., offenses against the person). Therefore, we assume that changes in ward characteristics during the past six years are partially responsible for the higher level of disciplinary incidents.

At first glance, the decline noted in ward and staff assaults appears to contradict the premise that crowding breeds violence. However, violent incidents may not appropriately measure stress in YA. Since about half of YA beds are in single rooms, the opportunities for aggressive behavior are reduced. Also, staff may be reluctant to report assaultive behavior when the

facilities are crowded, since it may result in time being added to the ward's length of stay. This is consistent with YA's new policy, implemented in the past year when crowding was at a peak, reducing time adds in order to ease population pressures.

In this situation, the level of total disciplinary incidents, which did in fact increase, may be a more accurate gauge of ward stress.

Does Overcrowding Increase Stress Among Staff?

Our two measures of staff stress (injuries and sick leave usage) were not consistently related to crowding. In two of the six study sites, certain types of injuries did increase as a function of crowding. However, in the remaining four facilities, the few relationships that we found between injuries and crowding did not fit any pattern. Similarly, our data on usage of sick leave by staff did not present any consistent trends.

While our analysis did not demonstrate that crowding increases stress among staff, our interviews at NRCC and YTS revealed other, less easily measured, manifestations of crowding-induced stress. First, YA often must make program changes to accommodate its growing ward population, even though these changes may be detrimental to wards and staff alike. For example, when crowding forces educational and treatment programs to accept more wards than they are designed for, staff may be frustrated by their inability to interact with wards on an individual basis. Other undesirable program changes, such as higher ward-staff ratios or shorter program time per ward, provide a further source of frustration.

Second, while increasingly fewer staff assaults were reported, it is difficult to measure the fear of assault which staff undoubtedly face each day. This fear may be intensified by crowding, when staff feel they cannot adequately supervise the increased number of wards.

6.2 CROWDING AND REHABILITATION

Can YA fulfill its legislative mandates (the protection of society through rehabilitation of wards) while overcrowded?

The relationship between crowding and rehabilitative effectiveness has received relatively little attention among researchers and thus is not well understood. We would expect that the crowding-induced stress experienced by wards and staff presents a barrier to effective rehabilitation.

Since our efforts to directly measure these effects did not show consistent findings, our assessment of crowding and rehabilitation was based on available literature and on interviews with YA

staff. We assumed that rehabilitation was enhanced by involvement in programs geared to the ward's needs and by ward-staff interaction. We then used these as the best available indicators of rehabilitation. We also reviewed studies of the relationship between crowding and recidivism.

(1) Program Placement

A key component of YA's rehabilitative efforts is the individualizing of treatment programs for each ward. Every effort is made to select the institution, specific living unit, and treatment program most closely matched to a particular ward's needs. We found that overcrowding reduces administrative and staff flexibility in program planning and placement, forcing ward placement decisions to be made on a space-available basis.

Not only do rehabilitative efforts suffer, but incompatible wards may be thrown into the same living unit. Violent offenders may be placed with those who have committed lesser offenses, creating a tense atmosphere in which more sophisticated wards may dominate less sophisticated ones.

(2) Program Participation and Quality

We anticipated that fewer wards would be allowed to participate in programs when the facilities were crowded, leaving many wards idle. However, given YA's policy that nearly all wards participate in an academic or vocational program, we found that the increasing numbers of wards served only to strain existing resources. Since YA generally is not budgeted to hire additional teachers in response to crowding, this results in a higher student-teacher ratio and allows less time for individual contact. Crowded conditions may also mask unrelated program deficiencies or inabilities of staff, becoming a convenient excuse for poor staff performance, inaction, or inadequate service delivery.

For these reasons, crowding reduces the quality of educational opportunities offered in YA institutions. The overall low level of academic achievement among young people entering YA, and their lack of vocational skills, makes this a particularly detrimental consequence of crowding.

(3) Ward-Staff Interaction

The quality and quantity of ward-staff interaction can be an important factor in rehabilitation. Crowding diminishes interaction both in the classroom setting, as discussed previously, and in ward living units.

YA's own research emphasizes that small living unit size and high staff-ward ratios are essential to rehabilitative efforts. Their

findings indicate that when these two criteria are met, staff members have more time for individual counseling and interaction. When relatively few staff are responsible for large numbers of wards, maintenance of day-to-day control and security becomes the priority, leaving little time for interaction and rehabilitation.

(4) Recidivism

There is very little substantive research on the relationship between crowding and recidivism. One YA study found that reduction in living unit size has a short-term impact on recidivism. It is not certain, however, whether the improvement was attributable to the size of the living unit or to the lower ward-staff ratio and more punitive form of management associated with the unit.

Due to the lack of studies on crowding and recidivism, we cannot draw any firm conclusions regarding this measure of rehabilitation. We can only infer that the impact of crowding on program placement, participation and quality, and on ward-staff interaction ultimately affects parole performance.

6.3 BUDGETARY IMPACT OF CROWDING

How Does Overcrowding Affect Budgetary Considerations?

It is difficult to place a dollar figure on the costs of crowding experienced by YA. While we know that YA's operating expenses increased during the past six years, we do not know how much of this is attributable to crowding per se rather than simply to population increases.

We must also note that when crowding forces rehabilitative efforts to be sidetracked, there are ultimately long-term costs to society. These costs, along with the costs to wards and staff who must live with crowding-induced stress, are impossible to assess.

We did evaluate three areas in which crowding might impact correctional resources: staffing and personnel costs, the ward grievances system, and the disciplinary decision-making system. Increases in staffing and personnel costs result directly from overcrowding, while the costs associated with ward grievances and disciplinary incidents result indirectly from other effects of crowding.

(1) Staffing and Personnel Costs

From a staffing standpoint, crowding is expensive. While YA must overfill its academic and vocational classes rather than hire additional teachers, security staff and living unit staff must be

supplemented to accommodate larger ward populations. Costs associated with hiring intermittent or permanent employees, or with paying overtime to current employees, are substantially higher than expectations which are based simply on population increases.

When the reception centers are crowded, additional employees are hired based on an established "overcrowding formula" (e.g., an addition of 5 wards to a 50-ward living unit warrants 1 additional counselor, while a 12-ward increase requires 2 counselors). Since there are normally only 2 counselors on each 50-ward living unit, the budgetary impact stems from the higher staff-ward ratio required to accommodate crowding.

YA schools, on the contrary, do not use any overcrowding formula. Generally, they supplement their staffing levels by hiring intermittent employees or paying overtime, rather than hiring additional permanent employees. While all YA facilities regularly use overtime and intermittent time to replace staff who are temporarily absent, the use increases beyond normal levels when the facilities become crowded.

The monetary costs associated with the higher staff-ward ratios, and with the use of intermittent time and overtime, is the single most apparent budgetary impact of crowding.

(2) Ward Grievances

We found that the level of ward grievances rose during the past six years as a result of increases in both ward population and crowding. Resolution of each grievance requires staff time. The amount of time, and associated staffing costs, depends upon whether the grievance is handled formally or informally, and whether the ward appeals the grievance.

Our analysis did not show whether crowding affects review practices (e.g., whether a greater portion of the grievances are appealed during times of crowding). However, we do know that as the volume of grievances grew, more grievances were appealed through higher levels of review, simply because there were more grievances available for appeal.

If staff are able to complete the review process during their normal working hours, there is no monetary impact, although this reduces the time available to interact with wards. However, if overtime is required, or if a professional arbitrator is needed, there is a direct monetary impact on YA.

(3) Disciplinary Incidents

We found that disciplinary incidents also increased during the past six years as a result of population increases and crowding. One of the options that may be used to reprimand wards involved in disciplinary incidents is "time adds" (i.e., additional months added to the ward's length of stay). Since each additional month a ward remains in the institution costs approximately \$1600, time adds are an expensive disciplinary measure.

We anticipated that the use of time adds would increase in proportion to the increase in disciplinary incidents. However, we found several reasons why this was not true. First, time adds are reserved for the most serious incidents, such as ward and staff assaults. These incidents declined during the past six years. Second, in November 1980, YA implemented a policy to reduce time adds as a result of population pressures. Evidently, the policy is effective: The total months of added time dropped more than 40% between 1976 and 1981.

In the past few years, then, the reduction in time adds has been an effective means of reducing population pressures and preserving correctional resources in YA.

6.4 CONCLUSIONS

During the past six years, YA faced unprecedented levels of crowding, along with potentially dangerous side effects. Although population pressures have eased for the time being, we anticipate that YA will see its ward populations grow again in the coming years.

What can be done to alleviate overcrowding? The most obvious solution--to build more institutions--is also the most expensive and, over the long run, least effective option. We can also reduce crowding by expanding the budgeted capacity of existing institutions, by sending fewer people to YA or by reducing the lengths of institutional stay. However, if we are unable to reduce the ward population, it is important to explore means of ameliorating the negative impact of crowding (e.g., increasing staffing levels).

While the options are relatively simple, choosing among them will be quite difficult. Perhaps the best approach is flexibility--giving YA the ability to respond to the ever-changing size and nature of its ward population before serious consequences of crowding can occur.

APPENDIX A

PART I DATA TABLES

APPENDIX A

PART I DATA TABLES

SOURCES AND NOTES TO APPENDIX TABLES

Population estimates and arrest statistics are presented in Tables A-1 through 10. Tables A-11 through 20 describe juvenile dispositions by law enforcement, probation, and juvenile courts. The tables include statewide data and statistics for nine counties: Alameda, Fresno, Kern, Los Angeles, Madera, Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Francisco, and Santa Clara. These counties were chosen based on their population, YA commitment rates, and geographical location.

Population estimates were obtained from the Department of Finance. Arrest and juvenile disposition data were obtained from the Department of Justice, Bureau of Criminal Statistics.

Table A-21 presents data on the number of YA commitments from juvenile and adult courts, obtained from published and unpublished YA statistics. Responses to our questionnaire are shown in Table A-22.

(1) Tables A-1 through 10

POPULATION. The two population groups that we used in the analysis are juveniles (ages 10 through 17) and young adults (ages 18 through 20). These correspond to the age of most YA commitments.

ARRESTS. The number of law violation arrests are shown for juveniles (under 18), adults (18 and over), and juveniles and adults combined. The major offense categories shown in the tables are:

- SEVEN MAJOR OFFENSES: homicide, forcible rape, robbery, assault, burglary, theft of over \$200, and motor vehicle theft.

 AGAINST PERSONS: homicide, forcible rape, robbery, assault. AGAINST PROPERTY: burglary, theft of over \$200, and motor vehicle theft.

- TOTAL: all law violations (excludes status offenses).
- FELONY LEVEL: person offenses (homicide, forcible rape, robbery, assault), property offenses (burglary, theft, motor vehicle theft, forgery, checks, and credit cards), drug law violations, and other miscellaneous felonies.
- MISDEMEANOR LEVEL: assault and battery, petty theft, checks and credit cards, drug law violations, weapons, and other miscellaneous misdemeanors.

Juvenile arrest rates for law violations are also included in Tables A-1 through A-10. The rates are per 100,000 population, and are calculated using the following formula:

$$\frac{\text{Number of juvenile arrests}}{\text{Population ages 10-17}} \times 100,000 = \text{Juvenile Arrest Rates}$$

(2) Tables A-11 through 20

This group of tables presents juvenile justice processing statistics for the three major system components: law enforcement, probation, and courts. All of the statistics are based on total offenses (law violations and status offenses).

Law enforcement dispositions are shown for the two major categories recorded by BCS: (1) handled within the department, and (2) referred to probation/juvenile court. Cases "handled within the department" include those released to parents or referred to a community program. Cases "referred to probation/juvenile court" do not necessarily imply subsequent handling by the probation department. They might instead involve a referral to a delinquency prevention office at the probation department who then refers the case to a local program. Although these two categories are broad and ambiguous, more detailed dispositional data are not available from BCS.

Probation dispositions are recorded by BCS as: (1) closed or transferred to another jurisdiction, (2) informal probation, or (3) petition filed. Cases handled by the probation department are classified as either "initial" or "subsequent" referrals. Initial referrals involve juveniles who are not already on probation at the time of their current offenses, while subsequent referrals involve juveniles who are on probation status. Since subsequent referrals were not recorded by BCS prior to 1980, this category is excluded from the statistical tables and analysis.

Juvenile court cases are also classified as either "initial" or "subsequent" petitions. The statistics compiled by BCS record initial court dispositions in four general categories: (1) closed or transferred to another jurisdiction, (2) remanded to adult court, (3) probation (non-ward and ward), and (4) CYA.

BCS statistics regarding subsequent petitions are less informative than those regarding initial petitions due to: (1) suspected inaccuracies in the data reported by Los Angeles County, and (2) change in the reporting system used by BCS. Because the data reported to BCS by Los Angeles County appear to be underreported, this county is excluded from the statistical tables and analysis. Also, BCS began instituting a new reporting system in 1979. Prior to that time, two of the dispositional options were recorded as "prior status maintained" and "formal probation initiated". In the new system, dispositions are recorded as either

non-ward or formal probation. Since these categories are not comparable, the trend analysis only includes the remaining dispositional categories: (1) closed/transferred, (2) remanded to adult court, and (3) CYA.

