This issue commemorates the 100th anniversary of the creation of the juvenile court and the recognition that the developmental differences between children and adults require differences in the ways they are treated by the court system. The feature article, "An Evolving Juvenile Court: On the Front Lines with Judge J. Dean Lewis," reviews the evolution of the juvenile court system and the need to ensure that juvenile courts have the resources necessary to deal with the problems of youth and their families. "The Juvenile Court at 100 Years: A Look Back" by Robert E. Shepherd, Jr., traces the history of the reforms that led to the creation of the juvenile court. "The Juvenile Court: Putting Research To Work for Prevention", by Cindy S. Lederman, notes that the juvenile court has the potential to be the most effective prevention tool in the juvenile justice system if judges take the lead in revitalizing and professionalizing U.S. juvenile courts. Two brief notes comment on 1999 national statistics on juvenile offenders and victims and 34 court-focused Web sites. (Each article contain references.) (SLD)
100th Anniversary of the Juvenile Court
1899-1999

JUVENILE
JUSTICE

An Evolving Juvenile Court:
On the Front Lines With
Judge J. Dean Lewis

Also
◆ The Juvenile Court at 100 Years
◆ Putting Research To Work for
Prevention

OJJDP

Journal of the
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
On the centennial anniversary of the creation of the juvenile court, it is fitting to commemorate its diverse and distinguished accomplishments. In earlier centuries, youth were tried in the same courts, sentenced to the same prisons, and, on occasion, condemned to the same gallows as adults. The juvenile court's recognition that the developmental differences between children and adults require distinctions in the way they are treated by the judicial system is worth honoring, as Judge J. Dean Lewis reminds us. The immediate past president of the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, Judge Lewis speaks with authority about the many reasons to celebrate the centennial of "An Evolving Juvenile Court."

Although the juvenile court's fundamental focus remains on the individual youth who stands before it, we have come a long way since the Illinois legislature established the first children's court in Chicago in 1899 with jurisdiction over dependent, neglected, and delinquent youth. Prof. Robert Shepherd summarizes and comments on that progress in "A Look Back" at the juvenile court's impressive history.

That history, however, should serve as a prologue. As Judge Cindy Lederman perceptively observes, the juvenile court's 100th anniversary affords us an excellent opportunity not only to reflect on its historic accomplishments but to discuss how we can go about "Putting Research To Work for Prevention" and collaborate across disciplines to determine empirically "what works."

We have come a long way, but we still have a way to go. We must not retreat from the path of progress charted by those reform-minded pioneers 100 years ago. We will not abandon the individualized justice that lies at the heart of their legacy—or the youth whose future depends in large part on the wisdom and perspective of the juvenile court.

To help inaugurate the court's second century, OJJDP has launched its Juvenile Court Centennial Education Initiative, whose theme is "Delivering on the Promise of the Juvenile Court." By highlighting new insights and advances, the initiative will help to revitalize the court and restore public confidence in the work of the juvenile justice system.

Shay Bilchik
Administrator
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
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"The first juvenile court was established with the belief that youth are everyone's responsibility. Courts and communities need to become partners to ensure that the court has the resources necessary to deal effectively with the problems of youth and their families."

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The journal's On the Front Lines series features interviews with leading authorities on juvenile justice and related youth issues. These experts have earned their credentials on the front lines in the struggle for a better tomorrow for today's youth and their families.

**Juvenile Justice**: Judge Lewis, as we mark the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the juvenile court, what do you believe are its lasting achievements?

**Hon. J. Dean Lewis**: When people mention the juvenile court, they often refer only to the court's jurisdiction over delinquency cases. It is important to understand that our jurisdiction has expanded considerably since the creation of the first juvenile court in Chicago 100 years ago.

The Illinois statute created a court, known as the children's court, with jurisdiction over dependent, neglected, and delinquent youth. Although jurisdiction varies from State to State, judges are generally vested with broad jurisdiction over problems involving children and their families. These problems include:

- Establishment of paternity.
- Divorce.
- Child abuse and neglect—both civil and criminal cases.
- Foster care, termination of parental rights, and adoption.
- Truancy.
- Runaway youth.
- Children in need of services.
- Youth with mental illness and other disabilities.
- Crimes committed by family members and partners against one another.
- Civil orders of protection for family members and youth.
- Crimes committed by and against youth.

The continuing expansion of the jurisdiction of juvenile courts has led legislatures

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The Honorable J. Dean Lewis serves as judge of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court for the 15th Judicial District of the State of Virginia and is immediate past president of the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges (National Council). In 1997, Judge Lewis received the National CASA Judge of the Year award. She has been invited by President Clinton to participate in The White House Leadership Conference on Youth, Drug Use, and Violence and in Safe From the Start: The National Summit on Children Exposed to Violence. This interview was conducted for Juvenile Justice by Earl E. Appleby, Jr., Senior Editor.
to rename these courts “juvenile and domestic relations courts,” “family courts,” or “juvenile and family courts,” titles that describe their evolving function and philosophy more accurately than “children’s court.”

Youth are developmentally different from adults, and these differences make them more amenable to intervention and treatment. Few youth are beyond reform. From its inception, the juvenile court has focused on rehabilitating youth rather than punishing them. The first juvenile court was established with the belief that youth are everyone’s responsibility. Courts and communities need to become partners to ensure that the court has the resources necessary to deal effectively with the problems of youth and their families.

If we, as juvenile and family court judges, do not intervene early and effectively, the child who first comes before the court as a victim has a great likelihood of returning as an offender. To help youth, we must intervene effectively with the entire family.

Technically, we are commemorating the passage of a piece of Illinois legislation entitled “An act to regulate the treatment and control of dependent, neglected and delinquent children.” The work of turn-of-the-century progressives, it bears their brisk, businesslike, confident, and humane stamp.

The Act provided for the designation of a Cook County Circuit Court judge to hear petitions asserting that a child was destitute, homeless, abandoned, uncared for, begging in the streets, being mistreated, or breaking the law. It authorized the court to enlist probation officers, “discreet persons of good character,” who served without compensation, to investigate the basis for petitions filed in the juvenile court and provide “friendly supervision” of the youth before the court.

The Act prescribed no particular formal procedures but gave the court broad powers to order commitments, rearrange families, and compel adult cooperation on pain of contempt.

The institution caught on quickly. Within a generation, similar courts had been set up in nearly every State in the Union.

**Juvenile Justice:** How do you account for the swift acceptance of the juvenile court? What do we celebrate in its centennial?

**Hon. J. Dean Lewis:** The reason is linked to what I regard as the first and most fundamental triumph of the juvenile court: its recognition of the separate status of youth. The rapid acceptance of the juvenile court was in effect a popular repudiation of the legal treatment of youth that had preceded it. For centuries, common law held youth and adults to the same legal standards, subjected them to the same procedures in the same courtrooms, sentenced them to the same institutions—even, on occasion, to the
same gallows—as if there were no differences between them. Thus, we must first celebrate the establishment of a separate court for children that recognizes their developmental distinctions from adults.

Second, we celebrate the evolution of the children's court to the family court. The Chicago statute of 1899 gave the court jurisdiction over “dependent, neglected, and delinquent children.” This recognition of the link between child victimization, family disorder, and the potential for child victims to become offenders unless early and effective intervention is provided was the beginning of the vision that became the modern family court—a single court responsible for both delinquency and child abuse and neglect, for children in need of supervision and those in need of correction, and for family dissolution and other matters affecting the welfare of children.

Over the past 100 years, legislatures have seen that children are best served when the court dealing with their situation has jurisdiction over all legal issues involving that child's family. In 1914, the first full-fledged family court was established in Cincinnati, OH. Family courts are now operating or are being developed in 20 States, and other States are considering the idea and are likely to follow suit. The creation of a single forum within which all matters relating to children can be resolved, regardless of the legal or equitable categories in which they fall, seems like a simple and inevitable step. In fact, it was neither. It was a breakthrough and is an ongoing historic achievement.

Third, we celebrate the juvenile court's treatment of each youth as a unique human being. The purpose of this process of individualized justice was not to determine the appropriate degree of punishment, but to determine how to help. The newly created juvenile courts introduced a more flexible and constructive judicial approach to the problems of children than the law had previously provided. Court officials began to approach troubled youth in a spirit of humane empiricism—common in medicine but new to law. Not only were their aims therapeutic, their means and outlook were essentially scientific. They attempted to bring to bear on their cases the insights of medical, social, and behavioral sciences and made a place in their courtrooms for the data and findings of research and experimentation. Thus, we celebrate the fourth great achievement of the juvenile courts: the introduction of the “medical model,” which focuses on the need for diagnosis and treatment in dealing with the disposition of a court case. The collaboration of juvenile courts with mental health and substance abuse workers, social workers, health officials, school officials, and other professionals who deal with diagnosis and treatment has been integral to their success. With the development of specialized courts such as drug courts and the use of evolving rehabilitative approaches to sentencing, the criminal court is now incorporating the medical model into its system.

Court officials began to approach troubled youth in a spirit of humane empiricism—common in medicine but new to law.

