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The Impact Of Changes In The Juvenile Court Process On Juvenile Criminal Offender Handling

This report concerns two major provisions of California's 1976 juvenile court reform law, AB3121. The two provisions are related. The first mandates the presence of the district attorney in all juvenile court hearings for juvenile criminal offenders to present the case against the accused juvenile. Prior to AB3121, the probation officer served this function, although the function of the probation officer was less clearly prosecutorial. The juvenile's "best interest" was to be paramount in the counts mind as well as the probation officer's.

The second provision makes the D. A. the final decisionmaker on the question of what juvenile criminal cases will actually go to court and which will be screened out. Again, prior to AB3121, this was the function of the probation officer. The difference between the orientation of the district attorney compared to the probation officer is important here too. . Again, the probation officer is traditionally concerned with the individual child and his/her circumstances, while the prosecutor is concerned with legal criteria for good evidence. Most of all, of course, the prosecutor is oriented to prosecution.

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The clear intent of these two provisions is to increase the severity with which juvenile criminal cases are handled by the juvenile court. The legislation represents a well known trend away from a rehabilitation focus toward a "get tough" focus within the juvenile court. The transfer of power from the rehabilitation oriented probation officer to a prosecution oriented district attorney would seem an obvious way to accomplish this aim.

The central question of this report, then, is: are juvenile criminals

handled with more severity after AB3121 than they were before? Toward answering this question, four measures of severity were identified: 1) proportion of cases referred to probation by police that are petitioned to court 2) proportion of cases whose petitions are sustained (throughout the report the term "conviction" will be used in place of "sustained petition" since it is both easier and more accurate given the current trends in juvenile court) 3) the proportion of convicted cases that receive dispositions including some type of confinement and 4) the number of conditions of probation imposed in cases receiving dispositions of probation. Increases in these variables in 1977 and 1978 compared to 1976 will be taken as indications of a positive answer to the central question posed earlier.

Two secondary questions are also addressed by the report. First, with the insertion of the district attorney into the juvenile court process, do we get some of the undesireable trappings of the formalized adult court in the bargain? Do we get interminable continuances and delays as well as plea bargaining? Toward answering these questions, measures of time between decision points are taken (i.e. between arrest and adjudication, adjudication and disposition, and between arrest and disposition); measures of the number of continuances granted in each case are taken; and, finally, a measure of plea bargaining is taken.

Second, are the police affected by the change in the role of the D.A.? More specifically, are their investigations changed or improved with pressure from the D.A. for higher quality cases in terms of evidence? For this question, measures of investigation quality are taken.

Certain features of this legislation pertaining to juvenile criminal offenders predict success in the goal of increasing the severity of the

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handling of offenders. That is, criminal offenders should be more subject to court action, more likely to be convicted and receive harsher sentences or dispositions.

Perhaps the major reason for the above expectations is that the law is philosophically consonant with the sector of the system that must carry it out. If anyone in the system is oriented to harsher treatment it is the district attorney, and it is the district attorney who is responsible for the implementation of this law. This is particularly salient in view of the philosophical orientation of the D.A.'s (functional) predecessor, the probation officer. Probation officers are noted for their therapeutic or rehabilitation orientation in contrast to the D.A.'s prosecution or punishment orientation. The transfer of power from the probation officer to the D.A. is, then, an entirely appropriate one for the purposes embodied in the provision.

It is also worth noting that the provisions are mandated, leaving little opportunity for the practitioners of the system to ignore the imlementation of the law. Some provisions of law may well be ignored even though mandated, but it would be difficult in this case because of the high visibility of the provision. It affects so many cases that noncomplience couldn't pass unnoticed.

Finally, effective implementation might be expected because there are significant positive incentives for the district attorney to comply with the spirit of the law. The establishment or enhancement of a juvenile unit within the D.A.'s office is necessary for the effective implementation of the new practices. This implies both new career opportunities for in-

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dividual deputy D.A.'s and new budget opportunities for the organization itself. Both of these factors must be seen as positive predictors for implementation.

In short, the new provisions are philosophically agreeable for the responsible practitioners, they are mandated, and they present significant positive incentives to the responsible organization and individuals within the organization for the enthusiastic implementation of this important change in California juvenile court law.

### METHODS

The hypotheses posed above are best addressed by studying the processing of juvenile criminal cases before and after the implementation of AB3121. The following paragraphs describe the sampling and data collection procedures employed toward answering questions relevant to the criminal offender provisions of AB3121. Since the criminal (and juvenile) justice system is county-based the first sampling process discussed will be the selection of counties.

#### County Selection

Three factors were considered in the selection of counties for study. First, the aim was to capture variation in responses to the law. It would be foolish to expect uniform reaction from 58 counties as varied as California counties. There are many sources of such variabion, some more relevant to our interests than others. To be sure that the relevant sources of variation were tapped, aggregate justice system data spanning the three years prior to AB3121 and one quarter following the law (the latest information available at the time) were used to identify pre- and

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and post-AB3121 trends. Thus actual variation in juvenile justice practices related to AB3121 were observable. Each county was categorized based on its pre- and post-AB3121 trends. The categories then served as strata within which to sample. All major strata were represented by at least one sample county, but a few strata were omitted.

Maximum coverage of counties was achieved by collaboration with the California Youth Authority (CYA) which also received a grant to study the impact of AB3121. Since the Youth Authority is based in the northern county of Sacramento, CYA researchers gathered data from the northern counties of the sample.

The second consideration in county selection was county size. Some counties are so small that they could not yeild a sample of offenders large enough to do meaningful analyses. There are 22 such counties. They were therefore eleminated from consideration.

The third criterion for county selection was proximity to researchers. Budget constraints demanded that travel costs be kept to a minimum. Sample counties, therefore, tend to surround Los Angeles and Sacramento Counties. The final list of counties was: Alameda, Marin, Placer, Sacramento, Solano, Los Angeles, San Bernardino and Ventura.

## Police Agency Selection

Some of the issues under study pertain to police behavior. (This is particularly true of the component of the study that dealt with the status offender provisions--Volume \_\_\_\_\_ of this report). Pre- and post-AB3121 samples of arrested juveniles were taken from police logs and followed through their experiences with the probation department and the court where

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applicable. There were two considerations in the selection of police agencies in the southern counties: 1) To represent the decision-making patterns (and their changes) to which most of the youth of the county are subject and 2) To represent the decision-making patterns of the smaller and medium sized departments as well as the large departments in the overall pattern of the county. In each southern county, all of the major police departments were included (with the exception of one in San Bernardino County where one department's records were unsuited to our purposes). In Los Angeles County ten departments out of 80 were sampled. In San Bernardino County four departments of 14 were selected and in Ventura County five departments were used.