(3) Table A-21

This table shows the number of commitments admitted to YA during 1976 through 1981, by court of commitment and "status" of commitment (i.e., first commitment, parole return with or without a new commitment).

(4) Table A-22

As part of our study effort, we mailed questionnaires to probation officers, district attorneys, and juvenile court judges in the nine selected counties. We asked respondents to rate the importance of various factors in influencing their decision to either recommend or file a petition, or recommend or make a commitment to YA. Based on their ratings, we developed an overall rank ordering of the factors for each respondent group. These are shown in Table A-22.

TABLE A-1
POPULATION, CRIMES AND ARRESTS: CALIFORNIA
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
YOUTH POPULATION												
10-17	3,182,800	3,166,300	-0.5	3,142,600	-0.7	3,095,500	-1.5	3,059,600	-1.2	3,009,200	-1.6	-5.5
18-20	1,202,700	1,236,500	3.1	1,269,200	2.4	1,292,000	1.8	1,307,300	1.2	1,317,800	0.8	9.6
CRIMES-FREQUENCY												
FBI Index Crimes	1,548,314	1,516,842	-2.0	1,575,182	3.8	1,689,152	7.2	1,838,417	8.8	1,830,288	-0.4	18.2
7 Major Offenses	907,898	917,358	1.0	977,985	6.6	1,060,631	8.5	1,192,489	12.4	1,207,549	1.3	33.0
Person	143,507	158,827	10.7	164,751	3.7	183,704	11.5	209,903	14.3	208,165	-0.8	45.1
Property	764,391	764,531	0.0	813,234	6.4	876,927	7.8	982,586	12.0	999,384	1.7	30.7
CRIME RATES PER 100,000												
7 Major Offenses	4,135.1	4,100.7		4,280.0		4,553.0		5,016.1		5,218.7		
Person	653.6	683.1		721.0		788.6		882.9		899.6		
Property	3,481.5	3,417.5		3,559.0		3,764.4		4,133.2		4,319.1		
ARRESTS-FREQUENCY												
Total Juv./Adult	1,366,988	1,410,587	3.2	1,399,724	-0.8	1,460,608	4.3	1,561,658	6.9	1,666,569	6.7	21.9
Juv. Law Viol.	272,990	271,162	-0.7	254,401	-6.2	265,607	4.4	254,838	-4.1	242,472	-4.9	-11.2
Felony Level	103,003	102,473	-0.5	101,008	-1.4	101,425	0.4	97,621	-3.8	93,027	-4.7	-9.7
Person	16,398	16,141	-1.6	15,521	-3.8	16,898	8.9	16,980	0.5	16,319	-3.9	-0.5
Property	69,444	70,877	2.1	69,622	-1.8	67,317	-3.3	64,159	-4.7	60,937	-5.0	-12.3
Drug Law Viol.	9,895	8,108	-18.1	8,378	3.3	8,342	-0.4	7,419	-11.1	6,619	-10.8	-33.1
Other	7,266	7,347	1.1	7,487	1.9	8,868	18.4	9,063	2.2	9,152	1.0	26.0
Misdemean. Level	169,987	168,689	-0.8	153,393	-9.1	164,182	7.0	157,217	-4.2	149,445	-4.9	-12.1
Adult Felony	224,532	224,961	0.2	233,957	4.0	254,467	8.8	274,814	8.0	293,168	6.7	30.6
Person	53,430	55,538	3.9	57,906	4.3	64,789	11.9	68,692	6.0	67,434	-1.8	26.2
Property	94,108	93,924	-0.2	96,592	2.8	105,009	8.7	112,140	6.8	121,429	8.3	29.0
ARREST RATES PER 100,000 (age 10-17)												
Total Juvenile	8,577.0	8,564.0		8,095.2		8,580.4		8,329.1		8,057.7		
Felony	3,236.2	3,236.4		3,214.2		3,276.5		3,190.6		3,091.4		
Person	515.2	509.8		493.9		545.9		555.0		542.3		
Property	2,181.9	2,238.4		2,215.4		2,174.7		2,097.0		2,025.0		
Drug Law Viol.	310.9	256.1		266.6		269.5		242.5		220.0		
Other	228.3	232.0		238.2		286.5		296.2		304.1		
Misdemeanor	5,370.8	5,327.6		4,881.1		5,302.9		5,138.5		4,966.3		

TABLE A-2
POPULATION, CRIMES AND ARRESTS: ALAMEDA COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
YOUTH POPULATION												
10-17	151,080	146,080	-3.3	142,070	-2.7	132,280	-6.9	135,690	2.6	133,740	-1.4	-11.5
18-20	61,000	57,516	-5.7	58,260	1.3	58,870	1.0	58,840	-0.1	58,370	-0.8	-4.3
CRIMES-FREQUENCY												
FBI Index Crimes	95,948	93,879	-2.2	94,099	0.2	101,921	8.3	106,493	4.5	109,418	2.7	14.0.
7 Major Offenses	52,811	52,468	-0.6	51,237	-2.3	54,966	7.3	60,664	10.4	64,965	7.1	23.0
Person	8,854	9,229	4.2	9,149	-0.9	10,555	15.4	12,409	17.6	11,673	-5.9	31.8
Property	43,957	43,239	-1.6	42,088	-2.7	44,411	5.5	48,255	8.7	53,292	10.4	21.2
CRIME RATES PER 100,000												
7 Major Offenses	4,773.7	4,736.2		4,615.1		4,970.7		5,488.0		5,840.1		
Person	800.3	833.1		824.1		954.5		1,122.6		1,049.4		
Property	3,973.3	3,903.1		3,791.0		4,016.2		4,365.4		4,790.7		
ARRESTS-FREQUENCY												
Total Juv./Adult	75,840	76,317	0.6	76,593	0.4	89,067	16.3	94,235	5.8	98,690	4.7	30.1
Juv. Law Viol.	15,495	14,565	-6.0	13,216	-9.3	15,415	16.6	15,033	-2.5	13,830	-8.0	-10.7
Felony Level	5,303	5,263	-0.8	4,813	-8.6	5,391	12.0	5,206	-3.4	4,793	-7.9	-9.6
Person	871	848	-2.6	724	-14.6	969	33.8	1,001	3.3	883	-11.8	1.4
Property	3,644	3,732	2.4	3,430	-8.1	3,472	1.2	3,323	-4.3	3,015	-9.3	-17.3
Drug Law Viol.	460	307	-33.3	363	18.2	432	19.0	440	1.9	431	-2.0	-6.3
Other	328	376	14.6	296	-21.3	518	75.0	442	-14.7	464	5.0	41.5
Misdemean. Level	10,192	9,302	-8.7	8,403	-9.7	10,024	19.3	9,827	-2.0	9,037	-8.0	-11.3
Adult Felony	12,066	11,956	-0.9	12,082	1.1	13,611	12.7	14,152	4.0	15,890	12.3	31.7
Person	2,972	2,884	-3.0	3,001	4.1	3,388	12.9	3,497	3.2	3,674	5.1	23.6
Property	5,314	5,362	0.9	5,177	-3.5	5,890	13.8	5,925	0.6	6,851	15.6	28.9
ARREST RATES PER 100,000 (age 10-17)												
Total Juvenile	10,256.2	9,970.6		9,302.5		11,653.3		11,078.9		10,341.0		
Felony	3,510.1	3,602.8		3,387.8		4,075.4		3,836.7		3,583.8		
Person	576.5	580.5		509.6		732.5		737.7		660.2		
Property	2,412.0	2,554.8		2,414.3		2,624.7		2,449.0		2,254.4		
Drug Law Viol.	304.5	210.2		255.5		326.6		324.3		322.3		
Other	217.1	257.4		208.3		391.6		325.7		346.9		
Misdemeanor	6,746.1	6,367.7		5,914.7		7,577.9		7,242.2		6,757.1		

**TABLE A-3
POPULATION, CRIMES AND ARRESTS: FRESNO COUNTY
1976 - 1981**

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
YOUTH POPULATION												
10-17	71,740	73,170	2.0	72,500	-0.9	71,180	-1.8	69,560	-2.3	68,280	-1.8	-4.8
18-20	26,250	27,820	6.0	27,670	-0.5	28,020	1.3	28,110	0.3	28,750	2.3	9.5
CRIMES-FREQUENCY												
FBI Index Crimes	39,795	37,937	-4.7	40,154	5.8	40,666	1.3	43,279	6.4	42,911	-0.9	7.8
7 Major Offenses	24,606	24,853	1.0	26,418	6.3	26,657	0.9	28,180	5.7	27,809	-1.3	13.0
Person	2,868	3,416	19.1	3,697	8.2	4,125	11.6	4,674	13.3	4,188	-10.4	46.0
Property	21,738	21,437	-1.4	22,721	6.0	22,532	-0.8	23,506	4.3	23,621	0.5	8.7
CRIME RATES PER 100,000												
7 Major Offenses	5,207.6	5,114.8		5,329.4		5,273.4		5,448.6		5,356.1		
Person	607.0	703.0		745.8		816.0		903.7		806.6		
Property	4,600.6	4,411.8		4,583.6		4,457.4		4,544.9		4,549.5		
ARRESTS-FREQUENCY												
Total Juv./Adult	36,318	40,169	10.6	41,232	2.6	43,616	5.8	46,307	6.2	48,373	4.5	33.2
Juv. Law Viol.	5,239	5,996	14.4	6,336	5.7	7,039	11.1	7,006	-0.5	6,502	-7.2	24.1
Felony Level	1,736	1,901	9.5	2,354	23.8	2,394	1.7	2,286	-4.5	2,188	-4.3	26.0
Person	258	333	29.1	503	51.1	534	6.2	506	-5.2	451	-10.9	74.8
Property	1,282	1,334	4.1	1,581	18.5	1,573	-0.5	1,449	-7.9	1,413	-2.5	10.2
Drug Law Viol.	87	84	-3.4	108	28.6	97	-10.2	123	26.8	129	4.9	48.3
Other	109	150	37.6	162	8.0	190	17.3	208	9.5	195	-6.3	78.9
Misdemean. Level	3,503	4,095	16.9	3,982	-2.8	4,645	16.6	4,720	1.6	4,314	-8.6	23.2
Adult Felony	4,993	5,256	5.3	5,019	-4.5	4,832	-3.7	5,564	15.1	5,888	5.8	17.9
Person	1,301	1,556	19.6	1,515	-2.6	1,608	6.1	1,857	15.5	1,731	-6.8	33.1
Property	2,574	2,623	1.9	2,410	-8.1	2,044	-15.2	2,331	14.0	2,614	12.1	1.6
ARREST RATES PER 100,000 (age 10-17)												
Total Juvenile	7,302.8	8,194.6		8,739.3		9,889.0		10,071.9		9,522.6		
Felony	2,419.8	2,598.1		3,246.9		3,363.3		3,286.4		3,204.5		
Person	359.6	455.1		693.8		750.2		727.4		660.5		
Property	1,787.0	1,823.2		2,180.7		2,209.9		2,083.1		2,069.4		
Drug Law Viol.	121.3	114.8		149.0		136.3		176.8		188.9		
Other	151.9	205.0		223.4		266.9		299.0		285.6		
Misdemeanor	4,882.9	5,596.6		5,492.4		6,525.7		6,785.5		6,318.1		

TABLE A-4
POPULATION, CRIMES AND ARRESTS: KERN COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
YOUTH POPULATION												
10-17	56,220	56,290	0.1	55,100	-2.1	53,620	-2.7	52,090	-2.9	50,520	-3.0	-10.1
18-20	18,900	19,560	3.5	19,850	1.5	20,150	1.5	20,190	0.2	19,970	-1.1	5.7
CRIMES-FREQUENCY												
FBI Index Crimes	28,669	28,281	-1.4	29,352	3.8	31,528	7.4	36,144	14.6	34,500	-4.5	20.3
7 Major Offenses	15,128	15,472	2.3	16,971	9.7	17,822	5.0	21,445	20.3	21,183	-1.2	40.0
Person	1,882	2,230	18.5	2,643	18.5	2,888	9.3	3,286	13.8	3,252	-1.0	72.8
Property	13,246	13,242	0.0	14,328	8.2	14,934	4.2	18,159	21.6	17,931	-1.3	35.4
CRIME RATES PER 100,000												
7 Major Offenses	4,153.8	4,136.9		4,421.8		4,522.2		5,287.2		5,135.3		
Person	516.7	596.3		688.6		732.8		810.2		788.4		
Property	3,637.0	3,540.6		3,733.2		3,789.4		4,477.1		4,346.9		
ARRESTS-FREQUENCY												
Total Juv./Adult	27,042	26,592	-1.7	24,839	-6.6	28,492	14.7	33,994	19.3	36,407	7.1	34.6
Juv. Law Viol.	6,442	6,960	8.0	6,100	-12.4	6,815	11.7	6,799	-0.2	6,342	-6.7	-1.6
Felony Level	1,792	2,038	13.7	2,029	-0.4	2,071	2.1	2,075	0.2	1,985	-4.3	10.8
Person	260	322	23.8	261	-18.9	396	51.7	357	-9.8	410	14.8	57.7
Property	1,398	1,534	9.7	1,582	3.1	1,453	-8.2	1,502	3.4	1,258	-16.2	-10.0
Drug Law Viol.	69	107	55.1	92	-14.0	81	-12.0	102	25.9	178	74.5	158.0
Other	73	75	2.7	94	25.3	141	50.0	114	-19.1	139	21.9	90.4
Misdemean. Level	4,650	4,922	5.8	4,071	-17.3	4,744	16.5	4,724	-0.4	4,357	-7.8	-6.3
Adult Felony	3,370	3,336	-1.0	3,527	5.7	4,027	14.2	4,821	19.7	5,990	24.2	77.7
Person	779	920	18.1	991	7.7	1,199	21.0	1,373	14.5	1,587	15.6	103.7
Property	1,533	1,461	-4.7	1,538	5.3	1,692	10.0	1,997	18.0	2,281	14.2	48.8
ARREST RATES PER 100,000 (age 10-17)												
Total Juvenile	11,458.6	12,364.5		11,070.8		12,709.8		13,052.4		12,553.4		
Felony	3,187.5	3,620.5		3,682.4		3,862.4		3,983.5		3,929.1		
Person	462.5	572.0		473.7		738.5		685.4		811.5		
Property	2,486.7	2,725.2		2,871.1		2,709.8		2,883.5		2,490.1		
Drug Law Viol.	122.7	190.1		167.0		151.1		195.8		352.3		
Other	129.8	133.2		170.6		263.0		218.9		275.1		
Misdemeanor	8,271.1	8,744.0		7,388.4		8,847.4		9,068.9		8,624.3		