Fifth, we celebrate the development in the juvenile and family courts of alternative methods for resolving legal proceedings. The early juvenile court judges did not act like other judges, and their courts did not operate like other courts. In time, these discrepancies came to be regarded as detrimental. The story of how judges came to be restrained and their courts' procedures formalized as a result of U.S. Supreme Court decisions is a familiar one. The juvenile courts adapted themselves to the due process requirements of Kent v. United States [383 U.S. 541]
Juvenile Justice

In re Gault [387 U.S. 1 (1967)], and In re Winship [397 U.S. 358 (1970)] more easily than most critics—and most supporters, for that matter—thought possible. However, that does not mean that these courts have become just like their adult counterparts.

Nonetheless, a valuable legacy of the juvenile courts is the alternative they have always offered to adversarial methods of arriving at truth and settling disputes. In a sense, the juvenile courts pioneered what is now called alternative dispute resolution, and juvenile court professionals are still among the most active experimenters in this field. Among responsible, compassionate professionals meeting in a forum in which the welfare of youth is involved, we find a flexible spirit, collaborative process, regard for candor and plain speaking, and common desire for consensus.

Sixth, we celebrate the innovation of the juvenile and family courts in turning away from institutions and toward families, a development that constituted a decisive reversal of the preference for institutional care that had dominated 19th-century thinking. Although commitments to reformatories did not end, the juvenile courts recognized that the problems of youth can be best solved in the home and through the family.

The dispositional orders of juvenile and family courts are characterized by the recognition of the sanctity of the family unit, the need for placement of a youth with extended family rather than with strangers, the option of family foster care in lieu of institutional placement, and the establishment of programs that allow a youth, whether a victim or an offender, to remain in the community rather than be sent to an orphanage or correctional facility.

Seventh, we celebrate the leadership of the first judges who served in these courts, whose vision lives on today. Much of what has been achieved on behalf of youth in the 20th century has been achieved as a result of the influence and leadership of juvenile and family court judges and court officials who were not only well educated in the law, but well versed in other matters that affect children and families. These matters include child development, alcohol and substance abuse, mental health and learning disabilities, child abuse and neglect, linguistics and child victim testimony, family violence, and rehabilitative programs.

Judges know that we cannot succeed in helping youth and families alone. We know that it takes multidisciplinary, multiagency collaboration involving the courts and communities. Those who created the juvenile court took their responsibility seriously, which is one of the reasons that this equitable, humane, and pragmatic alternative to the traditional legal treatment of youth was so warmly embraced by this country.

**Juvenile Justice:** As you have noted, Judge Lewis, there have been a number of developments since those early years. A number of specialized courts—drug courts, gun courts, even youth and teen courts—have come to play a role in the juvenile justice system. How do you see their impact?

**Hon. J. Dean Lewis:** Judicial leadership has been critical to the development of specialized courts for youth. The key philosophy that has guided the development of juvenile drug courts, family drug courts in dependency cases, and gun courts has been the use of individualized treatment with close judicial
oversight. The availability of adequate community-based resources for treatment plans that involve youth and their families has also been crucial.

Judges who sit in specialized courts attribute their success to the low caseload assigned to each judge, frequent review hearings to monitor progress with immediate sanctions if the youth fails to abide by the court’s order, involvement of the youth’s family in the rehabilitative process, and prompt availability of treatment resources. Specialized courts are a humane development in keeping with the traditions of the juvenile court. One type of specialized court—the teen court—is an important diversion program. This court enables volunteer youth in the community to serve, depending on the program model used, as judge, jurors, prosecutor, and defense attorney in adjudication and disposition processes, providing them a powerful learning experience. As to its effect on the juvenile offender who is offered this alternative, anecdotal evidence from judges indicates that teen courts often hold youth to a higher level of accountability than traditional courts.

The National Council recommends that juvenile drug courts—another type of specialized court—be based on principles and practices that are developmentally, culturally, and gender appropriate for each youth. Juvenile drug courts should not be developed as carbon copies of adult drug courts for the same reason that the juvenile court was created in the first place—children are developmentally different from adults. The problems that lead youth to substance abuse often involve learning disabilities, mental illness, and family dysfunction. Our challenge is to develop a clear framework and tools that judges can use to fashion programs tailored to meet local needs and the individual needs of youth and families.

**Juvenile Justice:** The number of juvenile offenders waived to criminal court appears to have increased over recent years. What are your thoughts on this trend?

**Hon. J. Dean Lewis:** Widespread fear of juvenile crime and the suspicion that the juvenile court is unable or unwilling to deal effectively with youthful offenders have generated a number of critics. The juvenile court’s perspective, methods, results, and even the basic concept that led to its creation—the belief in the difference between youth and adults—have all been called into question.

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**Some critics question whether a distinct juvenile court should exist.**

These criticisms have prompted legislatures in virtually every State to take action to curtail the court’s jurisdiction, restrict its discretionary powers, relax its confidentiality, or increase the severity of its sanctioning. Some critics have questioned whether we should even continue to have a distinct juvenile court.

I believe this outlook arises from the gap between public perception and reality with regard to juvenile crime trends, the juvenile share of overall crime, the proportion of juvenile delinquents to the juvenile population as a whole, and the threat posed by juvenile violence. For example, we know that although juvenile violent crime increased between 1985 and 1994, it has consistently decreased since 1994. We also know that in 1994, when juvenile crime was at its highest, 94 percent of the approximately 69 million youth under the age of 18 had never been arrested. Less than 10 percent of delinquents commit violent crimes. Adult, not juvenile, violence is our
Juvenile Justice

Nation's number one crime problem. Adults are responsible for three-fourths of the recent increases in violent crime in the United States and commit seven out of eight crimes. When juvenile courts are given adequate resources, they can be effective in curtailing juvenile crime. Five out of six youth referred to juvenile court for violent crime do not commit a subsequent violent offense.

Adult, not juvenile, violence is our Nation's number one crime problem.

By following the principles enunciated in the National Council's *The Juvenile Court and Serious Offenders: 38 Recommendations* and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's (OJJDP's) *Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders* and making use of rehabilitative resources and sanctions programs, juvenile courts have been able to reduce juvenile crime, even among serious and violent offenders. Recidivism rates have proven to be much higher among juveniles tried in criminal courts and placed in adult prisons than among those retained in juvenile court. Juveniles transferred to criminal court are more likely to commit new offenses, commit them sooner, and at a higher rate.

*Juvenile Justice*: Alternatives to incarceration, ranging from alternative schools to home detention, are being advocated for some juvenile offenders. How do you view the role of alternative sentencing and for which types of offenders is it most effective?

*Hon. J. Dean Lewis*: To be effective, interventions—whether addressing child abuse or neglect, family violence, delinquency, or any other jurisdictional issue—need to be child centered, family focused, community based, multiagency, and multidisciplinary. They should include prescreening of youth and caregivers for substance abuse and mental illness; any required followup assessment and treatment services for the youth and caregivers; learning assessment of youth, with prescreening for developmental delay; and public-private partnerships in the development of resources, including volunteer services such as advocacy, mentoring, and tutoring. Interventions should incorporate graduated sanctions and accountability for individuals subject to the court and ensure safety for family and community members while holding juvenile offenders accountable.

That being said, alternative dispositions that do not require incarceration are most effective when the youth has a functioning nuclear family or substitute family support network. The individualized family services and treatment plan developed by the court in the dispositional order should include the family.
Success requires intensive court monitoring and supervision and prompt availability of treatment and sanctions resources. A significant number of youth have substance abuse, learning disability, and mental health problems that require prompt and appropriate screening, assessment, and therapeutic intervention. It is critical to remember that every youth and family is unique; therefore, programs cannot be “one size fits all.” A well-qualified probation staff with access to professional staff who can assess youth immediately after adjudication is essential to matching the youth and his or her family with the programs and services that can ensure a safe outcome.

A principal triumph of the juvenile court has been its turn away from institutions and toward families. Juvenile courts have always favored community-based sentencing over institutional care. We must remember, however, that some youth have problems of such magnitude and have exhibited these problems for such a long duration that they pose a threat to the community. For these youth, institutional care is necessary and appropriate to deliver treatment and establish accountability before a step-down program to community care can be realized with any success. We must also be sensitive to the fears of victims. Restorative justice models have been effective in this area.

The public must be able to feel confidence in alternative dispositions in order to accept them in lieu of incarceration. When people begin to look beyond the myth of the “superpredator” to understand the connection between family dysfunction, child victimization, and juvenile delinquency, they will become more favorably disposed to alternative dispositions. Success stories describing the youth who have benefitted from court interventions must be publicized in the media as widely as are the horror stories.

Juvenile Justice: The disproportionate confinement of minority juveniles raises a number of questions. Is the juvenile court in a position to affect this problem? If so, how?

Hon. J. Dean Lewis: Judges are in a prime position to have an impact on disproportionate minority confinement by following the recommendations in the National Council's policy statement Minority Youth in the Juvenile Justice System: A Judicial Response. They should discuss the problem openly and should lead court-related agencies to identify the practices and procedures of the justice system that cause minority youth to be at greater risk of removal from their families than other youth.