The criteria used for selection of police departments in the nothern counties were somewhat different then the criteria used by the USC team in the south. Four criteria were used: 1) size of the department 2) operating philosophies and policies 3) arrest statistics and 4) quality of the record system. In each northern county, at least two departments were included. The departments and the rationals for their selection are follows:\*

<u>Sacramento County</u> The Sacramento Police Department and Sheriff's Department were selected for study since arrests made by these departments constituted 95% of all juvenile arrests in the county during 1976. <u>Placer County</u> Three law enforcement departments (Sheriff, Roseville Police Department and Auburn Police Department) accounted for 85% of all juvenile arrests during 1976. The Roseville and Auburn departments were

\*Taken from "AB5121 Impact Evaluation Final Report": California Youth Authority, January, 1980.

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selected for the study due to the presence of arrest registers that allowed for ease of sample selection, the adequacy of their records systems, and their willingness to participate in the study.

<u>Solano County</u> Three police departments were selected for study. Fairfield and Vallejo Police Departments are the two largest in Solano County; they accounted for 67% of all juvenile arrests in 1976. Benicia Police Department was selected as a good representative of a small police department.

Marin County The two largest law enforcement departments in the county in terms of juvenile arrests were selected. These departments (San Rafael and Novato Police Departments ) accounted for almost half (46%) of all juvenile arrests within Marin County in 1976. A third department selected--Mill Valley Police Department -- was a smaller department. The three departments were different from one another in their adaptation to AB3121. Alameda County Two law enforcement departments were selected in Alameda County. The Oakland Police Department, located in the northern part of the county, was selected as the single largest department; it accounted for 30% of all juvenile arrests in Alameda. Discussions with various law enforcement staff in this county indicated that departments in the southern part of Alameda operate differently from those in the north: they have different operating philosophies; they are farther from the probation department; and they have developed alternative programming for many of their cases. The Hayward Police Department, in the sourthern part of the county, was selected as the second study department in the county. It is the 5th largest department in the county in terms of total juvenile arrests; it maintained a good record system for data collection; and it was supportive to the study.

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#### Case Samples

The second quarter of the year prior to AB3121 and the year after AB3121 and the year after AB3121 went into effect were selected for the original sampling periods. The second quarter of 1977 represented a rather early period for testing reactions to a major new piece of legislation. It was necessary, however, because any later period would not have allowed sufficient follow-up time for tracking the ultimate disposition of cases before data had to be analyzed for the report on the initial study grant. With a subsequent grant a third time period was selected in two counties (Los Angeles and Ventura) to allow a longer term assessment of impact. This time period would have been the second quarter of 1978, but accomodations had to be made for a significant political phenomenon of that year: Proposition 13. Had the sampling period gone beyond April, 1978, significant confounding effects could have been expected. Consequently, the period of February, March and April was selected to approximate the earlier sampling periods but avoid the impact of Proposition 13.

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In each county and in each department, quotas were set for sample sizes. In the southern counties, the quotas (and samples) were stratified by status offenses (analyzed in another report), criminal offenses and dependency cases (analyzed with status offenses). In Los Angeles county, the quota for criminal offenses was 200 per year; in the other two southern counties, the quota was 100 per year. The actual sample sizes varied somewhat from the quotas for two reasons. First, the requisite number of offenses could not always be found in the sampling period (this was especially true for status offenders in 1977 and 1978) and 2) some incidents included both status and criminal offenses and were therefore counted in both sampled (for some analyses). The county quotas were proportionately divided among the police departments according to the departments sizes.

The northern counties were sampled differently. Here, random samples were taken from police logs regardless of offense type. Quotas for the northern counties were 200 cases per year in all counties but Sacramento at 600 per year (the higher figure here represent the initial intention to draw larger samples early in the process and the later realization that time and budget would not allow more than 200 per year).

#### Law Enforcement Data Collected

Data collected at the law enforcement level fall into five categories: 1) demographics 2) Instant arrest (the offense resulting in inclusion in the sample) information 3) instant arrest disposition information 4) information on the quality of police investigation and 5) prior and subsequent arrest history.

Demographic data include date of birth (for use in calculating age at instate offense), ethnicity, gender, and address. Arrest information consists of the date of the arrest, the source of referral, whether or not the juvenile was booked, all charges lodged against him (up to four), the number of counts of each charge, whether or not the youth admits the charges and, finally, a narrative description of the behavior in which the juvenile is said to have engaged. Disposition information includes what the police officer (usually a juvenile officer) decided to do with the case (e.g., send to probation), whether or not the police officer requested pre-trial detention for the juvenile, and the name and address of any community agency to which the youth was sent as part of the disposition. Quality of investigation information consists of the number of pages of investigation, number of prosecution witnesses and addresses, whether or not the minor was interviewed by a police officer, whether or not there was an attempt to verify the minor's story, and whether or not the victim was interviewed. For each prior and subsequent offense information was gathered on the date of arrest (for all arrests made by that department), up to four charges, the disposition of the case, and whether or not detention was requested by the department.

#### Probation Data Collected

Data collected from probation department files fall into seven categories: demographic information, personal history information, the occurrence and dates of significant system events (hearings, etc.) information about charges at each point in the system, outcomes at each decision point in the system, who the officials are in hearings, and, finally, the youth's offense history.

The demographic information collected is actually redundant with the information collected at the law enforcement level. It was included in the probation instrument because at the time of instrument construction, the decision had not yet been made to gathern probation data only on the police cohort.

Personal history information includes variables pertinent to the juveniles' living arrangements, school attendance record, and current employment. These items were included since decisions about juvenile offenders can legitimately be based on aspects of their lives other then their offenses.

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Data on significant system events include: date of referral to probation, days held in detention (gathered from juvenile halls rather than from individual probation files); the occurrence or non-occurrence of arraignment, admission, adult court waiver, and mental health hearings; date of adjudication hearing; date of disposition hearings; and date of placement, if any. These variables were intended to track what processing each juvenile experienced and the duration of each process.

Information on the charges against the juvenile consists of: intake charges along with the number of counts and whether or not the youth admits the charges, charges at the adjudication state along with the number of counts, and whether the charges are from the original arrest or are added along the way. Finally, charges are lested if they are changed at the adjudication hearing itself; also included with these charges is the number of counts included and whether the juvenile admitted the charges. This information was collected to relate offenses to outcomes.