TABLE A-5
POPULATION, CRIMES AND ARRESTS: LOS ANGELES COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
YOUTH POPULATION												
10-17	937,850	971,300	3.6	955,860	-1.6	935,360	-2.1	911,290	-2.6	884,280	-3.0	-5.7
18-20	372,150	344,770	-7.4	346,460	0.5	347,900	0.4	347,930	--	346,930	-0.3	-6.8
CRIMES-FREQUENCY												
FBI Index Crimes	505,671	491,886	-2.7	517,268	5.2	562,721	8.8	626,730	11.4	634,212	1.2	25.4
7 Major Offenses	341,105	339,445	-0.5	365,280	7.6	403,749	10.5	464,456	15.0	476,274	2.5	39.6
Person	66,688	70,411	5.6	76,541	8.7	86,868	13.5	99,724	14.8	99,392	-0.3	49.0
Property	274,417	269,034	-2.0	288,739	7.3	316,881	9.7	364,732	15.1	376,882	3.3	37.3
CRIME RATES PER 100,000												
7 Major Offenses	4,707.1	4,673.6		4,973.1		5,455.9		6,195.1		6,331.4		
Person	920.3	969.4		1,042.1		1,173.9		1,330.1		1,321.3		
Property	3,786.8	3,704.2		3,931.0		4,282.1		4,864.9		5,010.1		
ARRESTS-FREQUENCY												
Total Juv./Adult	513,447	512,561	-0.2	483,127	-5.7	499,115	3.3	495,967	-0.6	513,183	3.5	-0.1
Juv. Law Viol.	86,925	83,642	-3.8	77,103	-7.8	77,678	0.7	73,867	-4.9	69,230	-6.3	-20.4
Felony Level	41,551	40,924	-1.5	40,686	-0.6	39,591	-2.7	39,157	-1.1	36,967	-5.6	-11.0
Person	7,857	7,415	-5.6	7,029	-5.2	7,563	7.6	8,406	11.1	8,027	-4.5	2.2
Property	26,069	26,992	3.5	26,344	-2.4	24,881	-5.6	24,128	-3.0	23,035	-4.5	-11.6
Drug Law Viol.	5,007	4,016	-19.8	4,618	15.0	4,305	-6.8	3,569	-17.1	2,749	-23.0	-45.1
Other	2,618	2,501	-4.5	2,695	7.8	2,842	5.5	3,054	7.5	3,156	3.3	20.6
Misdemean. Level	45,374	42,718	-5.9	36,417	-14.8	38,087	4.6	34,710	-8.9	32,263	-7.0	-28.9
Adult Felony	95,411	94,548	-0.9	98,953	4.7	109,945	11.1	113,213	3.0	117,389	3.7	23.0
Person	23,759	24,505	3.1	25,565	4.3	28,571	11.8	29,423	3.0	28,563	-2.9	20.2
Property	36,099	36,429	0.9	37,727	3.6	42,317	12.2	44,942	6.2	48,671	8.3	34.8
ARREST RATES PER 100,000 (age 10-17)												
Total Juvenile	9,268.5	8,611.3		8,066.3		8,304.6		8,105.8		7,829.0		
Felony	4,430.5	4,213.3		4,256.5		4,232.7		4,296.9		4,180.5		
Person	837.8	763.4		735.4		808.6		922.4		907.7		
Property	2,779.7	2,779.0		2,756.1		2,660.0		2,647.7		2,604.9		
Drug Law Viol.	533.9	413.5		483.1		460.3		391.6		310.9		
Other	279.1	257.5		281.9		303.8		335.1		356.9		
Misdemeanor	4,838.1	4,398.0		3,809.9		4,071.9		3,808.9		3,648.5		

TABLE A-6
POPULATION, CRIMES AND ARRESTS: MADERA COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
YOUTH POPULATION												
10-17	7,120	7,780	9.3	7,850	0.9	7,840	-0.1	7,870	0.4	7,980	1.4	12.1
18-20	2,330	2,360	1.3	2,440	3.4	2,580	5.7	2,680	3.9	2,740	2.2	17.6
CRIMES-FREQUENCY												
FBI Index Crimes	2,341	2,510	7.2	2,769	10.3	2,984	7.8	3,283	10.0	3,587	9.3	53.2
7 Major Offenses	1,578	1,667	5.6	1,835	10.1	2,044	11.4	2,349	14.9	2,667	13.5	69.0
Person	325	315	-3.1	328	4.1	345	5.2	388	12.5	493	27.1	51.7
Property	1,253	1,352	7.9	1,507	11.5	1,699	12.7	1,961	15.4	2,174	10.9	73.5
CRIME RATES PER 100,000												
7 Major Offenses	3,149.7	3,121.7		3,259.3		3,384.1		3,676.1		4,047.0		
Person	648.7	589.9		582.6		571.2		607.2		748.1		
Property	2,501.0	2,531.8		2,676.7		2,812.9		3,068.9		3,298.9		
ARRESTS-FREQUENCY												
Total Juv./Adult	4,158	4,078	-1.9	4,133	1.3	4,965	20.1	6,140	23.7	6,797	10.7	63.5
Juv. Law Viol.	419	517	23.4	533	3.1	544	2.1	537	-1.3	548	2.0	30.8
Felony Level	162	207	27.8	215	3.9	149	-30.7	164	10.1	179	9.1	10.5
Person	17	31	82.4	42	35.5	35	-16.7	23	-34.3	25	8.7	47.1
Property	122	146	19.7	151	3.4	93	-38.4	114	22.6	132	15.8	8.2
Drug Law Viol.	8	4	-50.0	3	-25.0	4	33.3	3	-25.0	2	-33.3	-75.0
Other	15	26	73.3	19	-26.9	17	-10.5	24	41.2	20	-16.7	33.3
Misdemean. Level	257	310	20.6	318	2.6	395	24.2	373	-5.6	369	-1.1	43.6
Adult Felony	615	612	-0.5	607	-0.8	661	8.9	702	6.2	811	15.5	31.9
Person	147	182	23.8	184	1.1	227	23.4	246	8.4	223	-9.3	51.7
Property	261	253	-3.1	254	0.4	263	3.5	282	7.2	361	28.0	38.3
ARREST RATES PER 100,000 (age 10-17)												
Total Juvenile	5,884.8	6,645.2		6,789.8		6,938.8		6,823.4		6,867.2		
Felony	2,275.3	2,660.7		2,738.9		1,900.5		2,083.9		2,243.1		
Person	238.8	398.5		535.0		446.4		292.2		313.3		
Property	1,713.5	1,876.6		1,923.6		1,186.2		1,448.5		1,654.1		
Drug Law Viol.	112.4	51.4		38.2		51.0		38.1		25.1		
Other	210.7	334.2		242.0		216.8		305.0		250.6		
Misdemeanor	3,609.6	3,984.6		4,051.0		5,038.3		4,739.5		4,624.1		

TABLE A-7
POPULATION, CRIMES AND ARRESTS: SACRAMENTO COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
YOUTH POPULATION												
10-17	112,180	104,340	-7.0	101,260	-3.0	97,700	-3.5	93,710	-4.1	90,800	-3.1	-19.1
18-20	42,620	40,360	-5.3	40,490	0.3	40,690	0.5	40,150	-1.3	39,900	-0.6	-6.4
CRIMES-FREQUENCY												
FBI Index Crimes	59,729	57,152	-4.3	63,338	10.8	68,260	7.8	76,141	11.5	78,350	2.9	31.2
7 Major Offenses	33,779	33,259	-1.5	37,720	13.4	41,042	8.8	46,166	12.5	49,353	6.9	46.1
Person	4,654	4,903	5.4	5,607	14.4	5,636	0.5	5,820	3.3	6,365	9.4	36.8
Property	29,125	28,356	-2.6	32,113	13.2	35,406	10.3	40,346	14.0	42,988	6.5	47.6
CRIME RATES PER 100,000												
7 Major Offenses	4,756.9	4,570.4		5,061.7		5,345.4		5,856.4		6,186.9		
Person	655.4	673.8		752.4		734.0		738.3		797.9		
Property	4,101.5	3,896.7		4,309.3		4,611.4		5,118.1		5,389.0		
ARRESTS-FREQUENCY												
Total Juv./Adult	46,571	49,013	5.2	45,959	-6.2	46,991	2.2	48,813	3.9	47,464	-2.8	1.9
Juv. Law Viol.	8,194	8,469	3.4	7,065	-16.6	8,425	19.2	7,582	-10.0	6,016	-20.7	-26.6
Felony Level	3,097	2,972	-4.0	2,555	-14.0	2,668	4.4	2,449	-8.2	2,475	1.1	-20.1
Person	463	533	15.1	384	-28.0	441	14.8	426	-3.4	417	-2.1	-9.9
Property	2,234	2,062	-7.7	1,818	-11.8	1,778	-2.2	1,650	-7.2	1,680	1.8	-24.8
Drug Law Viol.	123	117	-4.9	113	-3.4	147	30.1	146	-0.7	129	-11.6	4.9
Other	277	260	-6.1	240	-7.7	302	25.8	227	-24.8	249	9.7	-10.1
Misdemean. Level	5,097	5,497	7.8	4,510	-18.0	5,757	27.6	5,133	-10.8	3,541	-31.0	-30.5
Adult Felony	7,179	6,933	-3.4	7,103	2.5	7,375	3.8	8,253	11.9	9,097	10.2	26.7
Person	1,901	1,990	4.7	1,910	-4.0	2,013	5.4	1,986	-1.3	2,189	10.2	15.1
Property	2,794	2,568	-8.1	2,660	3.6	2,788	4.8	3,080	10.5	3,366	9.3	20.5
ARREST RATES PER 100,000 (age 10-17)												
Total Juvenile	7,304.3	8,116.7		6,977.1		8,623.3		8,090.9		6,625.6		
Felony	2,760.7	2,848.4		2,523.2		2,730.8		2,613.4		2,725.8		
Person	412.7	510.8		379.2		451.4		454.6		459.3		
Property	1,991.4	1,976.2		1,795.4		1,819.9		1,760.8		1,850.2		
Drug Law Viol.	109.6	112.1		111.6		150.5		155.8		142.1		
Other	246.9	249.2		237.0		309.1		242.2		274.2		
Misdemeanor	4,543.6	5,268.4		4,453.9		5,892.5		5,477.5		3,899.8		