We need to remember, however, that the overrepresentation of minorities in the court system exists in the dependency system (e.g., cases involving child abuse and neglect and foster care) in addition to the delinquency system. The intake mechanisms for all systems should be reassessed, and ethnic and cultural sensitivity training should be put in place for all who deal with youth and their families.

Juvenile Justice: It seems the challenge facing juvenile court judges has never been greater. What do you believe are the most significant challenges facing the juvenile court today, and what are the tools the court needs to surmount them?

Hon. J. Dean Lewis: The National Council, in partnership with OJJDP and the State Justice Institute, sponsored The Janiculum Project, a national symposium to address this issue, in the fall of 1997. In essence, juvenile courts need to build on the triumphs they have achieved and must enhance due process, court-community collaboration, and availability of rehabilitative resources and graduated sanction options. Government needs to ensure that the juvenile courts have sufficient professional staff to monitor cases. The courts
need to integrate the child welfare and delinquency intervention services in communities. The approach to delinquency must be a multidisciplinary one.

The juvenile courts of the future need to be involved in prevention and early intervention. The Federal grants available for the Safe Start Initiative (a project of the U.S. Departments of Justice and Health and Human Services) are a step in the right direction. The judiciary and the citizens of this country must become partners in preventing abuse, neglect, and family violence in order to prevent delinquency. This focus will benefit future generations and improve quality of life as we empower more youth and families with the skills to ensure a successful future.

Court Improvement of Foster Care and Adoption programs have proven to be an important focus in the prevention of delinquency. These State projects have given needed guidance to judges and social workers in methods to use in reducing the time dependent youth linger in foster care. Because we now recognize from the research publicized by President Clinton that exposure to child abuse and neglect and family violence and later delinquency are linked, there should be a commitment to effective intervention when the child is a victim. Because of this linkage, courts and communities need to implement the recommendations of the National Council’s recent publication *Effective Intervention In Domestic Violence and Child Maltreatment Cases: Guidelines for Policy and Practice*.

Courts should encourage citizens to get involved in identifying and seeking intervention for at-risk youth in their communities. There are successful programs across the country that can be replicated. If we really want to make a difference, the tools are there. Judges can play a leadership role in making communities aware of the problem and the solutions.

**Juvenile Justice:** What role can judges play in improving the juvenile court system in the coming years?

**Hon. J. Dean Lewis:** The National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges encourages all judges who serve in these courts to follow in the footsteps of our founding fathers and:

- Step out from behind the bench and be involved in the community.
- Be conveners and educators in their communities.
- Advocate for the development of resources and ensure their availability.
- Recruit and train attorneys and court-appointed special advocates willing to serve as counsel and guardians ad litem for children in the court.
- Ensure that all who advocate for children and families are well educated in the law, court procedures, and local resources for children and families. Judges should hold these important court participants to a high level of accountability.
- Administer an effective and efficient court system that implements good business practices in serving both a rehabilitative and protective function for children and their families.
- Involve the citizens and the governing body of the community in the process of change.

Working together, courts and communities can shape the personality of the court to suit the needs of the community that the court serves. The work of the juvenile court has always been, in the
The Janiculum Project: Reviewing the Past To Look Toward the Juvenile Court's Future

Taking its name from Janiculum Hill, the highest point in Rome, which became a 19th-century watchtower for invasions from any direction, the Janiculum Project was initiated by the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges (NCJFCJ), with support from OJJDP and the State Justice Institute. The project is tasked with examining the past, present, and future of the juvenile and family court.

To inaugurate the project, juvenile court judges, prosecutors, defense counsel, court managers, probation officials, victims' advocates, and scholars convened in 1997 to review the early history of the court; analyze current practices, trends, strengths, and weaknesses; and discuss the expectations of and challenges for the court of the future. The group's recommendations were set forth in The Janiculum Report: Reviewing the Past and Looking Toward the Future of the Juvenile Court, a blueprint for juvenile court reform.

Symposium participants recognized that the role of the juvenile and family court is in reducing factors that could lead to a juvenile's court involvement and strengthening those that promote successful community reintegration. The court should address delinquent behavior through a balanced approach. This approach includes community protection, constructive sanctions, juvenile accountability, and the development of skills to change the behavior that led to the juvenile's involvement in the system and which will enable him or her to become a contributing member of society. The project's recommendations address the ways that courts can accomplish this mission most effectively.

The Janiculum Report envisions a juvenile and family court that is more open, user friendly, and sensitive to crime victims. The recommendations it contains are organized in four sections:

- **Jurisdictional and structural recommendations**, including the recommendation that juvenile and family courts have broad jurisdiction over the entire range of legal concerns of youth and families, including delinquency prevention functions.
- **Procedural recommendations**, including the recommendation that youth have an unwaivable right to effective and well-compensated counsel in juvenile court cases involving criminal and noncriminal misbehavior and in cases of abuse or neglect.
- **Programmatic recommendations**, including the recommendation that the juvenile and family court should use a continuum of program options in the provision of services for dependent, neglected, abused, and delinquent youth and their families.
- **System accountability recommendations**, including the recommendation that juvenile and family court service providers use the best available technology to enhance operational effectiveness.

In this centennial year of the juvenile court, juvenile justice practitioners will do well to reflect on its status, considering where it has been, where it is now, and, most important, where it should go. Only consistent and ongoing review can ensure that the court will continue to meet the needs of youth, on whom the Nation’s future relies.

For further information regarding the Janiculum Project, contact NCJFCJ, P.O. Box 8970, Reno, NV 89507, 702-784-6012. The full text of the report is available on the NCJFCJ Web site (ncjfcj.unr.edu/homepage/online.html).
words of one of my predecessors as National Council President, the Honorable Gustav Schramm, "to draw together and to focus upon the problems of a child the best the community has developed."

**Juvenile Justice:** Judge Lewis, as our discussion has illustrated, the juvenile court has adjusted to many societal changes—both in behaviors and attitudes—over the past century. How do you see the court evolving to meet the needs of the 21st century?

**Hon. J. Dean Lewis:** Probably the single greatest societal change we have encountered is the breakdown of the nuclear and extended family. As young families relocate seeking jobs and housing, many of them, including single parents, feel isolated due to this movement away from recognized support systems. We need to build community support systems to replace traditional family support systems for those single-parent families at high risk because of their isolation. Again, judicial leadership can be key in informing communities of the problem and of potential solutions. In my own jurisdiction, the population doubled in a 10-year period. Many of the new residents have been single parents looking for affordable housing but commuting to work each day to Washington, DC, or Richmond, VA, sometimes traveling 2 hours each way. These newcomers have no extended family in the area and spend so much time commuting that they often do not have the time to get to know their neighbors. They are at high risk due to their isolation and the unavailability of both the nuclear family and extended family support systems we have relied on in the past. Courts can partner with communities as the first juvenile courts did to identify families at risk and assist them before problems become unmanageable.

Juvenile courts have long been evolving in the direction of the comprehensive family court—that is, toward dealing with the family, whose members may be before the court over different issues, as a functioning unit rather than a collection of disconnected individuals. No doubt, that movement will continue. The National Council has promoted a model of “one family-one judge” in the dependency court system. This concept needs to be applied to all juvenile and family court cases.

Unquestionably, as a court, we need to become more efficient—swifter and surer. We need to achieve a better understanding of our successes. We need to face our failures more squarely. And we need to continue to enlist the energy and support of the communities we serve.

**Juvenile Justice:** Thank you, Judge Lewis.
The Juvenile Court at 100 Years: A Look Back

by Robert E. Shepherd, Jr.

One hundred years ago, the Illinois legislature enacted the Illinois Juvenile Court Act (1899 Ill. Laws 132 et seq.), creating the first separate juvenile court. The policy debates raging around the country in this centennial year, however, make it uncertain whether the traditional juvenile court will prevail. To put these debates in a proper historical perspective, it may be useful to review the evolution of the court.

Early in the 19th century, juveniles were tried along with adults in criminal courts. In common law, children under age 7 were conclusively presumed immune from prosecution because they lacked moral responsibility (the infancy defense). Children between ages 7 and 14 were presumed not to be criminally responsible, and prosecutors had to prove that an individual juvenile was culpable. Youth age 14 and older were deemed as responsible for their criminal acts as adults.

Despite the law’s effort to temper the severity of trying and punishing children as adults, young children were sometimes sentenced to prison and occasionally to death. James “Little Jim” Guild, a black servant, was 12 years old when he was convicted of murder after a 2-day trial and less than 3 hours of jury deliberations. A sentence of death was automatic at the time. While awaiting execution, Guild conducted a mock trial with mice he had captured in his cell. Newspapers reported that Guild’s attitude toward this mock trial seemed the same as it had been all during his imprisonment, that of not really comprehending the situation.

On execution day several thousand persons came to witness Guild’s hanging. To accommodate the crowds, the gallows was erected in a large field just outside town. The procedure followed its solemn course, complete with black hood and noose around the neck. But Guild shook off the hood as the trapdoor was sprung, and balanced precariously on his toes at the edge of the drop. The sheriff rushed back up the steps and pushed Little Jim’s toes off the edge and into thin air. Guild was thirteen years seven and one-half months old (Streib, 1987).