Outcomes were recorded at each stage also. The first outcome is the intake officer's decision on referral of the case to court or release, or, alternatively, placement on informal probation (called "probation action" on the data collection form). Any referral to a community agency at this point is recorded. The number of counts of the petition charges sustained at the adjudication hearing was recorded, and the final disposition was taken down, whether that final disposition is a probation decision or a court decision. These are the outcomes to which other variables will predict.

The officials involved in some hearings were noted. The presence of the district attorney and the defense attorney, as well as whether there

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was a judge, referee, or commissioner hearing the case was recorded for adjudication and disposition hearings. Since AB3121 made changes in the "peopling" of the juvenile justice process, the relevant officials were noted. In addition, the types of actors involved may have effects on outcomes.

The final category of variables concerns the offense history of the minor. Date of referral, charges (up to four), probation disposition, and final disposition were obtained for all probation referrals prior to the instant offense and subsequent to the instant offense. In addition, the juvenile's probation status at the time of the arrest for the instant offense was indicated. These variables are important since prior delinquent history is commonly used as a basis for decision-making. Details on collection and coding of data are in Appendix B.

The California Youth Authority collected data on more cases and in more counties, but collected fewer variables in some than did the University of Southern California team. The missing variables will be identified in the appropriate tables in the text of the results section.

#### The D.A. in Juvenile Court--Effects of AB3121

Table 1 summarizes as many tables as there are cells in Table 1. Each cell represents a 2 x 2 table testing an hypothesis related to the effect of AB3121. Where there is a plus in the cell, the table represented indicated an increase in the variable under consideration post-AB3121 compared to pre-AB3121. The variables are stated, in each case, in such a way that the hypothesis under consideration is supported by a "+". A "O" indicates no change that can be taken seriously, although the actual

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difference (in whatever units are appropriate to the cell) is shown below the "O". The one exception to the rule that a "+" conforms to an AB3121 hypothesis is seen in the first two columns. Data in the first two columns come from the Bureau of Criminal Statistics Arrest and Citation Register. The first indicates the percent change in number of criminal arrests for juveniles in 1977 compared to 1976. A "+" indicates an increase, but does not confirm any hypotheses. Criminal arrests are not the basis for hypotheses pertaining to the D.A.'s new role. They are included only to provide a background for analysis of Probation and Court processes. Consequently, reference to the first two columns will only be made in connection with the interpretation of the succeeding columns.

#### Los Angeles County

Columns c and d for Los Angeles County indicate that petitions (as a proportion of referrals to probation) were up substantially in both 1977 and 1978. This was true for the Probation Officer's decision (a petition decision in 1976 and a petition request in 1977 and 1978) and the D.A.'s petition decision in 1977 and 1978 compared to the Probation Officer's (P.O.'s) petition decision in 1976. An explanation of the reason for the two measures is needed at this point.

Making comparisons of decisions to petition across the two (or three) years is somewhat complex since the decision was a one-stage process in 1976 and a two-stage process in 1977. As a result, there are two points at which changes can be measured and the two points are not independent of each other. Further, the probation decision stage has a different meaning associated with it in 1977 than it did in 1976, making it difficult to interpret changes at that level. In 1976, the probation officer received

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referrals from the police (see diagram below) and then made the decision of whether or not to file a petition. Now the probation officer receives referrals from the police and decides whether or not to refer the case to the district attorney.

## 1976 police probation court

pet request petition 1977 police- $\rightarrow$ district attorney-→probation- $\Rightarrow$  court If the probation officer's referrals to the district attorney increase, it may be because he is attempting to follow the spirit of the law or it may be because the weight of responsibility is lighter in making the referral since a decision to refer to the D.A. does not necessarily mean that the case will go to court. In either case, the result would be consonant with the spirit of AB3121 which is to treat criminal offenders more severely. However, the matter of what comparison should be used for this analysis remains a difficult one. The resolution will be to do two analyses concerning the petition decision. The first will compare the P.O.'s decisions in 1976 to his decisions in 1977 to see if he refers a higher percentage of cases to the D.A. than the petitioned in 1976 given the law enforcement referrals to probation in each of the years. The second analysis will be a comparison of the percentage of law enforcement referrals to probation that are petitioned each year. This analysis takes into account all decisionmakers and assess the ultimate outcome. Using the two analyses, we can determine the net effect of the change in the law and we can see where in the system any changes occurred.

Column c for Los Angeles County shows that there was a difference of 14.2 percentage points (representing an increase) in the percentage of law enforcement referrals that the P. O. sent to the next decision point

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in 1977 compared to 1976. Similarly, there was an increase of 15.9 percentage points when comparing 1978 to 1976, indicating that the 1977 change was not temporary. Column d represents the second type of analysis described earlier. In Los Angeles County column d indicated that the percentage of all law enforcement referrals to probation that are petitioned to court rose by 12.9 percentage points in 1977 compared to 1976 and 14.9 points in 1978 compared to 1976. The net result, then, is that there was increased petitioning post AB3121 and both the P. O. and the D. A. participated in the increase.

In view of the increase in petitioning, it is quite impressive that the rate of conviction also went up slightly in 1978 although not in 1977, indicating a delay in this particular effect. Columns e and f show no change in convictions or sustained petitions in 1977 (indicated by "O"s) and a modest increase in 1978 or 6.7 percentage points in the percentage of law enforcement referrals that result in sustained petitions (convictions) and a 4.8 percentage point increase in the rate of sustained petitions among all petitions. Thus, whatever one takes as a base, the rate and number of criminal cases that are convicted has increased.

Among the cases that brought convictions, a much larger percentage resulted in disposition of confinement post AB3121 than pre AB3121, and, again, the effect strengthened in 1978 over 1977. Finally, there seemed to be no change in the number of conditions of probation (see column h) post AB3121.

Overall, we would have to say that, in Los Angeles County, the increased presence of the D.A. in the juvenile court has produced noticeable increases in the severity with which juvenile criminal offenders and handled. However, it is also of interest to determine whether the change toward more

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adult-like treatment of juveniles has brought with it some of the negative trappings of the adult court process. Three provess variables will be considered toward answering that question.

The first variable to consider is plea bargaining. It is virtually impossible to measure plea bargaining in the juvenile court through the use of records. However, an indirect measure was undertaken in the form of the determination of uncontested petitions. That is, where the adjudication and disposition hearing dates were the same, the petition was considered an uncontested one, and therefore potentially an instance of plea bargaining. While it is true that petitions can be uncontested without plea bargaining, if plea bargaining had increased over the between 1976 and 1977 (and 1978) this whould be reflected in an increase in uncontested hearings. Column i indicates the trends in uncontested hearings over the relevant years. In Los Angeles County it is impressive that in spite of increases in convictions and confinements uncontested petitions actually decreased substantially. Thus, the increases in treatment severity cannot easily be attributed to increased use of plea bargaining.