TABLE A-8
POPULATION, CRIMES AND ARRESTS: SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
YOUTH POPULATION												
10-17	108,770	112,790	3.7	111,260	-1.4	109,550	-1.5	108,510	-0.9	107,640	-0.8	-1.0
18-20	41,390	40,680	-1.7	41,980	3.2	42,410	1.0	42,730	0.8	42,650	-0.2	3.0
CRIMES-FREQUENCY												
FBI Index Crimes	50,602	54,966	8.6	56,109	2.1	62,934	12.2	70,380	11.8	70,201	-0.3	38.7
7 Major Offenses	28,205	33,272	18.0	35,143	5.6	39,642	12.8	45,745	15.4	46,670	2.0	65.5
Person	3,797	5,103	34.4	5,573	9.2	6,190	11.1	7,299	17.9	7,344	0.6	93.4
Property	24,408	28,169	15.4	29,570	5.0	33,452	13.1	38,446	14.9	39,326	2.3	61.1
CRIME RATES												
PER 100,000												
7 Major Offenses	3,862.6	4,362.4		4,326.9		4,637.6		5,062.0		5,039.4		
Person	520.0	669.1		686.2		724.1		807.7		793.0		
Property	3,342.6	3,693.3		3,640.7		3,913.4		4,254.3		4,246.4		
ARRESTS-FREQUENCY												
Total Juv./Adult	39,262	38,994	-0.7	38,422	-1.5	41,869	9.0	46,005	9.9	50,055	8.8	27.5
Juv. Law Viol.	9,363	10,066	7.5	9,312	-7.5	10,995	18.1	10,148	-7.7	10,760	6.0	14.9
Felony Level	3,666	4,031	10.0	4,004	-0.7	4,480	11.9	4,355	-2.8	4,485	3.0	22.3
Person	567	716	26.3	729	1.8	770	5.6	646	-16.1	710	9.9	25.2
Property	2,595	2,794	7.7	2,765	-1.0	3,087	11.6	3,085	-0.1	3,143	1.9	21.1
Drug Law Viol.	222	200	-9.9	211	5.5	209	-0.9	220	5.3	206	-6.4	-7.2
Other	282	321	13.8	299	-6.9	414	38.5	404	-2.4	426	5.4	51.1
Misdemean. Level	5,697	6,035	5.9	5,308	-12.0	6,515	22.7	5,793	-11.1	6,275	8.3	10.1
Adult Felony	6,816	7,171	5.2	7,641	6.6	8,732	14.3	9,878	13.1	10,956	10.9	60.7
Person	1,611	1,889	17.3	2,080	10.1	2,510	20.7	2,726	8.6	2,611	-4.2	62.1
Property	2,952	2,982	1.0	3,087	3.5	3,572	15.7	4,200	17.6	4,638	10.4	57.1
ARREST RATES												
PER 100,000												
(age 10-17)												
Total Juvenile	8,608.1	8,924.6		8,369.6		10,036.5		9,352.1		9,996.3		
Felony	3,370.4	3,573.9		3,598.8		4,089.5		4,013.5		4,166.7		
Person	521.3	634.8		655.2		702.9		595.3		659.6		
Property	2,385.8	2,477.2		2,485.2		2,817.9		2,843.1		2,919.9		
Drug Law Viol.	204.1	177.3		189.6		190.8		202.7		191.4		
Other	259.3	284.6		268.7		377.9		372.3		395.8		
Misdemeanor	5,237.7	5,350.7		4,770.8		5,947.1		5,338.7		5,829.6		

TABLE A-9
POPULATION, CRIMES AND ARRESTS: SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change		% Change		% Change		% Change		% Change	
			76-77	1978	77-78	1979	78-79	1980	79-80	1981	80-81	76-81
YOUTH POPULATION												
10-17	59,050	60,000	1.6	57,610	-4.0	55,280	-4.0	53,290	-3.6	51,600	-3.2	-12.6
18-20	28,520	26,660	-6.5	26,150	-1.9	25,700	1.7	25,280	-1.6	24,900	-1.5	-12.7
CRIMES-FREQUENCY												
FBI Index Crimes	78,465	72,644	-7.4	71,782	-1.2	72,321	0.8	71,956	-0.5	73,501	2.1	-6.3
7 Major Offenses	55,080	49,875	-9.4	48,322	-3.1	49,972	3.4	48,064	-3.8	46,357	-3.6	-15.8
Person	10,799	9,432	-12.7	10,613	12.5	11,202	5.5	12,867	14.9	12,181	-5.3	12.8
Property	44,281	40,443	-8.7	37,709	-6.8	38,770	2.8	35,197	-9.2	34,176	-2.9	-22.8
CRIME RATES PER 100,000												
7 Major Offenses	7,981.5	7,288.5		7,083.3		7,356.4		7,089.1		6,810.2		
Person	1,564.8	1,378.3		1,555.7		1,649.1		1,897.8		1,789.5		
Property	6,416.6	5,910.1		5,527.6		5,707.3		5,191.3		5,020.7		
ARRESTS-FREQUENCY												
Total Juv./Adult	43,782	46,509	6.2	53,564	15.2	53,120	-0.8	59,206	11.5	72,535	22.5	65.7
Juv. Law Viol.	5,016	5,251	4.7	5,488	4.5	5,381	-1.9	5,587	3.8	5,235	-6.3	4.4
Felony Level	2,407	2,323	-3.5	2,279	-1.9	2,179	-4.4	2,349	7.8	1,904	-18.9	-20.9
Person	621	468	-24.6	549	17.3	554	0.9	586	5.8	472	-19.5	-24.0
Property	1,664	1,678	0.8	1,532	-8.7	1,378	-10.1	1,278	-7.3	1,000	-21.8	-39.9
Drug Law Viol.	48	71	47.9	91	28.2	117	28.6	178	52.1	119	-33.1	147.9
Other	74	106	43.2	107	0.9	130	21.5	307	136.2	313	2.0	323.0
Misdemean. Level	2,609	2,928	12.2	3,209	9.6	3,202	-0.2	3,238	1.1	3,331	2.9	27.7
Adult Felony	10,013	11,345	13.3	11,577	2.0	12,130	4.8	12,372	2.0	15,300	23.7	52.8
Person	3,148	3,074	-2.4	3,202	4.2	3,470	8.4	3,204	-7.7	3,349	4.5	6.4
Property	4,631	5,430	17.3	5,291	-2.6	5,157	-2.5	4,432	-14.1	4,945	11.6	6.8
ARREST RATES PER 100,000 (age 10-17)												
Total Juvenile	8,494.5	8,751.7		9,526.1		9,734.1		10,484.1		10,145.3		
Felony	4,076.2	3,871.7		3,955.9		3,941.8		4,408.0		3,689.9		
Person	1,051.7	780.0		953.0		1,002.2		1,099.6		914.7		
Property	2,818.0	2,796.7		2,659.3		2,492.8		2,398.2		1,938.0		
Drug Law Viol.	81.3	118.3		158.0		211.6		334.0		230.6		
Other	125.3	176.7		185.7		235.2		576.1		606.6		
Misdemeanor	4,418.3	4,880.0		5,570.2		5,792.3		6,076.2		6,455.4		

TABLE A-10
POPULATION, CRIMES AND ARRESTS: SANTA CLARA COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
YOUTH POPULATION												
10-17	203,770	192,980	-5.3	190,190	-1.4	186,880	-1.7	183,140	-2.0	179,740	-1.9	-11.8
18-20	70,150	67,400	-3.9	72,220	7.2	73,910	2.3	75,400	2.0	75,570	0.2	7.7
CRIMES-FREQUENCY												
FBI Index Crimes	81,737	74,907	-8.4	79,304	5.9	84,002	5.9	98,235	16.9	97,877	-0.4	19.7
7 Major Offenses	39,878	37,579	-5.8	41,522	10.5	42,331	1.9	50,587	19.5	50,781	0.4	27.3
Person	4,528	4,770	5.3	4,967	4.1	5,220	5.1	6,632	27.0	7,074	6.7	56.2
Property	35,350	32,809	-7.2	36,555	11.4	37,111	1.5	43,955	18.4	43,707	-0.6	23.6
CRIME RATES PER 100,000												
7 Major Offenses	3,280.5	3,046.0		3,310.6		3,314.1		3,891.3		3,877.9		
Person	372.5	386.6		396.0		408.7		510.2		540.2		
Property	2,908.0	2,659.4		2,914.6		2,905.4		3,381.2		3,337.7		
ARRESTS-FREQUENCY												
Total Juv./Adult	59,282	59,618	0.6	64,616	8.4	68,277	5.7	71,661	5.0	75,216	5.0	26.9
Juv. Law Viol.	17,887	17,896	0.1	16,451	-8.1	17,618	7.1	16,346	-7.2	14,974	-8.4	-16.3
Felony Level	5,432	5,112	-5.9	4,383	-14.3	4,731	7.9	3,968	-16.1	3,729	-6.0	-31.4
Person	567	528	-6.9	549	4.0	661	20.4	528	-20.1	525	-0.6	-7.4
Property	3,404	3,413	0.3	3,121	-8.6	3,166	1.4	2,613	-17.5	2,342	-10.4	-31.2
Drug Law Viol.	977	751	-23.1	342	-54.5	361	5.6	362	0.3	316	-12.7	-67.7
Other	484	420	-13.2	371	-11.7	543	46.4	465	-14.4	546	17.4	12.8
Misdemean. Level	12,455	12,784	2.6	12,068	-5.6	12,887	6.8	12,378	-3.9	11,245	-9.2	-9.7
Adult Felony	8,982	8,181	-8.9	9,644	17.9	9,822	1.8	10,027	2.1	11,090	10.6	23.5
Person	1,749	1,503	-14.1	1,811	20.5	1,839	1.5	2,047	11.3	1,911	-6.6	9.3
Property	3,919	3,612	-7.8	4,060	12.4	4,296	5.8	4,336	0.9	4,734	9.2	20.8
ARREST RATES PER 100,000 (age 10-17)												
Total Juvenile	8,778.0	9,273.5		8,649.8		9,427.4		8,923.8		8,330.9		
Felony	2,665.8	2,649.0		2,304.5		2,531.6		2,166.6		1,824.3		
Person	278.3	273.6		288.7		353.7		288.3		292.1		
Property	1,670.5	1,768.6		1,641.0		1,694.1		1,426.8		1,303.0		
Drug Law Viol.	463.3	389.2		179.8		193.2		197.7		175.8		
Other	237.5	217.6		195.1		290.6		253.9		303.8		
Misdemeanor	6,112.3	6,624.5		6,345.2		6,895.9		6,758.8		6,256.3		

TABLE A-11
DISPOSITION OF JUVENILES BY LAW ENFORCEMENT,
JUVENILE PROBATION, AND JUVENILE COURT: CALIFORNIA
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
LAW ENF DISPO OF												
JUVENILE ARRESTS	346,235	307,710	-11.1	281,186	-8.6	292,909	4.2	282,784	-3.5	266,626	-5.7	-23.0
Handled in Dept	136,478	120,150	-12.0	103,237	-14.1	107,171	3.8	101,308	-5.5	93,818	-7.4	-31.3
To Juv Ct/Prob	209,757	187,560	-10.6	177,949	-5.1	185,738	4.4	181,476	-2.3	172,808	-4.8	-17.6
% Handled in Dept	39.4	39.1		36.7		36.6		35.8		35.2		
% To Juv Ct/Prob	60.6	61.0		63.3		63.4		64.2		64.8		
JUV PROB DISPO OF												
INITIAL REFERRALS	161,170	149,215	-7.4	142,975	-4.2	145,863	2.0	144,268	-1.1	137,004	-5.0	-15.0
Closed/Transf	89,937	76,192	-15.3	74,440	-2.3	80,180	7.7	79,404	-1.0	75,363	-5.1	-16.2
Informal Prob	22,252	20,493	-7.9	20,481	-0.1	19,239	-6.1	18,453	-4.1	16,780	-9.1	-24.6
Petition Filed	48,981	52,530	7.2	48,054	-8.5	46,444	-3.4	46,111	-0.7	44,861	-2.7	-8.4
% Closed/Transf	55.8	51.1		52.1		55.0		55.0		55.0		
% Informal Prob	13.8	13.7		14.3		13.2		12.8		12.2		
% Petition Filed	30.4	35.2		33.6		31.8		32.2		32.7		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
INITIAL PETITIONS	52,795	52,998	0.4	48,744	-8.0	48,133	-1.3	46,750	-2.9	44,861	-4.0	-15.0
Dism/Transf/Rem	18,864	18,596	-1.4	15,575	-16.2	14,199	-8.8	12,726	-10.4	11,115	-12.7	-41.1
Probation	33,603	33,953	1.0	32,690	-3.7	33,464	2.4	33,489	0.1	33,121	-1.1	-1.4
Non-ward	6,282	4,617	-26.5	4,709	2.0	4,344	-7.8	3,467	-20.2	2,769	-20.1	-55.9
Formal	27,321	29,336	7.4	27,981	-4.6	29,120	4.1	30,027	3.1	30,352	1.1	11.1
CYA	328	449	36.9	479	6.7	470	-1.9	535	13.8	625	16.8	90.5
% Dism/Transf/Rem	35.7	35.1		32.0		29.5		27.2		24.8		
% Probation	63.6	64.1		67.1		69.5		71.6		73.8		
% CYA	0.6	0.8		1.0		1.0		1.1		1.4		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
SUBSEQT PETITIONS	21,657	20,469	-5.5	19,360	-5.4	19,083	-1.4	21,710	13.8	22,136	2.0	2.2
Dism/Transf/Rem	1,383	1,194	-13.7	943	-21.0	1,109	17.6	2,725	145.7	3,116	14.3	125.3
Prior Status												
Maintained	18,348	17,141	-6.6	16,455	-4.0	N/A		N/A		N/A		
Formal Probation												
Initiated	613	616	0.5	490	-20.5	N/A		N/A		N/A		
CYA	1,301	1,512	16.2	1,454	-3.8	1,186	-18.4	1,333	12.4	1,237	-7.2	-4.9
% Dism/Transf/Rem	6.4	5.8		4.9		5.8		12.6		14.1		
% Prior Status												
Maintained	84.7	83.7		85.0		N/A		N/A		N/A		
% Formal Probation												
Initiated	2.8	3.0		2.5		N/A		N/A		N/A		
% CYA	6.0	7.4		7.5		6.2		6.1		5.6		