Prior to 1900, at least 10 children were executed in the United States for crimes committed before their 14th birthdays (Streib, 1987). Other children died in adult prisons. Virginia penitentiary

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records from 1876 reflect that a 10-year-old prisoner died from being scalded accidentally in a tub of boiling coffee. These deaths shocked the public conscience. Accordingly, Americans in the 19th century sought more pervasive reform than the infancy defense to address the distinctive nature of children and youth.

Jury nullification began to play a significant role in the acquittal of children charged with crime.

Early Responses

Houses of Refuge

In the early part of the 19th century, to the chagrin of prosecutors, jury nullification—the process by which jurors acquit an apparently guilty criminal defendant rather than impose a disproportionately severe sanction—began to play a significant role in the acquittal of children charged with crime. By creating the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, Quakers in New York City sought to establish a balance between those concerned about jury nullification and those repelled by imprisoning juvenile defendants in adult institutions or exposing them to the possibility of capital punishment. The society, which later evolved into the Society for the Reform of Juvenile Delinquents, founded the first House of Refuge in New York in 1825 to “receive and take ... all such children as shall be taken up or committed as vagrants, or convicted of criminal offenses” (Pickett, 1969). The children worked an 8-hour day at trades such as tailoring, brass-nail manufacturing, and silver plating in addition to attending school for another 4 hours. Many of them had not committed any criminal act, and a number were probably status offenders.

In an early legal assault on the involuntary incarceration of children in such institutions, a father sought a writ of habeas corpus from the Pennsylvania Supreme Court declaring the commitment illegal. The court denied the writ and concluded that “it would be an act of extreme cruelty to release” the girl from the facility and refused to inquire into the procedures for commitment, the duration of her incarceration, or the conditions within the school. This decision is often credited with originating the use of the doctrine of parens patriae to justify informality and paternalism in dealing with children in the courts. The term, meaning literally the “father of the country,” was a doctrine used by English equity courts to provide judicial protection for orphans, widows, and others.

Reformatories

The House of Refuge movement evolved into the slightly more punitive reform school, or reformatory, approach. The reformatory was created in the middle of the century to do the following (Platt, 1977):

- Segregate young offenders from adult criminals.
- Imprison the young “for their own good” by removing them from adverse home environments.
- Minimize court proceedings.
- Provide indeterminate sentences to last until the youth was reformed.
- Be used as punishment if other alternatives proved futile.
- Help youth avoid idleness through military drills, physical exercise, and supervision.
- Be used as a cottage approach within larger institutions in rural areas.
Reform youth by focusing on education—preferably vocational and religious.

Teach sobriety, thrift, industry, and prudence.

Later in the 19th century, an occasional legal attack on the incarceration of children in such youth prisons was successful. In an 1870 case, the Illinois Supreme Court held it unconstitutional to confine in a Chicago reform school a youth who had not been convicted of criminal conduct or afforded legal due process. Two years later, the school closed, and juveniles convicted of crimes were sent to adult prisons or to a reformatory after criminal conviction. It was against this backdrop in the last quarter of the 19th century that the juvenile court movement began.

The Illinois Juvenile Court Act

The 1899 Illinois Juvenile Court Act was, in part, yet another response to the growing incidence of jury nullification, concerns about the dominance of sectarian industrial schools in a Chicago filling with immigrants, and reform-based opposition to confining youth with adults. While the Act did not fundamentally change procedures in the existing courts that now were sitting as juvenile courts to adjudicate cases involving children, it did reintroduce the parens patriae philosophy to govern such cases. In addition to giving the courts jurisdiction over children charged with crimes, the Act gave them jurisdiction over a variety of behaviors and conditions, including:

The Act defined a rehabilitative rather than punishment purpose for the court.

Any child who for any reason is destitute or homeless or abandoned; or dependent on the public for support; or has not proper parental care or guardianship; or who habitually begs or receives alms; or who is living in any house of ill fame or with any vicious or disreputable person; or whose home, by reason of neglect, cruelty or depravity on the part of its parents, guardian or other person in whose care it may be, is an unfit place for such a child; and any child under the age of 8 who is found peddling or selling any article or singing or playing a musical instrument upon the street or giving any public entertainment.

The Act was unique in that it created a special court, or jurisdiction for an existing court, for neglected, dependent, or delinquent children under age 16; defined a rehabilitative rather than punishment purpose for that court; established the confidentiality of juveniles' court records to minimize stigma; required that juveniles be separated from adults when
placed in the same institution in addition to barring altogether the detention of children under age 12 in jails; and provided for the informality of procedures within the court.

The Juvenile Court's Evolution

The juvenile court idea spread rapidly across the country, having been adopted by 46 States, 3 territories, and the District of Columbia by 1925. In Colorado, a parallel movement occurred under the leadership of the Honorable Benjamin B. Lindsey, who sat on the county court bench in Denver from 1901 until 1927 (Larsen, 1972). He exercised a type of juvenile jurisdiction under the authority of an obscure part of Colorado's compulsory school attendance law. He used the jurisdiction of the court not only to reform youth who appeared before the court, but to reform the city of Denver. His reforms ranged from addressing police corruption to ordering the creation of more playgrounds.

An incident that took place after Judge Lindsey left the juvenile court bench after his electoral defeat illustrates his zeal. He removed the court records, stored them in his home to keep them from his more punitive successors, and finally—accompanied by his wife, friends, and reporters—went to a vacant lot and burned them.

The Professionalization of Court Staff

In the early days of the juvenile court, volunteers on the court's own probation staff, who were largely untrained, performed many of the service functions in support of the judge. It soon became clear that professional staff were needed to serve the court and its clientele (Fox, 1970). As these professional services became more common, the role of volunteers diminished.
The Challenge of the Juvenile Court
by Dean Roscoe Pound

Roscoe Pound, Dean of Harvard Law School from 1916 to 1936, was known as the dean of American jurisprudence. The following excerpt, taken from The Juvenile Court Judges Journal, reveals his belief nearly five decades ago that although the juvenile court had done much to further justice and prevent delinquency, much more work lay ahead.

Since the first setting up of the juvenile court great progress has been made in building upon it toward integration of the activities of law enforcement, of extralegal social control, of government and church and school and civic societies, of social workers, and of philanthropic individuals in anticipating delinquency, in reaching for its causes, and in rational treatment of its beginnings.

In particular, out of the juvenile court and experience of its possibilities there has grown awareness of the futility of dealing with the troubles of a household in detached fragments after damage has been done. We have been learning better methods than to have four separate courts in eight separate and unrelated proceedings trying unsystematically and not infrequently at cross purposes to adjust the relations and order the conduct of a family which has ceased to function as such and is bringing or threatening to bring up delinquent instead of upright citizens contributing to the productive work of the people.

It is not the least of the fruits of the juvenile court that we are ceasing and shall more and more cease to see a court of equity with a suit for divorce and alimony before it, courts of law with actions by tradesmen for necessaries furnished deserted wives and children, actions for alienation of affections of a spouse, actions over a child's wages, and habeas corpus proceedings to obtain the custody of children before them, criminal courts with prosecutions for abandoning wife or child or both before them, juvenile courts entertaining proceedings for contributing to the delinquency of a child, special courts under one name or another, entertaining guardianship proceedings, and very likely also juvenile courts determining what to do about specific delinquencies of a child—as like as not all arising out of a single household.

Already there is a movement to substitute healing procedures, devised to save households, for the combative proceedings operating to make disruption permanent; and this movement is the result of experience gained in the juvenile courts and wisely directed activities of judges of juvenile courts. Not only in what it has done in its own sphere but in indicating to us a larger sphere in which there is much to be done and in showing us something of the way to do it, the juvenile court has made lasting contributions to the administration of justice.

But while we may well be proud of what that court has been able to do in its relatively short history, we must realize that its usefulness has little more than begun and that difficult tasks still lie before it.

You who sit in American juvenile courts and their outgrowths are called to do a great work. You are called to carry on an outstanding forward step in the development of human powers to their highest unfolding—in the maintaining, furthering and transmitting of civilization.

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Status Offenses

The juvenile court movement's expansion beyond urban areas was slower than the court's initial growth during the first two decades of the 20th century. The post-World War II period witnessed further development, however, as the “status offender,” a concept derived from statutory definitions of delinquency, became a separate jurisdictional category. New York created a new jurisdictional category for Persons in Need of Supervision (PINS): runaways, truants, and other youth who committed acts that would not be criminal if committed by an adult. Other States followed New York's lead. With the enactment of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (Pub. L. 93–415, 42 U.S.C. 5601 et seq.), the States' approach to these new categories of offenders changed dramatically, as young people subject to juvenile court jurisdiction for noncriminal misbehavior were removed from juvenile detention and correctional facilities. (The Act is discussed in more detail on page 20.)

Society began to question the validity and vitality of the juvenile court's informality.