The other two process variables to be considered are processing time and number of continuances. Both might be expected to increase with the increased formalization of the system on the model of the adult system. Three time periods were calculated (columns j, k, and 1): the time between arrest and disposition hearing, the time between arrest and adjudication and that between adjudication and disposition. In Los Angeles County, the overall time span between arrest and final disposition increased substantially in 1977, and this increase was largely due to the processes occurring between arrest and adjudication. However, this increase subsided in 1978.

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The time period between the adjudication and disposition hearings increased somewhat in 1977 and slightly more in 1978. Similarly, the average number of continuences granted increased somewhat during the relevant time periods (column m). However, the increase in processing time is most likely largely due to the increase in contested hearings in 1977 and 1978 more than to continuances. The number of continuences was determined by counting the number of times adjudication hearings were continued within a given case. Continuances from preliminary hearing to adjudication hearing and from adjudication hearing to disposition hearing were not counted since they are standard procedure. Only where adjudication hearings were carried over to additional days was a continuation hearing counted.

In summary, the change in the role of the D.A. has made a substantial impact in Los Angeles County in directions apparently intended by the legislature. It is interesting that this is the case in the County that has, probably more than any other, used the D.A. in the juvenile court prior to the passage of AB3121. Finally, the increases in hadling severity for juvenile criminal offenders were not accompanied by increased plea bargaining. There was some increase in processing time, but this is largely accounted for by a substantial increase in contested petition rather than by continuances.

#### San Bernardino County

Table 1 indicates that the proportion of cases that the probation officer refers to the D.A. and that are ultimately referred to court increase substantially in 1977 over 1976 (1978 data were not collected in this county). This is true even with a moderate increase in the number of criminal offense arrests and referrals to probation shown in columns

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a and b. Convictions were down slightly in 1977 but not enough to offset the increase in petitions. In addition, among those convicted, dispositions including confinement increased noticibly. Conditions of probation were also more numerous post AB3121. Uncontested petitions were less frequent by a large margin in 1977, very likely explaining the slight decrease in proportions convicted and the increase in proportion confined. That is, under conditions of less bargaining, convictions are less likely and more severe sanctions more likely among those who are convicted. It is also not surprising, under these circumstance, that processing time increased. The reason for this increase is clearly not continuances since they were down (column m) but rather the increase in contested petitions.

San Bernardino County's response to AB3121 was not dissimilar to Los Angeles County's There are demonstrable changes in the severity of handling where criminal offenders are concerned in the direction anticipated by the legislature and with few of the negative by-products that might have occurred. In this county the change in the D.A.'s role was felt most in the proportion of petitions filed (most of which were contested petitions and therefore probably not plea bargained) and in the proportion of sustained petitions that resulted in dispositions of confinement. Not surprisingly, the increase in contested petitions resulted in some increase in the processing time between arrest and dispositions.

## Ventura County

Data in Ventura County were collected for the years 1976 through 1978 as was the case in Los Angeles County, thus giving us a basis for assessing the stability of the trends identified in the 1976-1977 comparisons.

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For Ventura County, columns e and f indicate that, while arrests and probation referrals of criminal offenders declined over the relevant (a and b) the same proportion of the cases were petitioned by the probation department and the D.A.'s office in 1977 and 1978. Columns e and f show that sustained petitions as a proportion of probation referrals were up only slightly, but as a proportion of actual petitions were up substantially, thus indication considerable screening by the D.A. In 1978 the pattern is reversed: the sustained petitions as a proportion of all probation referrals (petition requests) were up substantially, but the proportion of actual petitions is not. This would seem to indicate less screening of petitions by the D.A., but with little loss in effectiveness, since, overall there is still a substantial increase in convictions. The proportion of convicted cases resulting in confinement went up in 1977 but back down in 1978, possibly as a result of the moderation in petition request screening in 1978 compared to 1977; that is as a result of less screening, less substantial or less serious cases were likely to be petitioned. While these cases were sustained, they did not warrant confinement. This is, of course, speculation, but it seems a plausible explanation for the patterns exhibited.

The final outcome variable is the number of conditions of probation that are imposed, the assumption being that increased severity might result in increased restrictions on offenders. In Ventura County the number of probation conditions went up in 1977 and remained up in 1978 compared to 1976.

Column i indicates an increase in uncontested petitions in 1978 (although not in 1977), thus indication potentially more plea bargaining. This pattern fits well with the earlier discussion of less D.A. screening

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in 1978 and an increase in the conviction rate among the probation referrals. It would seem that the D.A. accomplished the increase in convictions (of less serious or less substantial cases) through plea bargaining. We would expect this situation to result in less severe dispositions, as is indeed the case in 1978, when looking at confinement. Column j through m also support the patterns described by indicating reductions in processing time and in continuance that are stable over the years. The largest decrease in processing time took place between the adjudication hearing and the disposition hearing in 1978, when more plea bargaining, less screening and less severe disposition took place.

In summary, it seems likely that, in 1977, the D.A. did considerable screening of probation petition requests, increased the conviction rate among petitions, did not increase plea bargaining, and effected more severe sanctions. In 1978, the D.A. did less screening, more plea bargaining, obtained more convictions over>11, with less severe dispositions (on presumable weaker or less serious cases), with a reduction in processing time.

#### Solano County

In this county, arrests and referrals to probation were up slightly over 1977 and 1978 (columns a & b), and both the probation department and the D.A.'s office increased petitioning activity (columns c & d). Even with the increase in petitioning, conviction rates went up (columns e & f), and within the increase in convictions, confinement remained the same (column g) as a proportion of convictions, indicating an increase in absolute numbers. Conditions of probation were not measured in Salano County. It appears that the Solano County D.A. did not use plea bargaining

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as a major tool in an effort to increase convictions since the rate of uncontested petitions went down in 1977 compared to 1976. Commensurate with this decrease in uncontested petitions, more processing time was used particularly between the adjudication hearing and the disposition hearing. Also there was an increase in continuances in 1977, undoubtedly contributing to the increase in processing time.