TABLE A-12
DISPOSITION OF JUVENILES BY LAW ENFORCEMENT,
JUVENILE PROBATION, AND JUVENILE COURT: ALAMEDA COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
LAW ENF DISPO OF												
JUVENILE ARRESTS	18,996	17,248	-9.2	15,490	-10.2	17,561	13.4	17,318	-1.4	16,431	-5.1	-13.5
Handled in Dept	6,506	5,739	-11.8	4,940	-13.9	6,065	22.8	5,527	-8.9	5,185	-6.2	-20.3
To Juv Ct/Prob	12,490	11,509	-7.9	10,550	-8.3	11,496	9.0	11,791	2.6	11,246	-4.6	-10.0
% Handled in Dept	34.3	33.3		31.9		34.5		31.9		31.6		
% To Juv Ct/Prob	65.8	66.7		68.1		65.5		68.1		68.4		
JUV PROB DISPO OF												
INITIAL REFERRALS	8,468	7,844	-7.4	7,708	-1.7	8,134	5.5	8,456	4.0	7,484	-11.5	-11.6
Closed/Transf	5,504	4,339	-21.2	4,562	5.1	5,149	12.9	5,654	9.8	4,732	-16.3	-14.0
Informal Prob	1,042	382	-63.3	410	7.3	411	0.2	403	-1.9	406	0.7	-61.0
Petition Filed	1,922	3,123	62.5	2,736	-12.4	2,574	-5.9	2,399	-6.8	2,346	-2.2	22.1
% Closed/Transf	65.0	55.3		59.2		63.3		66.9		63.2		
% Informal Prob	12.3	4.9		5.3		5.1		4.8		5.4		
% Petition Filed	22.7	39.8		35.5		31.6		28.4		31.4		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
INITIAL PETITIONS	1,919	3,070	60.0	2,900	-5.5	2,644	-8.8	2,420	-8.5	2,346	-3.1	22.3
Dism/Transf/Rem	532	1,048	97.0	928	-11.5	739	-20.4	607	-17.9	598	-1.5	12.4
Probation	1,380	1,997	44.7	1,936	-3.1	1,888	-2.5	1,793	-5.0	1,698	-5.3	23.0
Non-ward	370	736	98.9	734	-0.3	795	8.3	240	-69.8	2	-99.2	-99.5
Formal	1,010	1,261	24.9	1,202	-4.7	1,093	-9.1	1,553	42.1	1,696	9.2	67.9
CYA	7	25	257.1	36	44.0	17	-52.8	20	17.6	50	150.0	614.3
% Dism/Transf/Rem	27.7	34.1		32.0		28.0		25.1		25.5		
% Probation	71.9	65.0		66.8		71.4		74.1		72.4		
% CYA	0.36	0.81		1.2		0.64		0.83		2.13		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
SUBSEQT PETITIONS	1,313	1,673	27.4	1,638	-2.1	1,425	-13.0	1,440	1.1	1,442	0.1	9.8
Dism/Transf/Rem	77	124	61.0	116	-6.5	63	-45.7	77	22.2	85	10.4	10.4
Prior Status												
Maintained	1,135	1,337	17.8	1,323	-1.0	1,160	-12.3	1,205	3.9	N/A		
Formal Probation												
Initiated	43	95	120.9	71	-25.3	96	35.2	60	-37.5	N/A		
CYA	58	117	101.7	128	9.4	106	-17.2	98	-7.5	116	18.4	100.0
% Dism/Transf/Rem	5.9	7.4		7.1		4.4		5.4		5.9		
% Prior Status												
Maintained	86.4	79.9		80.8		81.4		83.7		N/A		
% Formal Probatn												
Initiated	3.3	5.7		4.3		6.7		4.2		N/A		
% CYA	4.4	7.0		7.8		7.4		6.8		8.0		

TABLE A-13
DISPOSITION OF JUVENILES BY LAW ENFORCEMENT,
JUVENILE PROBATION, AND JUVENILE COURT: FRESNO COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
LAW ENF DISPO OF												
JUVENILE ARRESTS	7,404	7,003	-5.4	7,446	6.3	8,317	11.7	8,124	-2.3	7,675	-5.5	3.7
Handled in Dept	1,540	1,886	22.5	1,608	-14.7	2,409	49.8	2,588	7.4	2,269	-12.3	47.3
To Juv Ct/Prob	5,864	5,117	-12.7	5,838	14.1	5,908	1.2	5,536	-6.3	5,406	-2.3	-7.8
% Handled in Dept	20.8	26.9		21.6		29.0		31.9		29.6		
% To Juv Ct/Prob	79.2	73.1		78.4		71.0		68.1		70.4		
JUV PROB DISPO OF												
INITIAL REFERRALS	4,756	3,765	-20.8	3,804	1.0	4,436	16.6	4,739	6.8	4,991	5.3	4.9
Closed/Transf	2,984	2,024	-32.2	2,197	8.5	2,570	17.0	2,362	-8.1	2,107	-10.8	-29.4
Informal Prob	904	669	-26.0	637	-4.8	526	-17.4	1,139	116.5	1,482	30.1	63.9
Petition Filed	868	1,072	23.5	970	-9.5	1,340	38.1	1,238	-7.6	1,402	13.2	61.5
% Closed/Transf	62.7	53.8		57.8		57.9		49.8		42.2		
% Informal Prob	19.0	17.8		16.8		11.9		24.0		29.7		
% Petition Filed	18.3	28.5		25.5		30.2		26.1		28.1		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
INITIAL PETITIONS	940	1,161	23.5	1,215	4.7	1,340	10.3	1,238	-7.6	1,402	13.2	49.1
Dism/Transf/Rem	282	318	12.8	386	21.4	485	25.6	423	-12.8	480	13.5	70.2
Probation	651	836	28.4	814	-2.6	848	4.2	802	-5.4	917	14.3	40.9
Non-ward	154	164	6.5	153	-6.7	80	-47.7	6	-92.5	4	-33.3	-97.4
Formal	497	672	35.2	661	-1.6	768	16.2	796	3.6	913	14.7	83.7
CYA	7	7	0.0	15	114.3	7	-53.3	13	85.7	5	-61.5	-28.6
% Dism/Transf/Rem	30.0	27.4		31.8		36.2		34.2		34.2		
% Probation	69.3	72.0		67.0		63.3		64.8		65.4		
% CYA	0.74	0.60		1.23		0.52		1.05		0.36		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
SUBSEQT PETITIONS	509	495	-2.8	541	9.3	850	57.1	949	11.6	919	-3.2	30.6
Dism/Transf/Rem	25	14	-44.0	22	57.1	231	950.0	270	16.9	276	2.2	1,004.0
Prior Status												
Maintained	429	393	-8.4	446	13.5	N/A		N/A		N/A		
Formal Probation												
Initiated	18	32	77.8	26	-18.8	N/A		N/A		N/A		
CYA	36	56	55.6	47	-16.1	29	-38.3	36	24.1	24	-33.3	-33.3
% Dism/Transf/Rem	4.9	2.8		4.1		27.1		28.5		30.0		
% Prior Status												
Maintained	84.3	79.4		82.4		N/A		N/A		N/A		
% Formal Probatn												
Initiated	3.5	6.5		4.8		N/A		N/A		N/A		
% CYA	7.1	11.3		8.7		3.4		3.8		2.6		

TABLE A-14
DISPOSITION OF JUVENILES BY LAW ENFORCEMENT,
JUVENILE PROBATION, AND JUVENILE COURT: KERN COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
LAW ENF DISPO OF												
JUVENILE ARRESTS	8,814	9,104	3.3	7,638	-16.1	7,895	3.4	7,634	-3.3	7,217	-5.5	-18.1
Handled in Dept	2,690	3,484	29.5	3,071	-11.9	3,011	-2.0	2,661	-11.6	2,143	-19.5	-20.3
To Juv Ct/Prob	6,124	5,620	-8.2	4,567	-18.7	4,884	6.9	4,973	1.8	5,074	2.0	-17.1
% Handled in Dept	30.5	38.3		40.2		38.1		34.9		29.7		
% To Juv Ct/Prob	69.5	61.7		59.8		61.9		65.1		70.3		
JUV PROB DISPO OF												
INITIAL REFERRALS	4,801	4,437	-7.6	3,426	-22.8	3,332	-2.7	3,459	3.8	2,722	-21.3	-43.3
Closed/Transf	3,631	3,215	-11.5	2,277	-29.2	2,125	-6.7	2,042	-3.9	1,436	-29.7	-60.5
Informal Prob	438	480	9.6	362	-24.6	273	-24.6	159	-41.8	81	-49.1	-81.5
Petition Filed	732	742	1.4	787	6.1	934	18.7	1,258	34.7	1,205	-4.2	64.6
% Closed/Transf	75.6	72.5		66.5		63.8		59.0		52.8		
% Informal Prob	9.1	10.8		10.6		8.2		4.6		3.0		
% Petition Filed	15.2	16.7		23.0		28.0		36.4		44.3		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
INITIAL PETITIONS	849	869	2.4	928	6.8	1,105	19.1	1,258	13.8	1,205	-4.2	41.9
Dism/Transf/Rem	117	102	-12.8	96	-5.9	157	63.5	218	38.9	191	-12.4	63.2
Probation	725	757	4.4	822	8.6	935	13.7	1,027	9.8	1,009	-1.8	39.2
Non-ward	70	15	-78.6	10	-33.3	24	140.0	6	-75.0	10	66.7	-85.7
Formal	655	742	13.3	812	9.4	911	12.2	1,021	12.1	999	-2.2	52.5
CYA	7	10	42.9	10	0.0	13	30.0	13	0.0	5	-61.5	-28.6
% Dism/Transf/Rem	13.8	11.7		10.3		14.2		17.3		15.9		
% Probation	85.4	87.1		88.6		84.6		81.6		83.7		
% CYA	0.82	1.15		1.08		1.18		1.03		0.41		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
SUBSEQT PETITIONS	816	740	-9.3	803	8.5	821	2.2	976	18.9	807	-17.3	-1.1
Dism/Transf/Rem	19	28	47.4	25	-10.7	16	-36.0	157	881.3	110	-29.9	478.9
Prior Status												
Maintained	700	565	-19.3	626	10.8	678	8.3	N/A		N/A		
Formal Probation												
Initiated	10	2	-80.0	0	-100.0	0	0.0	N/A		N/A		
CYA	86	145	68.6	152	4.8	127	-16.4	125	-1.6	126	0.8	46.5
% Dism/Transf/Rem	2.3	3.8		3.1		1.9		16.1		13.6		
% Prior Status												
Maintained	85.8	76.4		78.0		82.6		N/A		N/A		
% Formal Probatn												
Initiated	1.2	0.3		0.0		0.0		N/A		N/A		
% CYA	10.5	19.6		18.9		15.5		12.8		15.6		

TABLE A-15
DISPOSITION OF JUVENILES BY LAW ENFORCEMENT,
JUVENILE PROBATION, AND JUVENILE COURT: LOS ANGELES COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
LAW ENF DISPO OF												
JUVENILE ARRESTS	98,862	85,973	-13.0	78,717	-8.4	80,066	1.7	77,152	-3.6	72,060	-6.6	-27.1
Handled in Dept	45,282	39,322	-13.2	36,031	-8.4	34,990	-2.9	33,499	-4.3	30,623	-8.6	-32.4
To Juv Ct/Prob	53,580	46,651	-12.9	42,686	-8.5	45,076	5.6	43,653	-3.2	41,437	-5.1	-22.7
% Handled in Dept	45.8	45.7		45.8		43.7		43.4		42.5		
% To Juv Ct/Prob	54.2	54.3		54.2		56.3		56.6		57.5		
JUV PROB DISPO OF												
INITIAL REFERRALS	32,287	28,948	-10.3	27,029	-6.6	25,273	-6.5	24,473	-3.2	21,946	-10.3	-32.0
Closed/Transf	10,723	8,254	-23.0	7,926	-4.0	8,855	11.7	8,835	-0.2	8,193	-7.3	-23.6
Informal Prob	6,890	6,028	-12.5	6,869	14.0	6,346	-7.6	5,766	-9.1	3,568	-38.1	-48.2
Petition Filed	14,674	14,666	-0.1	12,234	-16.6	10,072	-17.7	9,872	-2.0	10,185	3.2	-30.6
% Closed/Transf	33.2	28.5		29.3		35.0		36.1		37.3		
% Informal Prob	21.3	20.8		25.4		25.1		23.6		16.3		
% Petition Filed	45.4	50.7		45.3		39.9		40.3		46.4		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
INITIAL PETITIONS	16,793	14,666	-12.7	10,890	-25.7	10,552	-3.1	9,877	-6.4	10,185	3.1	-39.3
Dism/Transf/Rem	6,867	5,152	-25.0	3,011	-41.6	2,378	-21.0	2,299	-3.3	2,241	-2.5	-67.4
Probation	9,822	9,324	-5.1	7,675	-17.7	7,912	3.1	7,323	-7.4	7,667	4.7	-21.9
Non-ward	1,742	285	-83.6	188	-34.0	141	-25.0	111	-21.3	83	-25.2	-95.2
Formal	8,080	9,039	11.9	7,487	-17.2	7,771	3.8	7,212	-7.2	7,584	5.2	-6.1
CYA	104	190	82.7	204	7.4	262	28.4	255	-2.7	277	8.6	166.3
% Dism/Transf/Rem	40.9	35.1		27.7		22.5		23.3		22.0		
% Probation	58.5	63.6		70.5		75.0		74.1		75.3		
% CYA	0.62	1.3		1.87		2.48		2.58		2.72		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
SUBSEQT PETITIONS	10,404	8,782	-15.6	3,184	-63.7	3,696	16.1	N/A		3,615		-65.3
Dism/Transf/Rem	N/A	N/A		171		181		N/A		382		
Prior Status												
Maintained	N/A	N/A		2,701		3,065	13.5	N/A		1		
Formal Probation												
Initiated	N/A	N/A		4		7	75.0	N/A		2,768		
CYA	N/A	N/A		305		437	43.3	N/A		464		
% Dism/Transf/Rem	N/A	N/A		5.4		4.9		N/A		10.6		
% Prior Status												
Maintained	N/A	N/A		84.8		82.9		N/A		N/A		
% Formal Probatn												
Initiated	N/A	N/A		0.1		0.2		N/A		N/A		
% CYA	N/A	N/A		9.6		11.8		N/A		12.8		