Kent v. United States

In the 1960's, society began to question the validity and vitality of the juvenile court's informality and its focus on treatment without sufficient regard for due process. Critics from the right complained that the court was incapable of dealing with delinquent youth, while their counterparts from the left urged that the court was ignoring the rights of those young people who were coming before it. Finally, in 1966, the U.S. Supreme Court addressed the fundamental fairness of the juvenile court process in Kent v. United States, a case from Washington, DC. Because the trial judge (1) failed to hold a hearing prior to transferring Morris Kent, a 16-year-old, to criminal court for trial and (2) did not give Kent's lawyer access to the social information relied on by the trial court, the Court concluded that Kent had been denied due process. The Court also concluded that there must be a meaningful right to representation by counsel and a hearing on the issue of transfers to criminal court. Counsel also must have access to the social records considered by the juvenile court in making its decision, and the court must accompany its waiver order with a statement of the reasons for transfer. The Court's reliance on the District of Columbia Code for its decision in Kent, however, left doubt about the significance of the holding for other jurisdictions. Justice Abe Fortas sounded the following warning:

While there can be no doubt of the original laudable purpose of juvenile courts, studies and critiques in recent years raise serious questions as to whether actual performance measures well enough against theoretical purpose to make tolerable the immunity of the process from the reach of constitutional guarantees applicable to adults. There is much evidence that some juvenile courts, including that of the District of Columbia, lack the personnel, facilities and techniques to perform adequately as representatives of the State in a parens patriae capacity, at least with respect to children charged with law violation. There is evidence, in fact, that there may be grounds for concern that the child receives the worst of both worlds: that he gets neither the protections accorded to adults nor the solicitous care and regenerative treatment postulated for children.
In re Gault

In 1967, the President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, appointed by President Lyndon Johnson, issued its Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, which expressed serious reservations about many of the fundamental premises of the juvenile justice system, its effectiveness, and its lack of procedural safeguards (President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967). That same year, many of the questions raised by Kent and the President’s Commission were addressed by the U.S. Supreme Court in the historic decision of In re Gault.6

Gerald Gault was a 15-year-old charged with making an obscene telephone call to a female neighbor. He was convicted by a juvenile court in Arizona and committed to a juvenile correctional facility for an indeterminate period not to extend beyond his 21st birthday. Justice Fortas again wrote the opinion for the Court and ruled that youth are also protected under the 14th amendment. He also stated that Gault’s constitutional rights had been violated and that Gault was entitled to:

- Adequate notice of the precise nature of the charges brought against him.
- Notice of the right to counsel and, if indigent, the right to have counsel appointed.
- The right to confront witnesses and have them cross-examined.
- The privilege against self-incrimination, which applies to juvenile and adult proceedings.

The Court also concluded that, because the noncriminal label attached to juvenile proceedings did not dictate the scope of the juvenile’s rights, calling such matters “civil” would not dictate the parameter of the rights prescribed. Justice Fortas said that “it would be extraordinary if our Constitution did not require the procedural regularity and the exercise of care implied in the phrase ‘due process.’ Under our Constitution, the condition of being a boy does not justify a kangaroo court.”7 Gault marked the constitutional domestication of the parens patriae juvenile court, and a new era dawned based on a more criminal due process model contrasted with the historic informality of juvenile court proceedings. Gerald Gault later spoke at an American Bar Association ceremony honoring Amelia Lewis, the lawyer who initiated his suit. He observed that, without a lawyer, he had no idea what was happening to him in court until the judge said he was committed until he was 21.

Later Cases

In subsequent cases, the U.S. Supreme Court concluded that juveniles must be proved guilty beyond a reasonable doubt during the adjudicatory stage of delinquency cases;8 the right to a jury trial is not required by the Constitution in delinquency cases, although a State could provide a jury if it wished;9 and the Constitution’s Double Jeopardy Clause prevents a juvenile court from transferring a youth to criminal court after previously finding him or her delinquent.10 The Court also decided that a youth’s Miranda rights regarding self-incrimination are not invoked by his or her request to see a probation officer during custodial interrogation by the police11 and that a youth can be subjected to “preventive detention” awaiting trial.12 Thus, there is a somewhat schizophrenic quality to the juvenile court’s direction after almost two decades of seemingly conflicting U.S. Supreme Court decisions about due process. Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School stated that the juvenile court has become
like "the illegitimate issue of an illicit relation-ship between the legal profession and the social work profession, and now no one wants to claim the little bastard" (Reader, 1996).

**The Act introduced a strong Federal presence to the juvenile justice arena.**

**Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974**

In addition to committing the Federal Government to removing status offenders and nonoffenders from secure facilities and separating juvenile offenders from adults in institutional settings (as described on page 18), the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act had other important features:

- It introduced a strong Federal presence to the juvenile justice arena by committing resources and establishing a legislative commitment to certain goals and policies.
- It recognized the immense value in placing the primary responsibility for implementing those goals and policies at the State and local community level through a Formula Grants program conducted under the policy guidance of State Advisory Groups, a majority of whose members are not government employees.
- It created OJJDP to institutionalize the Federal presence in juvenile justice.
- It established a discretionary grant process through the Special Emphasis Prevention and Treatment Program to make awards directly to public and private nonprofit agencies to help develop and replicate creative techniques and strategies for realizing the Act’s purposes.
- It established a National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention to conduct research, evaluation, and statistics activities; gather and disseminate information to the field; and provide training and technical assistance.
- It encouraged the development of national standards to assist in reforming the juvenile justice system.
- It embodied the goal of coordinating Federal programs in the areas of delinquency prevention and juvenile justice.

Obviously, the Act constituted a great deal more than the characteristics highlighted above, but it was built largely upon these pillars, with the most important ones being the identification of national goals for the rehabilitation and reform of juvenile justice and the designation of a Federal-State partnership for the implementation of those goals. The Formula Grants program placed the implementation emphasis on the States and, through the State Advisory Groups, on local communities.
Conclusion

Today, the future of the juvenile court is in question. This uniquely American institution has been duplicated throughout the world as the best model for the humane and innovative handling of juveniles who commit crimes. Many countries with new democracies have recruited American juvenile justice experts to replicate the juvenile court born on U.S. shores a century ago. The juvenile court system's contributions to the just handling of children and families in the legal system should be celebrated, and the court should be provided with the support and resources that it needs to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

Notes

1. Ex part Crouse, 4 Wharton 9, 11 (Pa. 1838).
5. Id. at 555-556.
7. Id. at 27-28.

Supplemental Reading


References


The Juvenile Court: Putting Research To Work for Prevention

by Cindy S. Lederman

The juvenile court is a noble institution—a noble, underfunded, often unappreciated institution charged with the most important duty imaginable, protecting and reforming our children when all else has failed.

The scrutiny the 100th anniversary of the juvenile court has brought to bear on the institution is welcome. It provides an opportunity to examine the court's record in attempting to achieve its virtually impossible charge. More important, it provides a forum to discuss the modifications that need to be made to design a juvenile court that can meet the challenges of the next century. This discussion, involving legal scholars, researchers, judges, lawyers, historians, social scientists, and others, is taking place at a time in history when society is scared of its own children (Klein, 1998).

Society is permeated with rhetoric about how children are its most precious resource, but too often those words ring hollow. In reality, the needs of children are not a national priority. One in five children lives in poverty, more than 11 million (1 in 7) have no health insurance, and among industrialized countries, the United States ranks 18th in infant mortality (Children's Defense Fund, 1998).

Some children who have recently immigrated to the United States appear to be protected from these and other risk factors (e.g., those involving physical and mental health), but this advantage wanes with length of residence and from one generation to the next (National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 1998).

The juvenile court is one of the few places in society where the needs of children are paramount and where a passion for helping children defines its work. In the juvenile court, children are the absolute priority. The juvenile court is doing a creditable job under adverse circumstances toward achieving these goals—however, a better job is needed and, fortunately, it can be achieved.

Most citizens see the juvenile court as an institution designed to deal with young offenders who commit crimes. Although this may be its most public function, the juvenile court is much more. The dispositions of child abuse and neglect cases and cases involving the termination of parental rights are equally and increasingly important functions that are essential to understanding the relationship between dependency and delinquency. There are

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more than 3 million reports of child abuse and neglect each year, almost half of which are substantiated (Children's Defense Fund, 1998). These children, who have been beaten, raped, starved, burned, maimed, neglected, and abandoned, are at increased risk for delinquent behavior. Many of the children who are arrested for committing offenses are already familiar with the juvenile court as dependent children. Data indicate that 75 percent of violent juvenile offenders suffered serious abuse by a family member, 80 percent witnessed physical violence, and more than 25 percent had a parent who abused drugs or alcohol (Trask, 1997).