#### Marin County

The impact of AB3121 in Marin County was somewhat different from the preceding counties. Arrests of criminals offenders were down in 1977 compared to 1976, but referrals to probation remained about the same perhaps indicating less serious cases going into probation (columns a and b). Petititons (both from probation and the D.A) were down considerably in 1977, but convictions were up even more than petitions were down. Confinements were also down (column g), perhaps indicating that most of the 'new' convictions were not confined. This may be another indication that the cases coming to court during 1977 were, on the average, less serious. During 1977 uncontested petitions went down considerably, indicating less plea bargaining by the D.A. than by the Probation Officer in years past. This decrease was relfected only slightly in an increase in processing time during the period between adjudication and disposition, contrary to substantial reductions in time prior to adjudication. The decrease in plea bargaining may also account for the lower conviction rate in 1977. The pattern that emerges is that of a D.A. who is aggressive in taking less serious cases to court, prosecuting them without plea bargaining (successfully), and consequently getting fewer confinement dispositions. Sacramento County

In Sacramento County the input to the juvenile court system remained stable over 1976 and 1977 (columns a & b), and those apparently similar

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cases were petitioned more. The increase in petitions took place both at the probation and district attorney levels (columns a and d). Convictions were down in 1977 but not as much as petitions were up, indicating a net gain in convictions (columns e  $\S$  f). Among convicted cases (a slightly larger pool in 1977) slightly fewer received confinement dispositions, and conditions of probation remained at the same level. Little change in processing time is apparent, nor was there a change in level of plea bargaining.

In summary, there was apparently in increase in petitions which were handled in the same way that they had been in the past, with the net result of a few more convictions (in absolute numbers).

#### Alameda County

Arrests and referrals to probation were down in this county, while petitions were up some in terms of proportions. Convictions remained at the same level. The increase in petitions was apparently handled by plea bargaining since the level of uncontested petitions went up noticibly. On the assumption that the reduction in arrests and referrals to probation did not represent different criteria for these activities at the police level, i.e. the type and seriousness of cases remained constant, the moderate increase in level of petitioning would represent a decline in the seriousness of cases that actually went to court. Given this assumption, the constant conviction rate represents an increase in the conviction of less serious cases. Thus it is not surprising that the confinement rate would be down some, as it is in 1977. A decrease in processing time is observable as well as fewer continuances, both of which fit well with the increase in plea bargaining, the method apparently used to handle the moderate increase in petitioning.

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In summary, the effect of the new role for the D.A. is modest but evident. It is likely that less serious cases were handled by the court in 1977 but the conviction rate remained stable in spite of this trend. This was apparently accomplished through increased plea bargaining, which in turn, led to shorter processing time and fewer continuances. Another outcome of this pattern is a moderate decrease in confinement dispositions, Placer County

. The county least affected (in ways anticipated by the legislation) by the role change for the D.A. was Placer County. Arrests and referrals remained the same across the relevant years. Petitions increased moderately, and convictions went down by an approximately equivalent amount. Confinement dispositions went way down. With the increase in petitioning went a very large decrease in uncontested petitions, thus potentially accounting for the decrease in convictions and confinements. Processing time correspondingly went up.

## Summary

Of the eight counties studied, seven show clear signs of positive (in the terms of legislative intent) effects resulting from the change in the role of the D.A. in the juvenile court. The form these effects took varied with the style of the D.A. in the particular county, but the net result, in all seven cases was an increase in the severity with which juvenile criminal offenders were handled. Inspection of columns c through h of Table 1 reveals an interesting overall pattern: the counties with the exception of Ventura show positive effects either in columns b and c or in the remaining columns, usually not both. In other words where petitions are increased substantially, convictions and confinements and probation conditions tend to go down.

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Where petitioning remains stable or decreases (possibly as a result of increased screening) conviction rates and confinement rates increase substantially. Either way it occurs, there is usually a net increase in absolute numbers convicted and confined. Contrary to expectation, plea bargaining seems to have declined (except in Alameda County), indicating a more aggressive approach on the part of the D.A. than might have been assumed at the outset. That is, he is usually prosecuting more cases than were taken to court prior to AB3121, maintaining a conviction rate comparable or better than in the past, and is not using plea bargaining as the dominant method to attain these ends. Where plea bargaining is reduced a great deal, there is usually some increase in processing time, and often an increase in confinement. Delays that are related to plea bargaining usually occur between adjudication and disposition. Delays between arrest and adjudication usually occur where there are increases in petitioning activity.

## IMPACT OF D.A. ON LAW ENFORCEMENT

The major effect of the changes in the D.A.'s role in the juvenile court would be expected within the court itself and its decisions as well as the decision by the probation department and the District Attorney's office leading up to the court process. Law enforcement was effected only indirectly by the change, consequently fewer changes may be expected there. One area, however, might well be expected to reflect the new orientation to juvenile court brought about the District Attorney's presence. Law Enforcement is, of course, anxious to see its cases prosecuted, and considerable friction develops between police and the court's gatekeeper concerning the criteria applied to determine whether or not cases would go to court. Before AB3121. the gatekeeper was the Probation Officer. After AB3121 it was the District Attorney. The point has been made already that the philosophy of

- 24 -

the District Attorney is basically different from the Probation Officer. He is oriented to legal sufficiency and conviction rates (in California the district attorney is an elected official). He is interested in high quality cases to present in court. It is reasonable to expect, then, that the District Attorney would apply some considerable pressure on police to do high quality investigations toward taking winning cases to court. The central hypothesis of this section, then, is: Is there an increase in the quality of police investigations in juvenile criminal cases in 1977 (and 1978) compared to 1976?

#### Measures of Quality

Conversations with the District Attorney's Office yielded several possible measures of investigation quality, one of which proved unfeasible. The elements of the crime should be identified in arrest reports. However, we found ourselves to be unqualified to determine the presence or absence of the elements and therefore had to drop the measure.

The first measure of quality was the number of pages of the investigation report. Naturally, quality is not measured by quantity. However, in general, thoroughness tends to take more space than does sparseness. On the average, then, we would exepect an increase in the length of reports if more thoroughness was realized.

The second measure is the number of prosecution witnesses that are identified with names and addresses in the report. Witnesses are, of course, very important to the presentation of evidence in court and can be used only if they can be found after the initial incident and investigation. The number of such witnesses, then, seemed an important measure of the quality of the investigation from a prosecution standpoint.

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The third measure of quality is a measure of whether or not the minor was actually interviewed by the investigation officer (provided the minor did not invoke his/her right to remain silent). A common complaint from prosecutors is that investigation police officers do not bother to talk to the accused minor and get the full picture of the incident. An attempt to do so represents an element of investigation quality.

The fourth measure follows from the third. Once the minor has been interviewed and has given the officer a version of the incident, there should be an attempt to verify or disprove the story given. Where this is done, the investigation is more thorough than where it is not true.