TABLE A-16
DISPOSITION OF JUVENILES BY LAW ENFORCEMENT,
JUVENILE PROBATION, AND JUVENILE COURT: MADERA COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
LAW ENF DISPO OF												
JUVENILE ARRESTS	566	558	-1.4	566	1.4	588	3.9	586	-0.3	596	1.7	5.3
Handled in Dept	94	102	8.5	52	-49.0	52	0.0	31	-40.4	4	-87.1	-95.7
To Juv Ct/Prob	472	456	-3.4	514	12.7	536	4.3	555	3.5	592	6.7	25.4
% Handled in Dept	16.6	18.3		9.2		8.8		5.3		0.7		
% To Juv Ct/Prob	83.4	81.7		90.8		91.2		94.7		99.3		
JUV PROB DISPO OF												
INITIAL REFERRALS	850	926	8.9	806	-13.0	827	2.6	850	2.8	940	10.6	10.6
Closed/Transf	531	524	-1.3	496	-5.3	401	-19.2	484	20.7	589	21.7	10.9
Informal Prob	110	148	34.5	128	-13.5	169	32.0	118	-30.2	86	-27.1	-21.8
Petition Filed	209	254	21.5	182	-28.3	257	41.2	248	-3.5	265	6.9	26.8
% Closed/Transf	62.5	56.6		61.5		48.5		56.9		62.7		
% Informal Prob	12.9	16.0		15.9		20.4		13.9		9.1		
% Petition Filed	24.6	27.4		22.6		31.1		29.2		28.2		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
INITIAL PETITIONS	221	296	33.9	226	-23.6	257	13.7	248	-3.5	265	6.9	19.9
Dism/Transf/Rem	96	112	16.7	88	-21.4	45	-48.9	71	57.8	66	-7.0	-31.3
Probation	122	179	46.7	133	-25.7	206	54.9	175	-15.0	195	11.4	59.8
Non-ward	0	1	--	1	0.0	2	100.0	1	-50.0	1	0.0	--
Formal	122	178	45.9	132	-25.8	204	54.5	174	-14.7	194	11.5	59.0
CYA	3	5	66.7	5	0.0	6	20.0	2	-66.7	4	100.0	33.3
% Dism/Transf/Rem	43.4	37.8		38.9		17.5		28.6		24.9		
% Probation	55.2	60.5		58.8		80.2		70.6		73.6		
% CYA	1.36	1.69		2.21		2.33		0.8		1.51		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
SUBSEQT PETITIONS	154	125	-18.8	152	21.6	163	7.2	221	35.6	204	-7.7	32.5
Dism/Transf/Rem	4	9	125.0	8	-11.1	21	162.5	34	61.9	26	-23.5	550.0
Prior Status												
Maintained	136	102	-25.0	122	19.6	N/A		N/A		N/A		
Formal Probation												
Initiated	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	N/A		N/A		N/A		
CYA	13	14	7.7	22	57.1	11	-50.0	11	0.0	18	63.6	38.5
% Dism/Transf/Rem	2.6	7.2		8.2		12.9		15.4		12.7		
% Prior Status												
Maintained	88.3	81.6		80.3		N/A		N/A		N/A		
% Formal Probatn												
Initiated	0.0	0.0		0.0		N/A		N/A		N/A		
% CYA	8.4	11.2		14.5		6.7		5.0		8.8		

TABLE A-17
DISPOSITION OF JUVENILES BY LAW ENFORCEMENT,
JUVENILE PROBATION, AND JUVENILE COURT: SACRAMENTO COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
LAW ENF DISPO OF												
JUVENILE ARRESTS	7,172	6,916	-3.6	7,090	2.5	7,365	3.9	8,241	11.9	5,339	-35.2	-25.6
Handled in Dept	21	18	-14.3	97	438.9	276	184.5	398	44.2	89	-77.6	323.8
To Juv Ct/Prob	7,151	6,898	-3.5	6,993	1.4	7,089	1.4	7,843	10.6	5,250	-33.1	-26.6
% Handled in Dept	0.3	0.3		1.4		3.8		4.8		1.7		
% To Juv Ct/Prob	99.7	99.7		98.6		96.3		95.2		98.3		
JUV PROB DISPO OF												
INITIAL REFERRALS	7,532	7,126	-5.4	6,040	-15.2	6,506	7.7	6,462	-0.7	5,924	-8.3	-21.3
Closed/Transf	5,260	4,499	-14.5	3,566	-20.7	4,008	12.4	3,998	-0.2	3,572	-10.7	-32.1
Informal Prob	779	728	-6.5	629	-13.6	521	-17.2	377	-27.6	406	7.7	-47.9
Petition Filed	1,493	1,899	27.2	1,845	-2.8	1,977	7.2	2,087	5.6	1,946	-6.8	30.3
% Closed/Transf	69.8	63.1		59.0		61.6		61.9		60.3		
% Informal Prob	10.3	10.2		10.4		8.0		5.8		6.9		
% Petition Filed	19.8	26.6		30.5		30.4		32.3		32.8		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
INITIAL PETITIONS	1,714	2,063	20.4	1,908	-7.5	2,164	13.4	2,087	-3.6	1,946	-6.8	13.5
Dism/Transf/Rem	504	575	14.1	522	-9.2	588	12.6	368	-37.4	413	12.2	-18.1
Probation	1,197	1,475	23.2	1,380	-6.4	1,569	13.7	1,699	8.3	1,505	-11.4	25.7
Non-ward	245	249	1.6	266	6.8	262	-1.5	326	24.4	308	-5.5	25.7
Formal	952	1,226	28.8	1,114	-9.1	1,307	17.3	1,373	5.0	1,197	-12.8	25.7
CYA	13	13	0.0	6	-53.8	7	16.7	20	185.7	28	40.0	115.4
% Dism/Transf/Rem	29.4	27.9		27.4		27.2		17.6		21.2		
% Probation	69.8	71.5		72.3		72.5		81.4		77.3		
% CYA	0.76	0.63		0.31		0.32		0.96		1.44		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
SUBSEQT PETITIONS	1,267	1,402	10.7	1,642	17.1	1,692	3.0	1,464	-13.5	1,360	-7.1	7.3
Dism/Transf/Rem	42	46	9.5	70	52.2	60	-14.3	92	53.3	112	21.7	166.7
Prior Status												
Maintained	1,109	1,223	10.3	1,432	17.1	1,506	5.2	N/A		N/A		
Formal Probation												
Initiated	26	46	76.9	31	-32.6	19	-38.7	N/A		N/A		
CYA	90	87	-3.3	109	25.3	107	-1.8	121	13.1	85	-29.8	-5.6
% Dism/Transf/Rem	3.3	3.3		4.3		3.6		6.3		8.2		
% Prior Status												
Maintained	87.5	87.2		87.2		89.0		N/A		N/A		
% Formal Probation												
Initiated	2.1	3.3		1.9		1.1		N/A		N/A		
% CYA	7.1	6.2		6.6		6.3		8.3		6.3		

TABLE A-18
DISPOSITION OF JUVENILES BY LAW ENFORCEMENT,
JUVENILE PROBATION, AND JUVENILE COURT: SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
LAW ENF DISPC OF												
JUVENILE ARRESTS	12,614	12,709	0.8	11,129	-12.4	12,696	14.1	11,841	-6.7	12,637	6.7	0.2
Handled in Dept	6,255	6,612	5.7	6,034	-8.7	6,635	10.0	6,168	-7.0	7,072	14.7	13.1
To Juv Ct/Prob	6,359	6,097	-4.1	5,095	-16.4	6,061	19.0	5,673	-6.4	5,565	-1.9	-12.5
% Handled in Dept	49.6	52.0		54.2		52.3		52.1		56.0		
% To Juv Ct/Prob	50.4	48.0		45.8		47.7		47.9		44.0		
JUV PROB DISPO OF												
INITIAL REFERRALS	7,383	8,332	12.9	7,815	-6.2	8,778	12.3	8,864	1.0	8,615	-2.8	16.7
Closed/Transf	4,978	4,935	-0.9	4,813	-2.5	6,006	24.8	5,783	-3.7	5,716	-1.2	14.8
Informal Prob	391	1,128	188.5	1,303	15.5	1,252	-3.9	1,464	16.9	1,314	-10.2	236.1
Petition Filed	2,014	2,269	12.7	1,699	-25.1	1,520	-10.5	1,617	6.4	1,585	-2.0	-21.3
% Closed/Transf	67.4	59.2		61.6		68.4		65.2		66.3		
% Informal Prob	5.3	13.5		16.7		14.3		16.5		15.3		
% Petition Filed	27.3	27.2		21.7		17.3		18.2		18.4		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
INITIAL PETITIONS	2,157	2,103	-2.5	2,067	-1.7	1,677	-18.9	1,617	-3.6	1,585	-2.0	-26.5
Dism/Transf/Rem	616	677	9.9	677	0.0	530	-21.7	410	-22.6	416	1.5	-32.5
Probation	1,541	1,425	-7.5	1,386	-2.7	1,141	-17.7	1,199	5.1	1,162	-3.1	-24.6
Non-ward	2	0	-100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	--	1	-50.0	-50.0
Formal	1,539	1,425	-7.4	1,386	-2.7	1,141	-17.7	1,197	4.9	1,161	-3.0	-24.6
CYA	0	1	--	4	300.0	6	50.0	8	33.3	7	-12.5	--
% Dism/Transf/Rem	28.6	32.2		32.8		31.6		25.4		26.2		
% Probation	71.4	67.8		67.1		68.0		74.1		73.3		
% CYA	0.0	0.05		0.19		0.36		0.49		0.44		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
SUBSEQT PETITIONS	949	837	-11.8	1,040	24.3	848	-18.5	772	-9.0	837	8.4	-11.8
Dism/Transf/Rem	2	2	0.0	0	100.0	1	--	44	4,300	42	-4.5	2,000
Prior Status												
Maintained	891	776	-12.9	1,004	29.4	809	-19.4	N/A		N/A		
Formal Probation												
Initiated	2	0	-100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	N/A		N/A		
CYA	54	59	9.3	36	-39.0	38	5.6	21	-44.7	23	9.5	-57.4
% Dism/Transf/Rem	0.2	0.2		0.0		0.1		5.7		5.0		
% Prior Status												
Maintained	93.9	92.7		96.5		95.3		N/A		N/A		
% Formal Probatn												
Initiated	0.2	0.0		0.0		0.0		N/A		N/A		
% CYA	5.7	7.1		3.5		4.5		2.7		2.7		