From Rehabilitation to Punishment

In the past decade, the juvenile court has undergone a major shift toward a more punitive and less therapeutic institution. There have been significant changes in State juvenile codes based not on data or research, but on the misconception that America is in the midst of a violent juvenile crime epidemic. Contrary to such perceptions, the record shows:

- The juvenile crime rate, while cyclical in nature, is declining (see Snyder and Sickmund, 1999).
- Adults—not youth—are responsible for most violent crime. Seven out of eight violent crimes are committed by adults (Torbet and Szymanski, 1998).
- Although juvenile violence remains at a higher level than a decade ago, it is declining (Torbet and Szymanski, 1998).
- Today’s youth do not commit more acts of violence with greater regularity than their predecessors, but more juveniles are being arrested for violent acts (Snyder and Sickmund, 1999; Torbet and Szymanski, 1998). This means that the “superpredator epidemic” does not exist.

Despite these facts, virtually every State has enacted legislation during this decade to significantly alter the philosophy of juvenile justice and promote the view that the juvenile justice system should mirror the criminal justice system. Increasingly, judicial authority and discretion have been taken away despite the belief that properly constrained judicial discretion in charging and sentencing is more effective than prosecutorial or legislative control (Yellen, 1996). Limitations on juvenile jurisdiction, mandatory sentencing, and the creation of more punitive programming have seriously affected the ability of the juvenile judge to dispense justice in a therapeutic environment.

The juvenile court has undergone a major shift toward a more punitive and less therapeutic institution.

The social reformers who created the juvenile court 100 years ago believed that children’s culpability for their actions was limited and that delinquency was closely related to poor parenting, neglect, poverty, and lack of moral values. They believed that children were malleable and that rehabilitation could occur under the jurisdiction of a benevolent juvenile court through which the State adopted the philosophy of parens patriae.

Since that time, the juvenile court has undergone significant change, from being an institution focused on social welfare and acting in a child’s best interest to one, after In re Gault, focused on children’s due process rights, and, in the 1990’s, to one focused on accountability and punishment. None of these, alone, is enough. Today, the court must somehow simultaneously afford children
due process, deliver swift and appropriate punishment, and endeavor to rehabilitate and meet the therapeutic needs of juvenile offenders and their families.

**Juvenile or Criminal Justice?**

The "adultification" of the juvenile justice system continues to this day. Increasing numbers of youth—some 17,000 per year—are transferred to the criminal justice system, often without benefit of judicial intervention in the decisionmaking process. Florida researchers, led by Donna Bishop, compared 3,000 transferred Florida youth with 3,000 nontransferred Florida youth and found that the former group was more likely to be incarcerated and for longer periods of time. When released, transferred youth were more likely to reoffend and reoffend earlier than those who were not transferred (Altschuler, 1999).

Increasing numbers of youth are transferred to the criminal justice system.

There is no question that some juveniles merit transfer. Serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders may demonstrate by the nature of their offenses or offense history, their failure to benefit from treatment programs in a manner indicating a lack of amenability to treatment, and in other ways that transfer to the criminal justice system is appropriate. However, the wholesale transfer of juveniles on the basis of factors other than individual characteristics and without judicial intervention is imprudent. It is crucial that juvenile courts be allowed to make carefully defined, individual determinations regarding transfer (Klein, 1998).

Accountability is a crucial goal of the juvenile justice system. When necessary, punishment should be swift, measured, and well reasoned. In some cases, secure confinement is appropriate. Juveniles must learn that delinquent behavior is intolerable and that they will be held accountable for their actions. Tough sentencing laws for crimes involving firearms, often involving mandatory confinement, have proven effective (Loeber and Farrington, 1998). While there are children in the juvenile justice system who can be classified as serious, violent, and chronic offenders, they constitute a small minority of the juvenile offender population (Snyder and Sickmund, 1999). These offenders may need to be confined to receive long-term treatment and to ensure the safety of the community.

At the same time, the juvenile justice system should not be redesigned to respond disproportionately to the behavior of a small number of offenders who are uncharacteristic of the population as a whole. Juveniles often stop committing crimes as they mature and become employed (see Hamilton and McKinney, 1999). Increasingly punitive in nature, juvenile justice legislation must not abandon the critical goal of rehabilitation. The juvenile court needs to adopt a rational, measured, and scientific approach to the continuing problem of violent juvenile crime (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1996). Such an approach should include balancing accountability and rehabilitation. Education, counseling, and training of youth increase the chances that those adjudicated for delinquent acts, whether confined or not, will be helped to avoid lives of crime (Yellen, 1996). It is essential to avoid creating a one-dimensional juvenile justice system with rules, laws, practices, and goals designed to adjudicate Billy the Kid when most of the juveniles in the system more closely resemble Dennis the Menace (Klein, 1998).
Intervention

Reliance on scientific research is key to realizing the promise of the juvenile court. Decades of research in juvenile and criminal justice, developmental psychology, epidemiology, and other disciplines, including evaluations of promising program interventions, should inform policymaking, decisionmaking, and the development of programs and treatments. Working as a multidisciplinary team, juvenile justice and child welfare system practitioners, researchers, and experts in the community should combine their clinical experience with this growing body of knowledge.

Some argue that the juvenile justice and child welfare systems have been one huge experiment (Courtney, in press). Children are assigned to a variety of treatments or programs, and child welfare and juvenile justice practitioners have little to say about the comparative benefits of these interventions or the quality of decisionmaking by those who operate the system.

Most practitioners believe—as does the public—that a well-meaning intervention designed by competent people will have a positive effect. Whether a program could have unintended negative effects—or no effect at all—is seldom considered. Initial progress may be short lived (Altschuler, 1999). These factors underscore the need for rigorous program evaluations across the entire spectrum of child welfare and juvenile justice services to ensure that interventions benefit children and society and do not produce unintended effects that may even increase the risks of delinquent behavior. The juvenile justice system must be vigilant about the quality of its programs, services, and service providers and must work with researchers to design an agenda that will make a positive contribution to the body of evaluation research.

Working collaboratively, juvenile justice officials and researchers can develop study designs and outcome measures that more accurately assess the effectiveness of treatment programs. Measures of success should embrace more than the customary outcome measures of efficient case management and reduced recidivism. Intermediate outcomes also should be measured, and evaluators should determine whether participating children received other benefits from the program such as academic success, conflict resolution skills, and reduced use of alcohol and drugs.

Some argue that the juvenile justice and child welfare systems have been one huge experiment.

Risk and Protective Factors

For decades, juvenile justice researchers and social scientists have been studying the causes and correlates of delinquent behavior and identifying a variety of risk factors for delinquent behavior that could assist the court in designing and adopting earlier and more effective
interventions. A major risk factor for delinquent behavior is family dysfunction; other risk factors include negative peer influences, parental neglect, low academic achievement, early onset of antisocial behavior, substance abuse, and exposure to violence (Loeber and Farrington, 1998). The risk factors for maladaptive behavior are all too prevalent in dependent children and are often seen well before they begin to engage in acts of delinquency. Early childhood victimization has demonstrable long-term consequences for delinquency, adult criminality, and violent criminal behavior, providing strong support for the "cycle of violence" hypothesis (Widom, 1989). Research enables us to identify those juveniles most in need of intervention (Catalano and Hawkins, 1996; Loeber and Farrington, 1998; and see Howell, 1995).

Early victimization has long-term consequences for delinquency, criminality, and violent criminal behavior.

From a developmental perspective, it is now possible to identify risk factors facing children before birth. The potential for offending is higher among individuals with multiple perinatal complications (American Society of Criminology, 1997; Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1996; Howell, 1995), particularly when coupled with other risk factors. Examination of risk factors for delinquency leads to the conclusion that if delinquent behavior is to be prevented, the juvenile justice system must work at the earliest possible opportunity not only with the child but with the child's family, peers, school, and neighborhood.

Developmental experts have identified a variety of protective factors that counter risk factors and thus reduce the likelihood of delinquency. Protective factors range from a strong and involved grandmother to parental involvement, a commitment to school, and personal self-esteem (Smith and Dabiri, 1995). The research on risk and protective factors can be used by practitioners to develop risk assessment instruments that measure exposure to risks and to design interventions that reduce the impact of risk factors and strengthen protective factors. It is important to note that protective factors can change over time. Being a female was once considered a significant protective factor against delinquency, but today girls make up 26 percent of all juvenile arrests (Snyder and Sickmund, 1999). Learning more about the needs of these girls should be a priority of the juvenile justice research agenda. With knowledge delivered from research, courts can expand their influence over children and their environment and not be limited to merely adjudicating cases and making educated guesses about their appropriate disposition.

There are several clearly defined developmental pathways to delinquent behavior, and every child responds differently to risk and protective factors. Sound intervention by the juvenile court requires specific inquiry into a particular child's family, school performance, social activities, and other circumstances to identify risk and protective factors present in the child's life. The factors that cause youth to commit delinquent offenses do not disappear when they return home from the juvenile system (Treiber, 1998), and rehabilitation will fail if a youth returns to the same environment without the support and services needed to succeed (effective aftercare services involve the family, school, and community and take into account the child's therapeutic and academic needs).
Early Intervention and the Dependency Court

In addressing delinquent behavior, it is important to consider its developmental origins and intervene at the earliest opportunity to prevent it. Prevention efforts should include intensive, individualized intervention in the lives of dependent children so that the dichotomy between interventions with delinquent and dependent youth, and between the way their cases are handled, can be dissolved. Such efforts would ensure that the juvenile court may act to prevent delinquency before it takes root rather than simply prevent recidivism, a traditional outcome measure of the juvenile and criminal justice systems. Simply preventing another offense is inadequate.