The final element of quality is a determination of whether or not an admission was obtained from the minor. Naturally admissions cannot always be obtained; however, again, from a prosecution point of view an admission makes a better case, and and attempt to elicit one constitutes an element of investigation quality. On the assumption that increase attempts at obtaining admissions would, on the average, yield more actual admissions, such admissions were taken as a measure of quality.

#### Results

The results of the analyses on this question of investigation quality are summarize in Table 2. (The tables represented by Table 2 can be found in Appendix A. The first column indicates the differences in the means of the number of pages of investigation pre-and post-AB3121. That is, in Los Angeles the difference between the mean number of pages in 1977 compared to 1976 was -.7 (a rather small difference), and 1978 the difference from 1976 was +5.2. The second column indicated the difference in means across the same years for the mean number of witnesses identified in reports. In 1977 there was a difference of +.31 between the 1976 mean and the 1977 mean.

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The third column shows the differences in the percentage of cases where the minor was interviewed pre-and post-AB3121. Similarly, the fourth column shows the differences in the percentage of varification attempts in 1977 (and 1978) compared to 1976. Finally, the last column indicates the differences in admission rates pre-and post-AB3121 in terms of differences in percentages.

Overall, the hypothesis is confirmed by counting the number of test that show a positive change. Of 47 tests, 33, or 70.2% are in the predicted direction. Those going against prediction constitute 21.3%, with 8.5% showing no change. The changes vary in size, and some variables are more consistent in their results than others. The variable most consistently indication confirmation of expectation are the number of witnesses identified and the attempts at story verification. The weakest variable is the interview variable, mainly reflecting the fact that, according to our data, juveniles were, in the past, usually interviewed even prior to AB3121. Also, the southern counties and Sacramento county showed the most consistent positive changes. The same pattern was evident at the probation and court levels of this analysis. That is, the stronger impact on petitions and convictions, etc. were found in the southern counties, although some northern counties showed considerable impact also.

In summary, there is some evidence that some improvement in the quality of police investigations took place after AB3121 went into effect, presumably because of pressure from the District Attorney's office, and because of the District Attorney's orientation to legal criteria as opposed to individual criteria more commonly associated with the Probation function. The strongest effects seen were on witness information and attempts at story verification, and the counties most affected were the southern counties plus Sacramento County.

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#### SUMMARY

The implementation of the criminal offender provision was expected to be relatively smooth and effective because of the philosophical features of the legislation, the fact that they were mandated and because presence of certain positive incentives for implementation. Overall, the data from eight counties show this to have been the case. Data were collected at the law enforcement level to determine the effect of the new role for the D.A. on investigation quality. At the probation and court levels, data were gathered to identify and changes in proportions of cases sent to court, convicted, and incarcerated. In addition, process variables of elapsed time, plea bargaining and continuance granted were measured.

In almost all counties, net increases in sustained petitions (convictions) and in confinement were identified. The increases took place in different parts of the system in different counties but the end results were similar although there was variation in the degree of effect across the eight counties. In general, changes either took place at the petitioning stage (higher proportions of petitions) or at the court stage (convictions and/or confinements increased in proportions). Changes were usually not seen at both levels. With these increases, surprisingly, plea bargaining usually decreased except in Alameda County. In general, where pleas bargaining is reduced, processing time is increased.

At the law enforcement level, small but quite consistent improvements in investigation quality occurred across counties. The changes seen are not large, nor would we expect them to be since the desired practices were not new but were merely encouraged more strongly. Overall, then, the conclusion is drawn that the implementation of these provisions were carried out largely in accordance the legislature's intention.

Los Angeles	s * #Arrests	œ #Prob Ref-LE	+ + > Prob Decision	51 + 6 Petition/Prot	0	t' 0 & Sust/Pet		- 0 6 Prob. Cond	- 37.1	46.0	+	tt + ° Adi - Dis	. + 2 Continuance I	
	5.5	3.0	15.9	14.9	6.7	4.8	29.1	.95	39.1	+ 1.8	*8.2	17.4	<b>.</b> 47	
San Bernardino	+ 6.3	+ 8.2	+ 27.9	+ 21.1	- 8.4	- 6.9	+ 5.7	+ 5.96	- 28.4	+ 12.3	- 6.4	+ 13.5	- .14	
Ventura	15.5	20.4	5.8	+.7	4.1	13.3	22.1	2.07	-1.9	6.3	_ 5.6	 7.5	.22	
	12.2	20.4	<u>±</u> .8	+2.5	13.9	+.3	+ 1.1	2.05	11.1	6.6	- 3.2	14.4	.28	
Alameda	- 9.2	- 10.1	+ 6.0	+ 3.8	- 3.0	0 + .5	- 6.4		+ 14.8	- 10.4	- 1.5	- 11.4	.36	
Marin	- 12.5	0 3	- 15.4	- 10.8	+ 20.0	+ 15.8	- 12.5		- 28.6	- 31.6	- 28.7	+ 3.4	+ .41	
Placer	0 +2.1	0 +2.6	+ 7.9	+ 8.2	- 6.7	- 8.0	- 41.5		- 50,0	+ 35,4	- 7,7	+ 21,2	+ ,16	
Sacramento	0 +2.9	- 4.0	+ 17.3	+ 16.6	9.1	- 8.1	- 2.8	0 0	0 -2.7	0 6	+ 14.0	- 5.1	- .48	
Solano	+ 6.3	+ 9.5	+ 5.2	+ 11.4	+ 11.6	+ 4.5	0 -3.5		- 10.5	+ 28.0	+ 1.1	+ 13.7	+ .43	

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## Impact on the District Attorney on Law Enforcement Investigations - Summary table

Differences C	ompared to	b 1976
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LA						
Los Angeles Co	1977 1978	7 +5.2	+.31 +.32	+.1 -1.9	+11.4 +30.6	-1.6 0
SB San Bernardino Co	1977	+1.9	• +.2	6	+5.8	+15.9
VT Venture Co	1977 1978	+.6 +2.9	+.41 +.56	+6.9 +3.9	+.6 +3.8	+ 2.4 + 1.1
AL Alameda Co	. 1977	-11.96	NA	NA	NA	+23
MA Marin Co.	1977	+.15	+.65	-2.7	0	-13.4
SO Solano Co.	1977	34	+.46	+1.9	0	+2
PL Placer Co.	1977	+3.49	+.43	-3.3	0	-2.4
<sup>6</sup> <u>SA</u> Sacramento Co.	1977	+6.49	+.12	+13.1	+1.1	+3.3