TABLE A-19
DISPOSITION OF JUVENILES BY LAW ENFORCEMENT,
JUVENILE PROBATION, AND JUVENILE COURT: SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
LAW ENF DISPO OF												
JUVENILE ARRESTS	6,124	6,037	-1.4	6,106	1.1	5,936	-2.8	5,868	-1.1	5,589	-4.8	-8.7
Handled in Dept	7	13	85.7	9	-30.8	9	0.0	54	500.0	99	83.3	1,314.3
To Juv Ct/Prob	6,117	6,024	-1.5	6,097	1.2	5,927	-2.8	5,814	-1.9	5,490	-5.6	-10.3
% Handled in Dept	0.1	0.2		0.1		0.2		0.9		1.8		
% To Juv Ct/Prob	99.9	99.8		99.9		99.8		99.1		98.2		
JUV PROB DISPO OF												
INITIAL REFERRALS	3,896	3,718	-4.6	3,930	5.7	4,600	17.0	4,862	5.7	5,172	6.4	32.8
Closed/Transf	2,598	2,393	-7.9	2,631	9.9	3,167	20.4	3,541	11.8	3,955	11.7	52.2
Informal Prob	141	162	14.9	185	14.2	210	13.5	221	5.2	172	-22.2	22.0
Petition Filed	1,157	1,163	0.5	1,114	-4.2	1,223	9.8	1,100	-10.1	1,045	-5.0	-9.7
% Closed/Transf	66.7	64.3		66.9		68.8		72.8		76.5		
% Informal Prob	3.6	4.4		4.7		4.6		4.5		3.3		
% Petition Filed	29.7	31.3		28.3		26.6		22.6		20.2		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
INITIAL PETITIONS	956	936	-2.1	807	-13.8	1,134	40.5	1,100	-3.0	1,045	-5.0	9.3
Dism/Transf/Rem	331	296	-10.6	284	-4.1	385	35.6	430	11.7	343	-20.2	3.6
Probation	609	598	-1.8	511	-14.5	734	43.6	656	-10.6	674	2.7	10.7
Non-ward	50	45	-10.0	47	4.4	46	-2.1	64	39.1	59	-7.8	18.0
Formal	559	553	-1.1	464	-16.1	688	48.3	592	-14.0	615	3.9	10.0
CYA	16	42	162.5	12	-71.4	15	25.0	14	-6.7	28	100.0	75.0
% Dism/Transf/Rem	34.6	31.6		35.2		34.0		39.1		32.8		
% Probation	63.7	63.9		63.3		64.7		59.6		64.5		
% CYA	1.67	4.49		1.49		1.32		1.27		2.68		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
SUBSEQT PETITIONS	510	503	-1.4	262	-47.9	360	37.4	560	55.6	514	-8.2	0.8
Dism/Transf/Rem	7	7	0.0	0	-100.0	1	--	165	16,400	133	-19.4	1,800
Prior Status												
Maintained	401	362	-9.7	195	-46.1	284	45.6	N/A		N/A		
Formal Probation												
Initiated	3	2	-33.3	4	100.0	4	0.0	N/A		N/A		
CYA	99	132	33.3	63	-52.3	71	12.7	76	7.0	88	15.8	-11.1
% Dism/Transf/Rem	1.4	1.4		0.0		0.3		29.5		25.9		
% Prior Status												
Maintained	78.6	72.0		74.4		78.9		N/A		N/A		
% Formal Probatn												
Initiated	0.6	0.4		1.5		1.1		N/A		N/A		
% CYA	19.4	26.2		24.0		19.7		13.6		17.1		

TABLE A-20
DISPOSITION OF JUVENILES BY LAW ENFORCEMENT,
JUVENILE PROBATION, AND JUVENILE COURT: SANTA CLARA COUNTY
1976 - 1981

Data Category	1976	1977	% Change 76-77	1978	% Change 77-78	1979	% Change 78-79	1980	% Change 79-80	1981	% Change 80-81	% Change 76-81
LAW ENF DISPO OF												
JUVENILE ARRESTS	23,276	20,263	-12.9	17,641	-12.9	18,803	6.6	17,438	-7.3	15,734	-9.8	-32.4
Handled in Dept	6,813	5,491	-19.4	2,798	-49.0	2,462	-12.0	1,976	-19.7	2,078	5.2	-69.5
To Juv Ct/Prob	16,463	14,772	-10.3	14,843	0.5	16,341	10.1	15,462	-5.4	13,656	-11.7	-17.1
% Handled in Dept	29.3	27.1		15.9		13.1		11.3		13.2		
% To Juv Ct/Prob	70.7	72.9		84.1		86.9		88.7		86.8		
JUV PROB DISPO OF												
INITIAL REFERRALS	10,483	9,114	-13.1	9,281	1.8	9,253	-0.3	8,677	-6.2	7,601	-12.4	-27.5
Closed/Transf	5,715	4,213	-26.3	4,628	9.9	4,480	-3.2	4,616	3.0	3,560	-22.9	-37.7
Informal Prob	2,293	1,824	-20.5	1,721	-5.6	1,475	-14.3	1,519	3.0	1,579	3.9	-31.1
Petition Filed	2,475	3,077	24.3	2,932	-4.7	3,298	12.5	2,542	-22.9	2,462	-3.1	-0.5
% Closed/Transf	54.5	46.2		49.9		48.4		53.2		46.8		
% Informal Prob	21.9	20.0		18.5		15.9		17.6		20.8		
% Petition Filed	23.6	33.8		31.6		35.6		29.3		32.4		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
INITIAL PETITIONS	2,731	3,269	19.7	3,222	-1.4	3,428	6.4	2,886	-15.8	2,462	-14.7	-9.8
Dism/Transf/Rem	820	1,178	43.7	1,025	-13.0	1,078	5.2	798	-26.0	490	-38.6	-40.2
Probation	1,901	2,085	9.7	2,177	4.4	2,342	7.6	2,084	-11.0	1,958	-6.0	3.0
Non-ward	249	122	-51.0	183	50.0	279	52.5	225	-19.4	89	-60.4	-64.3
Formal	1,652	1,963	18.8	1,994	1.6	2,063	3.5	1,859	-9.9	1,869	0.5	13.1
CYA	10	6	-40.0	20	233.3	8	-60.0	4	-50.0	14	250.0	40.0
% Dism/Transf/Rem	30.0	36.0		31.8		31.5		27.7		19.9		
% Probation	69.6	63.8		67.6		68.3		72.2		79.5		
% CYA	0.37	0.18		0.62		0.23		0.14		0.57		
JUV CT DISPO OF												
SUBSEQT PETITIONS	1,605	1,435	-10.6	1,304	-9.1	1,571	20.5	1,813	-15.4	1,743	-3.9	8.6
Dism/Transf/Rem	128	76	-40.6	53	-30.3	39	-26.4	73	87.2	113	54.8	-11.7
Prior Status												
Maintained	1,356	1,239	-8.6	1,145	-7.6	1,444	26.1	1,620	12.2	N/A		
Formal Probation												
Initiated	31	24	-22.6	12	-50.0	13	8.3	43	230.8	N/A		
CYA	90	96	6.67	94	-2.08	75	-20.21	77	2.67	96	24.7	6.7
% Dism/Transf/Rem	8.0	5.3		4.1		2.5		4.0		6.5		
% Prior Status												
Maintained	84.5	86.3		87.8		91.9		89.4		N/A		
% Formal Probation												
Initiated	1.9	1.7		0.9		0.8		2.4		N/A		
% CYA	5.6	6.7		7.2		4.8		4.3		5.5		

TABLE A-21
 STATEWIDE COMMITMENTS TO THE YOUTH AUTHORITY,
 1976 THROUGH 1981 BY TYPE AND COURT OF COMMITMENT:
CALIFORNIA

	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>% Chg 76-81</u>
TOTAL 1ST COMMITMENTS AND PAROLE RETURNS	4,670	4,737	4,918	4,721	5,062	5,085	8.9
First Commitments	3,559	3,626	3,776	3,640	3,968	4,083	14.7
Juvenile Court	1,754	2,013	2,196	2,058	2,189	2,170	23.7
Adult Court	1,805	1,613	1,580	1,582	1,779	1,913	6.0
Parole Returns With New Commitment	615 *	715	679	634	563	387	-36.2
Juvenile Court	227	354	337	332	314	306	34.8
Adult Court	380	361	342	302	249	81	-78.7
Parole Returns Without New Commitment	496	396	458	444	531	615	24.0

* Figures for juvenile and adult court recommitments do not add to total because of discrepancies between CYA data sources.

TABLE A-22
RELATIVE IMPORTANCE* OF FACTORS RELATED
TO CASE DECISIONMAKING: SUMMARY OF QUESTIONNAIRE
RESPONSES BY PROBATION OFFICERS, DISTRICT ATTORNEYS
AND JUVENILE COURT JUDGES

Rank Order	PROBATION OFFICERS		DISTRICT ATTORNEYS	JUVENILE COURT JUDGES
	To Recommend Petition Filing	To Recommend YA Commitment	To File Petition	To Commit to YA
1	Use of weapon	Use of weapon	Use of weapon	Use of weapon
2	Infliction of injury	Infliction of injury	Infliction of injury	Infliction of injury
3	Prior record	Prior record	Prior record	Prior record
4	Departmental policy	Legislative mandates	Departmental policy	Legislative mandates
5	Legislative mandates	Departmental policy	Legislative mandates	Age of juvenile
6	Juv's attitude/demean	Age of juvenile	Age of juvenile	Exist supp family ties
7	Substance abuse hist	Adq supv by co. prob	Juv's attitude/demean	Adq supv by co. prob
8	Exist supp family ties	Juv attitude/demean	Substance abuse hist	Juv attitude/demean
9	Public demand/opinion	Substance abuse hist	Public demand/opinion	School/employ status
10	Adq supv by co. prob	Exist supp family ties	Adq supv by co. prob	Exist supp comm ties
11	Age of juvenile	Public demand/opinion	Exist supp family ties	Space in co.-run fac
12	School/employ status	Exist supp comm ties	Complainant preference	Pen in sim adult cases
13	Dispo of co-offenders	Space in co.-run fac	School/employ status	Substance abuse hist
14	Complainant preference	School/employ status	Dispo of co-offenders	Dispo of co-offenders
15	Exist supp comm ties	Dispo of co-offenders	Avail space local alt	Avail space local alt
16	Avail space local alt	Complainant preference	Space in co.-run fac	Public demand/opinion
17	Space co.-run fac	Avail space local alt	Racial background	Court policy
18	Racial background	Racial background		Complainant preference
19				Defense counsel present
20				Racial background

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*Listed in order of importance, from most to least important.

APPENDIX B

PART II DATA TABLES

APPENDIX B

PART II DATA TABLES

SOURCES. The appendix tables were compiled based primarily on data provided by YA. Table B-2 includes information from YA's Budget Office and from the annual Governor's Budgets. All remaining tables reflect data provided by Max Zeigler and Harmon Orshorn in the Management Information Systems Section, and Dave Bantz in the Ward Rights Section.

ABBREVIATIONS. The abbreviations shown in the appendix tables are: NRCC (Northern Reception Center and Clinic), SRCC (Southern Reception Center and Clinic), and YTS (Youth Training School).

CALCULATIONS. The "crowding" figures shown in Table B-3 were calculated as follows: average daily population divided by budgeted capacity. The rates shown in Tables B-5 through B-9 reflect the number of incidents divided by average daily population.

Table B-1

Total Admissions and Average Daily Population in Six YA Facilities
1976 - 1981

	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>% Chg 76-81</u>
<u>TOTAL ADMISSIONS*</u>							
NRCC	3,150	3,256	3,083	2,966	3,267	3,285	4.3
SRCC	3,877	3,327	3,484	3,344	3,605	3,265	-15.8
O.H. Close	699	654	634	592	593	588	-15.9
Preston	809	1,001	1,383	1,027	1,381	971	20.0
Ventura	589	484	567	706	918	783	32.9
YTS	1,986	1,663	1,612	1,723	1,795	1,799	-9.4
<u>AVERAGE DAILY POPULATION</u>							
NRCC	259	267	270	269	276	333	28.6
SRCC	300	306	324	324	340	392	30.7
O.H. Close	340	344	354	368	369	397	16.8
Preston	386	357	380	471	514	559	44.8
Ventura	331	283	317	441	494	561	69.5
YTS	886	726	783	967	1,044	1,124	26.9

*Includes first admissions, parole returns, transfers, contract cases, temporary parole detention, escape returns, and all other arrivals.

Table B-2

Budgeted Capacity and Bed Capacity in Six YA Facilities
1976 - 1981

	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>% Chg 76-81</u>
<u>BUDGETED CAPACITY</u>							
NRCC	266	261	268	281	263	267	0.4
SRCC	320	302	298	315	319	320	0.0
O.H. Close	345	345	345	350	355	355	2.9
Preston	401	380	358	461	516	540	34.7
Ventura	384	348	320	433	498	545	41.9
YTS	1,018	814	761	947	996	1,062	4.3
<u>BED CAPACITY*</u>							
NRCC	283	283	283	289	289	320	13.1
SRCC	331	331	331	331	331	350	5.7
O.H. Close	379	379	379	379	379	379	0.0
Preston	562	574	574	554	554	572	1.8
Ventura	545	529	540	565	525	576	5.7
YTS	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,212	1.0

*As of June 30.