Unless society devotes significant attention and resources to abused and neglected children, the juvenile court will not realize its potential. More than half the children who enter the child welfare system as a result of child maltreatment are under 7 years old (Snyder and Sickmund, 1999). For these young victims, the juvenile court needs to consider their developmental and mental health needs. With a comprehensive picture of the child in mind, the juvenile court has its best opportunity to provide needed services.

Comprehensive and Interdisciplinary Interventions

The response of the juvenile system must be collaborative and interdisciplinary because children at risk are often the victims of cumulative disadvantage. Juvenile justice system professionals, in particular service providers, need to take into account the relationships between child maltreatment and other problems, including violence, substance abuse, and other high-risk behaviors. More research on how these factors combine to place dependent and delinquent youth at risk is essential, and the knowledge gained from this research should be used to reform practice, guide policy, and influence the design of interventions.

Society should devote significant attention and resources to abused and neglected children.

The Dependency Court Intervention Program for Family Violence, a national demonstration project in Miami, FL, provides an example of interdisciplinary work in jurisprudence. Funded by the Violence Against Women Office, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice, this demonstration project seeks to address the co-occurrence of child maltreatment and family violence in a juvenile court setting (Lecklitner et al., 1999). Advocates are provided to battered mothers of dependent children, assessment instruments have been designed to measure the extent and impact of violence on children, and collaboration between the child welfare and domestic violence community has been fostered as the foundation of a communitywide approach to handling child abuse cases in which other forms of family violence are also present.

Because infants and toddlers can tell the court about their development through their actions, an assessment for use with children from 1 to 5 years old has been developed through this program, with assistance from Joy Osofsky, Ph.D., Professor of Pediatrics and Psychiatry at Louisiana State University Medical Center. Parents and dependent children are videotaped in a number of structured and unstructured interactions. The developmental and cognitive functioning of the young child and his or her bonding and
attachment with a caregiver are assessed. Preliminary data indicate that, while many of these dependent children are developmentally delayed, the developmental delays often go undetected. The Miami court is now able to reach these children earlier, enhancing their ability to develop in a healthy, age-appropriate manner.

The program is undergoing a rigorous process and outcome evaluation. A quasi-experimental research design is being used to develop data on the needs of children and their families when multiple forms of family violence are present. The demonstration project already has resulted in institutional reform intended to enhance child safety.

Every person or institution that touches a child’s life and interacts with his or her family can contribute positively to that child’s development.

Other innovative interventions have been developed to address the comorbidity of substance abuse and child maltreatment. By 1995, dependency and delinquency courts, building on the success of adult drug courts, had begun to experiment with similar collaborative processes that focus on a juvenile’s recovery from drug dependency rather than on punishment. In addition to drug treatment, a variety of psychosocial interventions were marshaled to encourage recovery. The juvenile drug court team could look beyond the individual to the family and seek to change behavior by attacking problems that permeate the juvenile’s environment: drug use, mental health needs, poverty, and poor parenting skills. There is hope that a youth’s behavior can be modified by relying on some of the same processes used in adult drug courts, such as interdisciplinary teamwork, intensive judicial supervision, close monitoring of drug use, rewards, and sanctions. Long-term evaluations of juvenile drug court programs are under way.

Every person or institution that touches a child’s life and interacts with his or her family can contribute positively to that child’s development (Smith and Dabiri, 1995). The juvenile judge’s role should be expanded to include leading the community in responding to the needs of its children. The California Rules of Court, for example, encourage juvenile judges to provide community leadership in determining the needs of at-risk children and families and obtaining and developing resources and services to address them. The larger society that contributed to the problem should also be part of the solution (Treiber, 1998). It is essential to learn more about collective efficacy and how neighborhoods can organize to protect and supervise their children. The heart of any institutional reform must begin with a community partnership for child protection (Executive Session on Child Protection, 1997) and a collective realization that every citizen is responsible for the well-being of all children, a responsibility that cannot be delegated to the juvenile justice and child welfare systems.

School and community interventions are key to serving children’s needs. The following types of interventions have demonstrated positive effects on reducing risk factors and enhancing protective factors (Loeber and Farrington, 1998):

- School organization interventions.
- Comprehensive community interventions incorporating community mobilization.
- Parental involvement and parental education.
Classroom-based social and behavioral skills curriculum.

Intensive police patrolling, targeting hotspots in particular.

Media campaigns to influence public attitudes.

Aftercare programs, specific to each child and each treatment program, are also important. The progress made by program participants will be limited unless it is followed up, reinforced, and monitored in the community (Altschuler, 1999).

**Tomorrow’s Juvenile Court**

Modernizing and professionalizing the juvenile court requires that interdisciplinary training be provided to court staff—judges in particular. Knowing the law is not enough. Judges should be aware of available diagnostic tools, sensitive to the developmental needs of children and possible risks that they face, and proactive in efforts to prevent youth crime and violence (Smith and Dabiri, 1995).

There should be no need to wonder whether the juvenile court’s work makes a difference. Juvenile court judges need to take the lead in promoting program evaluation as an integral part of each new intervention by demanding that services have been proven effective or are based on sound principles of proven effectiveness before more children and families are sent to participate in them. With the resources to conduct evaluations of promising and innovative programs, dedication, and a willingness to collaborate across disciplines, juvenile court and juvenile justice practitioners can answer the question of what works empirically.

The juvenile court should also stress its nonadversarial nature, keeping the child’s best interest in mind by promoting a more sophisticated, less confrontational manner of adjudication (Schaller, 1997). The juvenile justice system should avoid duplicating the criminal court model, while protecting the fundamental rights of juveniles. A one-dimensional system dealing exclusively with adjudication would limit the juvenile court’s potential to promote rehabilitation and the well-being of youth while protecting the community and serving victims. Adjudication culminating in individualized dispositions and based on the need for accountability and the best interest of youth and society should be the cornerstone of the juvenile court’s work.

**There should be no need to wonder whether the juvenile court’s work makes a difference.**

Despite the lack of resources and respect accorded juvenile courts, their overwhelming caseloads, and the many other
challenges that confront them, they are staffed with professionals who reflect talent, dedication, and commitment. A fully functioning professional juvenile court has the potential to be the most effective prevention tool in the juvenile justice system. However, this cannot occur unless judges take the lead in revitalizing and professionalizing America's juvenile courts, using the results of scientific research, the promise of creative innovation, and the resources of the community. The Nation's societal pledge that "children come first" must not be allowed to ring hollow in, of all places, the halls of justice.

The juvenile court has the potential to be the most effective prevention tool in the juvenile justice system.

Notes

1. "Dependency" and "dependent children" refer to children involved in dependency cases related to abuse, neglect, and abandonment.
2. 387 U.S. 1 (1967).
4. In 1998, each juvenile court judge in Florida managed 3,273 cases, compared with 1,270 cases per judge in the criminal division and 1,357 cases per judge in the civil division. Amendment to Florida Rule of Juvenile Procedure 8.100(a), No. 84,021, at fn.3 (Fla. April 29, 1999).
5. See Amendment to Florida Rule of Juvenile Procedure 8.100(a), at 11.

References


Delivering on the Promise of the Juvenile Court

The juvenile court’s 100th anniversary offers an opportunity to centralize the new insights and advances in the field, thereby helping to revitalize the court and restore the public’s confidence in the juvenile justice system. Through OJJDP funding, a consortium comprising Bright Future Ventures, the Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice, the Children and Family Justice Center, Communication Works, and the Youth Law Center developed the Juvenile Court Centennial Education Initiative to focus attention on these issues.

The initiative’s objectives are to:

- Sharpen and stimulate debate among juvenile justice practitioners and policymakers.
- Expand the juvenile justice network and improve collaboration among local and national organizations.
- Amplify existing and developing revitalization efforts by local and national organizations.
- Conduct communications and training activities on successful juvenile justice strategies.
- Use the media to focus public attention on juvenile justice issues.

A national juvenile justice summit will be held soon in Washington, DC, to reaffirm the role of the juvenile justice system in addressing the needs of troubled and neglected youth. Stay tuned to OJJDP’s Web site, www.ojjdp.ncjrs.org, for more details on the initiative, or send an e-mail to askncjrs@ncjrs.org.

Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1999 National Report

The problems of juvenile crime, violence, and victimization together constitute one of the most crucial challenges of the new millennium. To meet that challenge, Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1999 National Report answers questions frequently asked by juvenile justice professionals, policymakers, the media, and concerned citizens.

This OJJDP Report brings together the latest available statistics from a variety of sources and includes numerous tables, graphs, and maps, accompanied by analyses in clear, nontechnical language. Readers will find baseline information on juvenile population growth trends; patterns of juvenile victimization, including homicide, suicide, and maltreatment; the nature and extent of juvenile offending, including data on arrest rates, antisocial behavior, and juveniles in custody; and the structure, procedures, and activities of the juvenile justice system, including law enforcement agencies, courts, and corrections.