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## Los Angeles County

## Mean Number of Pages of Investigations for 601s, 602s and 300s by Year

WIC	1976	1977	1978		
601	5.8% (N=150)	7.4% (N=107)	5.7% (N=74)	P<.05	
602	4.7% (N≐196)	4.0% (N=189)	9.9% (N=183)	P = NS	
300.600	5.8% (N=70)	7.6% (N=67)	8.0% (N=38)	P = NS	

## Ventura County

Mean Number of Pages of Investigation for 601s, 602s and 300s by Year

WIC	1976	1977	1978	
601	2.8% (N=96)	2.6% (N=39)	4.8% (N=38)	P <.001
602	6.0% (N=114)	6.6% (N=133)	8.9% (N=144)	P<.001
300	3.5% (N=6)	3.33%(N=3)	6.2% (N=5)	N too small for ANOVA
Curfew	2.1% (N=31)	2.4% (N=37)	5.1% (N=30)	P<.001

## Los Angeles County

Mean Number of Witnesses Listed in Investigation for 601s, 602s and 300s by Year

WIC	1976	1977	1978		
601	.41% (N=134)	.31% (N=102)	.41% (N=73)	P = NS	.
602	.77% (N=184)	1.08% (N=180)	1.09% (N=183)	P = NS	
300/600	.75% (N=67)	1.33% (N=57)	1.43% (N=37)	P = NS	

## Ventura County

## Mean Number of Witnesses Listed in Investigation for 601s, 602s and 300s by Year

WIC	1976	1977	1978	
601	.10% (N=96)	.32% (N=34)	.42% (N=38)	P < .05
602	.50% (N=115)	.91% (N=132)	1.06% (N=144)	P< .001
300	.17% (N=6)	1.00% (N=3)	0% (N=5)	N too small for ANOVA
Curfew	.03% (N=31)	.11% (N=37)	.27% (N=30)	P = NS

## Los Angeles County

# Percent of Minors Interviewed for 601s, 602s and 300s by Year

~	WIC	1976	1977	1978	76-78	
	601	77.8% (N=99)	68.9% (N=64)	75% (N-48)	P = NS	
	602	88.6% (N=132)	88.7% (N=159)	86.7%(N=150)	P = NS	
	300/600	89.3% (N=56)	84.8% (N=46)	72.4% (N=29)	P = NS	

## Ventura County

Percent of Minors Interviewed for 601s, 602s and 300s by Year

WIC	1976	1977	1978	
601	89.7% (N=29)	100% (N=16)	100% (N=24)	P < 05 one tailed
602	83.5% (N=79)	90.4% (N=94)	87.4% (N=111)	P = NS
300	75.0% (N=4)	0.0% (N=1)	100% (N=4)	N too small
Curfew	80.0% (N=10)	80.0% (N=15)	85.7% (N=71)	NS

## Los Angeles County

# Percent Story Verifications for 601s, 602s and 300s by Year

WIC	1976	1977	1978	76-78
601	64.3% (N=56)	66.7% (N=36)	100% (N=31)	(76-77) P=NS . (76-78) P<01*
602	67.7% (N=93)	79.1% (N=129)	98.3% (N=120)	P<.05*
300/600	82.9% (N=41)	94.1% (N=34)	100% (N=18)	(76-77) P=NS (76-78) P<.05*
Curfew	63.6% (N=11)	30.0% (N=10)	0.0% (N=0)	-

\* All tests are one tailed

### Ventura County

WIC	1976	1977	1978	
601	88.9% (N=18)	90.0% (N=11)	100% (N=18)	P = NS
602	96.2% (N=53)	96.8% (N=63)	100% (N=88)	P<.05 one tailed
300	INSUFFICIENT	CASES	100% (N=4)	N too small
Curfew	100% (N=2)	90.0% (N=10)	100% (N=5)	N too small

# Los Angeles County

## Percent of Allegations Admitted by 601s and 602s

WIC	1976	1977	1978	
601	73.6% (N=64)	77.6% (N=52)	90.4% (N=52)	(76-77) P=NS (76-78) P .01*
602	63.6% (N=77)	62.0% (N=80)	63.6% (N=143)	P = NS

## Ventura County

-	WIC	1976	1977	1978	
	601	73.9% (N=23)	71.4% (N=14)	91.7% (N=12)	P = NS
	602	59.7% (N=67)	62.1% (N=87)	60.8% (N=97)	P = NS
	300	NA	NA	NA	N too small
	Curfew	25.0% (N=4)	44.4% (N=9)	0.0% (N=1)	N too small

## ALAMEDA COUNTY

# Mean Number of Pages of Investigation for 601's, 602's and 300's by Year

WIC	······································	1976	197	7
601	2.5	(N=22)	2.71	(N=28)
602	13.4	(N=54)	7.46	(N=248)
300/600	0	(N=0)	2.0	(N=1)
Curfew	27.3	(N=3)	2.67	(N=9)

# MARIN COUNTY

Mean Number of Pages of Investigation for 601's, 602's and 300's by Year

WIC	1976	1977
601	2.97 (N=39)	1.75 (N=20)
602	8.94 (N=186)	9.09 (N=192)
300/600	0 (N=0)	1 (N=1)
Curfew	12.0 (N=14)	3.71 (N=38)
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## SOLANO COUNTY

Mean Number of Pages of Investigation for 601's, 602's and 300's by Year

WIC	1976	1977
601	2.67 (N=75)	3.48 (N=23)
602	11.95 (N=178)	11.61 (N=119)
300/600	3.0 (N=1)	0 (N=0)
Curfew	3.35 (N=26)	2.32 (N=31)

## PLACER COUNTY

Mean Number of Pages of Investigation for 601's, 602's and 300's by Year

WIC	1976	1977
601	2.33 (N=21)	2.65 (N=23)
602	· 7.49 (N=128)	10.98 (N=132)
300/600	0.0 (N=0)	0.0 (N=0)
Curfew	1.20 (N=10)	1.48 (N=23)

### SACRAMENTO COUNTY

Mean Number of Pages of Investigation for

601's, 602's and 300's by Year

WIC	1976	1977
601	2.77 (N=53)	6.28 (N=29)
602	9.04 (N=286)	15.53 (N=241)
300/600	0.0 (N=0)	0.0 (N-0)
Curfew	3.51 (N=55)	5.0 (N=15)
	] 	

## MARIN COUNTY

# Mean Number of Witnesses Listed in Investigation

WIC	1976	1977
601	0.0 (N=2)	0.0 (N=6)
602	0.0 (N=9)	.65 (N=63)
300/600	0.0 (N=0)	0.0 (N=0)
Curfew	0.0 (N=1)	.27 (N=30)