CONTINUED

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Table B-3
Crowding in Six YA Facilities
1976 - 1981

	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>
<u>CROWDING</u>						
NRCC	0.97	1.02	1.01	0.96	1.05	1.25
SRCC	0.94	1.01	1.09	1.03	1.07	1.23
O.H. Close	0.99	1.00	1.03	1.05	1.04	1.12
Preston	0.96	0.94	1.06	1.02	1.00	1.04
Ventura	0.86	0.81	0.99	1.02	0.99	1.03
YTS	0.87	0.89	1.03	1.02	1.05	1.06

Table B-4
Subject of Ward Grievances
1976 - 1981

		<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>% Chg 76-81</u>
TOTAL		9,219	6,893	8,944	10,515	10,194	9,662	4.8
Individual	No.	5,147	4,087	4,793	5,284	5,799	5,998	16.5
	% Total	55.9	61.7	53.6	50.3	56.9	62.1	
Policy	No.	1,407	899	1,242	2,007	1,497	1,395	-0.9
	% Total	15.3	12.9	13.7	19.1	14.7	14.4	
Staff Actions	No.	2,025	1,149	1,876	1,998	1,932	1,525	-24.7
	% Total	22.0	16.6	21.0	19.0	19.0	15.8	
Ward	No.	235	200	264	258	218	195	-17.0
	% Total	2.6	2.9	2.9	2.5	2.1	2.0	
Equip., etc.	No.	369	375	627	755	499	448	21.4
	% Total	4.0	5.5	7.0	7.2	4.9	4.6	
Other	No.	84	151	143	213	249	101	20.2
	% Total	.9	2.1	1.5	2.0	2.4	1.0	

Table B-5

Individual and Policy Grievances in Six YA Facilities
1976 - 1981

		1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	% Chg 76-81
<u>INDIVIDUAL</u>								
NRCC	No.	172	251	338	316	468	436	153.5
	Rate	0.66	0.94	1.25	1.18	1.70	1.31	
SRCC	No.	448	286	481	359	565	966	115.6
	Rate	1.49	0.93	1.49	1.11	1.66	2.46	
O.H. Close	No.	180	205	212	118	220	132	-26.7
	Rate	0.53	0.60	0.60	0.32	0.60	0.33	
Preston	No.	676	491	700	814	716	736	8.9
	Rate	1.75	1.38	1.84	1.73	1.40	1.32	
Ventura	No.	434	727	910	1,089	449	423	-2.5
	Rate	1.31	2.57	2.87	2.47	0.91	0.75	
YTS	No.	901	588	626	1,149	1,655	1,481	64.4
	Rate	1.02	0.81	0.80	1.19	1.59	1.32	
<u>POLICY</u>								
NRCC	No.	100	84	78	172	142	153	53.0
	Rate	0.39	0.31	0.29	0.64	0.51	0.46	
SRCC	No.	147	122	194	180	137	147	0.0
	Rate	0.49	0.40	0.60	0.56	0.40	0.38	
O.H. Close	No.	55	37	49	45	68	35	-36.4
	Rate	0.16	0.11	0.14	0.12	0.18	0.09	
Preston	No.	119	126	186	258	160	211	77.3
	Rate	0.31	0.35	0.49	0.55	0.31	0.38	
Ventura	No.	215	106	169	473	220	241	12.1
	Rate	0.65	0.37	0.53	1.07	0.45	0.43	
YTS	No.	234	68	119	340	199	121	-48.3
	Rate	0.26	0.94	0.15	0.35	0.19	0.11	

Table B-6

Staff Action and Ward Grievances in Six YA Facilities
1976 - 1981

		1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	% Chg 76-81
<u>STAFF ACTION</u>								
NRCC	No.	108	89	127	69	101	216	100.0
	Rate	0.42	0.33	0.47	0.26	0.37	0.65	
SRCC	No.	225	123	331	246	177	42	-81.3
	Rate	0.75	0.40	1.02	0.76	0.52	0.11	
O.H. Close	No.	54	50	66	59	62	46	-14.8
	Rate	0.16	0.15	0.19	0.16	0.17	0.12	
Preston	No.	226	119	353	444	503	350	54.9
	Rate	0.59	0.33	0.93	0.94	0.98	0.63	
Ventura	No.	89	67	121	233	126	178	100.0
	Rate	0.27	0.24	0.38	0.53	0.26	0.32	
YTS	No.	353	162	117	286	243	201	-43.1
	Rate	0.40	0.22	0.15	0.30	0.23	0.18	
<u>WARD</u>								
NRCC	No.	26	31	59	19	33	26	0.0
	Rate	0.10	0.12	0.22	0.07	0.12	0.08	
SRCC	No.	30	11	16	28	32	17	-43.3
	Rate	0.10	0.04	0.05	0.09	0.09	0.04	
O.H. Close	No.	24	32	48	47	29	13	-45.8
	Rate	0.07	0.09	0.14	0.13	0.08	0.03	
Preston	No.	21	40	59	53	38	57	171.4
	Rate	0.05	0.11	0.16	0.11	0.07	0.10	
Ventura	No.	13	10	5	30	18	18	38.5
	Rate	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.07	0.04	0.03	
YTS	No.	6	2	5	13	5	4	-33.3
	Rate	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	

Table B-7
Equipment and Other Grievances in Six YA Facilities
1976 - 1981

		1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	% Chg 76-81
<u>EQUIPMENT</u>								
NRCC	No.	23	42	24	38	66	41	78.3
	Rate	0.09	0.16	0.09	0.14	0.24	0.12	
SRCC	No.	47	44	75	61	41	71	51.1
	Rate	0.16	0.14	0.23	0.19	0.12	0.18	
O.H. Close	No.	11	7	13	19	10	3	-72.7
	Rate	0.03	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.01	
Preston	No.	26	48	141	158	48	52	100.0
	Rate	0.07	0.13	0.37	0.34	0.09	0.09	
Ventura	No.	15	27	59	142	70	51	240.0
	Rate	0.05	0.10	0.19	0.32	0.14	0.09	
YTS	No.	74	32	34	112	98	94	27.0
	Rate	0.08	0.04	0.04	0.12	0.09	0.08	
<u>OTHER</u>								
NRCC	No.	3	2	2	0	3	8	166.7
	Rate	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.02	
SRCC	No.	1	1	1	0	1	0	-100.0
	Rate	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
O.H. Close	No.	1	0	1	0	0	0	-100.0
	Rate	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
Preston	No.	1	0	2	0	3	22	2,100.0
	Rate	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.04	
Ventura	No.	0	0	2	0	2	46	--
	Rate	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.08	
YTS	No.	5	0	1	0	4	12	140.0
	Rate	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	

Table B-8
Ward-on-Ward Assaults in Six YA Facilities
1976 - 1981

		1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	% Chg 76-81
NRCC	No.	29	24	34	22	13	27	-6.9
	Rate	.11	.09	.13	.08	.05	.08	
SRCC	No.	17	23	24	21	19	12	-29.4
	Rate	.06	.08	.07	.06	.03	.03	
O.H. Close	No.	69	49	65	48	60	27	-60.9
	Rate	.20	.14	.18	.13	.16	.07	
Preston	No.	57	59	71	139	115	49	-19.5
	Rate	.15	.17	.19	.30	.22	.09	
Ventura	No.	41	30	27	32	39	33	-19.5
	Rate	.12	.11	.09	.07	.08	.06	
YTS	No.	101	76	70	78	110	99	-2.0
	Rate	.11	.11	.09	.08	.11	.09	

Table B-9
Ward-on-Staff Assaults in Six YA Facilities
1976 - 1981

		<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>% Chg 76-81</u>
NRCC	No.	7	3	2	2	5	4	-42.9
	Rate	.03	.01	.01	.01	.02	.01	-66.7
SRCC	No.	5	5	8	7	0	1	-80.0
	Rate	.02	.02	.03	.02	0	--	-100.0
O.H. Close	No.	13	9	2	3	10	7	-46.2
	Rate	.04	.03	.01	.01	.03	.02	-50.0
Preston	No.	18	8	10	21	10	10	-44.4
	Rate	.05	.02	.03	.05	.02	.02	-60.0
Ventura	No.	20	15	6	6	6	6	-70.0
	Rate	.06	.05	.02	.01	.01	.01	-83.3
YTS	No.	81	43	13	19	22	25	-69.1
	Rate	.09	.06	.02	.02	.02	.02	-77.8

APPENDIX C

REFERENCES

APPENDIX C

REFERENCES

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APPENDIX D

GLOSSARY

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GLOSSARY*

ADJUDICATION: the determination of a controversy and a pronouncement of a judgment based on evidence presented; implies a final judgment of the court.

ADULT: a person 18 years of age or older.

ARREST: ". . .taking a person into custody, in a case and in the manner authorized by law. An arrest may be made by a peace officer or by a private person." (P.C. 834)

ARREST RATE: the number of arrests per 100,000 at-risk population.

BCS: California Bureau of Criminal Statistics.

CDC: California Department of Corrections.

CALIFORNIA YOUTH AUTHORITY (YA): the state agency which has jurisdiction over and maintains institutions for wards committed from juvenile and adult courts.

CAMPS, RANCHES, HOMES AND SCHOOLS: county-level juvenile correctional facilities used for post-court treatment of juvenile offenders. These facilities are maintained by the various county probation departments.

CLOSED AT INTAKE: a case closed by the probation department following investigation of the juvenile's circumstances and the nature of the alleged offense. No further action is taken.

CONVICTION: a judgment, based either on the verdict of a jury or a judicial officer or on the guilty plea of the defendant, that the defendant is guilty.

CRIME: ". . .an act committed or omitted in violation of a law forbidding or commanding it. . ." (P.C. 15)

CRIME RATE: the number of crimes per 100,000 at-risk population.

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS: the state agency which has jurisdiction over the California prison system for inmates committed from adult courts.

*These glossary terms are intended for this specific publication.

DISMISSAL: the termination of a case by a court without a determination of guilt or innocence.

DISPOSITION--COURT: the final action taken by a court.

DISPOSITION--POLICE: the final action taken by a law enforcement agency.

DISPOSITION--PROSECUTOR: the final action taken by the prosecuting agency (e.g., filing or declining to file a complaint).

FELONY: ". . . a crime which is punishable with death or by imprisonment in the state prison. . . ." (P.C. 17)

FILING: a document filed with the court clerk by a prosecuting attorney alleging that a person committed a crime.

INITIAL PETITION: a petition filed in juvenile court on behalf of a minor not under probation or YA, alleging that the minor has committed a delinquent act.

INITIAL REFERRAL: an allegation made to the probation department that a minor not on probation or parole has committed a delinquent act.

INTAKE DETERMINATION: the probation department disposition of a referral.

JUVENILE: a person under the age of 18.

JUVENILE COURT: the court responsible for adjudicating juvenile offenders.

LAW VIOLATION: behavior prohibited by a section of the Penal Code. Applied to juveniles under Section 602 of the Welfare and Institutions Code. (Does not include Section 601 status offenses.)

LOWER COURT: the court of original jurisdiction. The lower court can conduct preliminary hearings to determine probable cause in felony cases.

MISDEMEANOR: a crime punishable by imprisonment in the county jail, by a fine, or by both.

OFFENSE--CHARGED: the charged offense is the offense for which the defendant was arrested or which the attorney files a complaint upon.

OFFENSE--SUSTAINED: The sustained offense is the offense for which the juvenile court sustains a petition, equivalent to conviction in an adult court.

PAROLE: an added period of supervision following completion of a prison sentence or a stay in the California Youth Authority.

PAROLE VIOLATOR (PAROLE RETURNS WITHOUT NEW COMMITMENT): in the Youth Authority, refers to a parolee returned to custody of YA without a new commitment. (See Recommitment for comparison.)

PETITION: the formal presentation to the juvenile court of information surrounding the alleged offense by a juvenile; similar to a complaint for an adult.

PRISON: a state correctional facility where persons are confined following conviction of a felony offense.

PROBATION: a judicial requirement that a person fulfill certain conditions of behavior in lieu of confinement in prison.

PROBATION WITH JAIL: a court disposition imposing a jail term as a condition of probation status.

PROBATION--FORMAL (JUVENILE): a probation grant in which the minor is declared a ward of the juvenile court and placed on formal probation.

PROBATION--INFORMAL (JUVENILE): supervision of a minor, in lieu of filing a petition, for a period not to exceed six months (Welfare and Institutions Code Section 654).

PROBATION--NON-WARD (JUVENILE): a probation grant without wardship for a specific time not to exceed six months (Welfare and Institutions Code Section 725a).

PROSECUTOR: an attorney employed by a governmental agency whose official duty is to initiate and maintain criminal proceedings on behalf of the government against a person accused of committing a criminal offense.

RECOMMITMENT: (PAROLE RETURNS WITH NEW COMMITMENT): in the Youth Authority, refers to a parolee who is resentenced to the Youth Authority for a new law violation. (See Parole Violator for comparison.)

REMAND TO ADULT COURT: referral of a juvenile over 16 years of age to adult court under Welfare and Institutions Code Section 707 because he or she is not "amenable" to the treatment available through the juvenile court.

SENTENCE: the penalty imposed by a court upon a convicted person.

STATE INSTITUTION: a facility for housing persons under the jurisdiction of a state correctional program.

STATUS OFFENSE: conduct which constitutes an offense only when committed by a juvenile (Welfare and Institutions Code Section 601).

SUBSEQUENT PETITION: a petition filed on behalf of a juvenile who is already under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court.

SUPERIOR COURT: the court of exclusive jurisdiction for felony trials and all juvenile hearings. Also, the first court of appeals for municipal or justice court cases.

TIME ADDS: additional months added to a Youth Authority ward's length of stay as a result of disciplinary problems or program performance.

TIME CUTS: months removed from a Youth Authority ward's length of stay as a result of good behavior or program performance.

WAIVE TO ADULT COURT: See Remand to Adult Court.

YA: California Youth Authority.

YOPB: Youthful Offender Parole Board.

END