The 1999 National Report includes the most recent updates of information originally presented in Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A National Report (the benchmark publication issued in 1995) and also includes findings from important new sources, including the Bureau of

Questions Answered by the Report

- How much crime are juveniles involved in, and what kinds of crimes do they commit?
- How often are juveniles the victims of crime, and what is the nature of their victimization?
- What are the recent trends in juvenile violence, and can future trends be predicted?
- How common is school crime, and how many juveniles carry guns and other weapons to school?
- What are the characteristics of juveniles in custody?
- One in every three delinquents with a history of violent offenses has a juvenile court record before turning 14.
- Preventing one youth from leaving school and turning to a life of crime and drugs saves society approximately $2 million.

New Facts

- After peaking in 1993, the rate of serious violent crime committed by juveniles declined dramatically through 1997 to its lowest level since 1986.
- In one-third of all sexual assaults reported to police, the victim was under age 12.
- The juvenile violent crime arrest rate for females nearly doubled between 1981 and 1997, while the rate for males increased 20 percent.

This is a clear overview of the facts about juvenile crime and victimization—an essential resource for juvenile justice professionals and all citizens concerned with our Nation’s youth.

—Attorney General Janet Reno

1999 National Report Bulletin Series

To give readers quick, focused access to some of most critical data contained in the 222-page 1999 National Report, OJJDP has developed a series of Bulletins derived from the Report. Each of these Bulletins highlights selected themes at the forefront of juvenile justice policymaking and extracts relevant sections from the Report (including selected graphs and tables). See the order form for the first installment of the series.
Court-Focused URL's

Following is a select list of Web addresses that link to additional resources related to youth and courts. These links represent Federal agencies, clearinghouses, and national organizations and associations.

- **Administrative Office of U.S. Courts**
  www.uscourts.gov

- **American Bar Association**
  www.abanet.org

- **ABA Center on Children and the Law**
  www.abanet.org/child/

- **American Judges Association**
  ajacncsc.dni.us

- **American Probation and Parole Association**
  www.appa-net.org

- **American Prosecutors Research Institute**
  www.ndaa.org/apri/Index.html

- **Center for Civic Education**
  www.civiced.org

- **Constitutional Rights Foundation Chicago**
  www.crfc.org

- **Drug Courts Program Office**
  www.ojp.usdoj.gov/dcpo.htm

- **Federal Judicial Center**
  www.fjc.gov

- **National American Indian Court Judges Association**
  www.naicja.org

- **National Association of Counsel for Children**
  nacccchildlaw.org

- **National Association for Court Management**
  nacm.ncsc.dni.us/

- **National Association of Drug Court Professionals**
  www.drugcourt.org

- **National Association of Pretrial Services Agencies**
  napsa.org

- **National Association of State Judicial Educators**
  www.nasje.org

- **National Center for State Courts**
  www.ncsc.dni.us

- **National Center for Youth Law**
  www.youthlaw.org

- **National Clearinghouse for Judicial Education Information**
  jeritt.msu.edu

- **National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges**
  www.ncjfcj.unr.edu

- **National Court Appointed Special Advocate Association**
  www.nationalcasa.org

- **National Criminal Justice Reference Service**
  www.ncjrs.org

- **National District Attorneys Association**
  www.ndaa.org

- **National Indian Justice Center**
  nijc.indian.com/

- **National Judicial College**
  www.judges.org

- **Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention**
  www.ojjdp.ncjrs.org

- **OJP Drug Court Clearinghouse and Technical Assistance Project**
  www.american.edu/academic.depts/spa/justice/dcclear.htm

- **Pretrial Services Resource Center**
  www.pretrial.org

- **Sentencing Project**
  www.sentencingproject.org

- **State Justice Institute**
  www.statejustice.org

- **Street Law, Inc.**
  www.streetlaw.org

- **Tribal Court Clearinghouse**
  www.tribal-institute.org

- **U.S. Sentencing Commission**
  www.ussc.gov

- **Vera Institute of Justice**
  broadway.vera.org
PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE FREE.

Single copies are available free. There is a nominal fee for bulk orders to cover postage and handling. Contact the Clearinghouse for specific information.

- Delinquency Cases in Juvenile Courts, 1996 (Fact Sheet). FS 99109.
- Model Courts Serve Abused and Neglected Children (Fact Sheet). FS 9990.
- NEW Offenders in Juvenile Court, 1996 (Bulletin). NCJ 175719.
- Person Offenses in Juvenile Court, 1986–1995 (Fact Sheet). FS 9877.
- NEW Teen Courts in the United States: A Profile of Current Programs (Fact Sheet). FS 99118.

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE FOR A FEE.

- Juveniles in the Criminal Justice System (Video, VHS format), NCJ 173944.
- Youth Courts: A National Movement (Video, VHS format), NCJ 171149.

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**JJC** is the clearinghouse for juvenile justice research, policy, and program information. JJC, through the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS), is the reference point for 2,100 government agencies and 2,100 other organizations. JJC provides the latest information on juvenile justice publications and resources. All OJJDP publications are abstracted and placed in a database, which is searchable online. You are also welcome to submit materials to JJC for inclusion in the database.

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**Corrections and Detention**
Beyond the Walls: Improving Conditions of Confinement for Youth in Custody. 1998, NCJ 164727 (116 pp.).


Disproportionate Minority Confinement: Lessons Learned From Five States. 1998, NCJ 179420 (12 pp.).

Juvenile Arrests 1997. 1999, NCJ 173938 (12 pp.).

Reintegration, Supervised Release, and Intensive Aftercare. 1999, NCJ 175715 (24 pp.).

**Courts**

Innovative Approaches to Juvenile Indigent Defense. 1998, NCJ 171151 (8 pp.).

Juvenile Court Statistics 1996, 1999, NCJ 168963 (113 pp.).

Offenders in Juvenile Court. 1996, 1999, NCJ 175719 (12 pp.).

RESTTA National Directory of Restitution and Community Service Programs. 1998, NCJ 166365 (500 pp.), $33.50.

Tying Juveniles as Adults in Criminal Court: An Analysis of State Transfer Provisions. 1998, NCJ 172836 (112 pp.).


**Delinquency Prevention**


Effective Family Strengthening Interventions. 1998, NCJ 171121 (16 pp.).

Juvenile Accountability Incentive Block Grants Strategic Planning Guide. 1999, NCJ 172846 (62 pp.).


Prenatal and Early Childhood Nurse Home Visitation. 1998, NCJ 172875 (8 pp.).

Treatment Foster Care. 1998, NCJ 173421 (12 pp.).

Gangs

Gang Members on the Move. 1998, NCJ 171153 (12 pp.).

Youth Gangs: An Overview. 1998, NCJ 175719 (12 pp.).

Youth in Action
Planning a Successful Crime Prevention Plan. 1999, NCJ 1716891 (240 min.), $17.

Youth Preventing Drug Abuse. 1998, NCJ 173939 (240 min.), $17.


OJJDP Research: Making a Difference for Juveniles. 1999, NCJ 177602 (52 pp.).

Promising Strategies To Reduce Gun Violence. 1999, NCJ 173950 (253 pp.).


Missing and Exploited Children
Portable Guides to investigating Child Abuse (13-title series).

Protecting Children Online Teleconference (Video). 1999, NCJ 170023 (120 min.), $17.


Substance Abuse
The Coach's Playbook Against Drugs. 1999, NCJ 173393 (20 pp.).

Drug Identification and Testing in the Juvenile Justice System. 1998, NCJ 167889 (92 pp.).

Preparing for the Drug Free Years. 1999, NCJ 173408 (12 pp.).

Violence and Victimization
Combating Fear and Restoring Safety in Schools. 1999, NCJ 167888 (16 pp.).


Report to Congress on Juvenile Violence Research. 1999, NCJ 176979 (44 pp.).

Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders. 1999, NCJ 170027 (8 pp.).

Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders: Risk Factors and Successful Interventions Teleconference (Video). 1998, NCJ 171286 (120 min.), $17.


Youth in Action
Community Cleanup. 1999, NCJ 171690 (8 pp.).

Cross-Age Teaching. 1999, NCJ 171688 (8 pp.).

Make a Friend—Be a Peer Mentor. 1999, NCJ 1716891 (240 min.), $17.

Plan a Special Event. 1999, NCJ 171689 (8 pp.).

Planning a Successful Crime Prevention Project. 1998, NCJ 170024 (28 pp.).

Stand Up and Start a School Crime Watch. 1998, NCJ 171123 (8 pp.).

Wipe Out Vandalism and Graffiti. 1998, NCJ 171124 (8 pp.).

Youth Preventing Drug Abuse. 1998, NCJ 171124 (8 pp.).
OJJDP announces the availability of *Reducing Youth Violence: A Comprehensive Approach*, a multimedia CD–ROM that provides juvenile justice practitioners, researchers, and policymakers with information on successful programs, publications, and technical assistance resources. A pool of practitioners and policymakers tested the initial release, and this updated CD–ROM reflects their input.

To order, contact OJJDP's Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse at 800–638–8736

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