## SOLANO COUNTY

# Mean Number of Witnesses Listed in Investigation

WIC	1976	1977
601	.13 (N=30)	.09 (N=23)
602	.37 (N=73)	.83 (N=119)
300/600	0.0 (N=0)	0.0 (N=0)
Curfew	0.0 (N=7)	0.0 (N=30)

### PLACER COUNTY

## Mean Number of Witnesses Listed in Investigation

WIC	1976	1977
601	.05 (N=21)	.05 (N=22)
602	.41 (N=128)	.84 (N=131)
300/600	0.0 (N=0)	0.0 (N=0)
Curfew	0.0 (N=10)	0.0 (N=22)

## SACRAMENTO COUNTY

## Mean Number of Witnesses Listed in Investigation

WIC	1976	1977
601	.05 (N=43)	0.0 (N=6)
602	.76 (N=232)	.88 (N=120)
300/600	0.0 (N=0)	0.0 (N=0)
Curfew	0.0 (N=42)	.67 (N=9)

## MARIN COUNTY

# Percent of Minors Interviewed 601's, 602's and 300's by Year

WIC	1976	1977
601	0.0% (N=0)	100% (N=1)
602	100% (N=6)	97.3% (N=37
300/600	0.0% (N=0)	0.0% (N=0)
Curfew	0.0% (N=0)	100% (N=11)

## . SOLANO COUNTY

# Percent of Minors Interviewed 601's, 602's and 300's by Year

WIC	1976	1977
601	100% (N=12)	92.3% (N=13)
602	91.8% (N=49)	93.7% (N=79)
300/600	0.0% (N-0)	0.0% (N=0)
Curfew	100% (N=1)	100% (N=14)

## PLACER COUNTY

# Percent of Minors Interviewed 601's, 602's and 300's by Year

WIC	1976	1977
601	100% (N=7)	71.4% (N=7)
602	84.5% (N=71)	81.2% (N=69)
300/600	0.0% ·(N=0)	0.0% (N=0)
Curfew	0.0% (N=0)	100% (N=4)

## SACRAMENTO COUNTY

Percent of Minors Interviewed 601's, 602's and 300's by Year

WIC	1976	1977
601	76.5% (N=17)	100% (N=3)
602	80.5% (N=118)	93.6% (N=78)
300/600	0.0% (N=0)	0.0% (N=0)
Curfew	71.4% (N=7)	100% (N=4)
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## MARIN COUNTY

WIC	1976	1977
601	0.0% (N=0)	100% (N=1)
602	100% (N=6)	100% (N=36)
300/600	0.0% (N=0)	0.0% (N=O)
Curfew	0.0% (N=0)	100% (N=11)

## SOLANO COUNTY

WIC	1976	1977
601	• 91.7% (N=12)	100% (N=12)
602	100% (N=45)	100% (N=76) ·
300/600	0.0% (N=0)	0.0% (N=0)
Curfew	100% (N=1)	100% (N=14)

## PLACER COUNTY

WIC	1976	1977
601	100% (N=7)	83.3% (N=6)
602	98.4% (N=61)	98.4% (N=58) ·
300/600	0.0% (N=0)	0.0% (N=0)
Curfew	0.0% (N=0)	100% (N=4)

## SACRAMENTO COUNTY

WIC	1976	1977
601	100% (N=10)	100% (N=3)
602	98.9% (N=97)	100% (N=74) ·
300/600	0.0% (N=0)	0.0% (N=0)
Curfew	100% (N=5)	100% (N=4)

## ALAMEDA COUNTY

# Percent of Allegations Admitted

WIC	1976		19	77
601	55%	(N=20)	77.8%	(N=9)
602 ·	56.4%	(N=55)	79.4%	(N=141)
300/600	0.0%	(N=0)	100%	(N=1)
Curfew	50%	(N=2)	100%	(N=1)

### MARIN COUNTY

WIC	1976		1976 1977	
601	91.7%	(N=12)	100%	(N=8)
602	80.7%	(N=114)	67.3%	(N=110)
300/600	0.0%	(N=0)	0.0%	(N=0)
Other	66.7%	(N=6)	91.7%	(N=12)

## SOLANO COUNTY

WIC	, <u>1976</u>		1977	
601	91.3%	(N=23)	100%	(N=9)
602	73%	(N=115)	75%	(N=72)
300/600	100%	(N=1)	0.0%	(N=0)
Curfew	88.9%	(N=9)	90.9%	(N=11)

## PLACER COUNTY

WIC	1976	1977
601	83.3% (N=6)	85.7% (N=7)
602	62.7% (N=75)	60.3% (N=63)
300/600	0.0% (N=0) .	0.0% (N=0)
Curfew	0.0% (N=0)	100% (N=1)

## SACRAMENTO COUNTY

WIC	۱ ۲	1976	1	977
601	94.9%	(N=19)	78.3%	(N=23)
602	63.2%	(N=136)	66.5%	(N=203)
300/600	0.0%	(N=0)	0.0%	(N=0)
Curfew	60%	(N=5)	100%	(N=5)

### TABLE \_\_\_\_\_

## ALAMEDA COUNTY

## Disposition Rates for OTHER STATUS Where it is Most Serious Charge

Disposition	1976	. 1977
Release	0 .0%	<b>1</b> 100%
Refer to Agency	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Paper Referral - Probation	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Body Referral - Probation	1 100%	0 0.0%
Other	0 0.0%	0 0.0

...\*

# MARIN COUNTY.

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Disposition	1976	1977	
Release .	2 100%	1 100%	
Refer to Agency	_0 ~0.0%	Q 0.0%	
Paper Referral - Probation	0 0.0%	0. 0,0%	
Body Referral - Probation	1 100%	0 0. 0%	
Other	0 0.0%	0	i Mileniek zwan 200
	2	1	

#### TABLE \_

# SOLANO COUNTY

Disposition	1976	. 1977
Release	0	0 . 0.0%
Refer to Agency	-0 -0 -0.0%	0.0%
Paper Referral - Probation	0 Q.0%	1. 100%
Body Referral - Probation	1 100%-	0 0.0%
Other	0	0.0%
	<u> </u>	1.

## TABLE \_

PLACER COUNTY .

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Disposition	1976	. 1977
Release		
Refer to Agency		
Paper Referral - Probation		-
Body Referral - Probation		-
Other		

# TABLE \_\_\_\_\_

# SACRAMENTO COUNTY

Disposition	1976	1977
Release	0. 0.0%	0 0.0%
Refer to Agency	0 .0%	0.0%
Paper Referral - Probation	2 16.7%	0 0.0%
Body Referral - Probation	10 83.3%	5- 100%
Other	0	0 0.0%
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