

onfinement with work and training being provided to the offender. The second stage was a transition period whereby the convict was set to the task of completing public work projects while under minimal supervision. During the third stage, and presuming that the offender proved reliable, he was eventually released on "license" (Dressler, 1962; Latessa & Allen, 1999).

In implementing this classification system, each inmate's classification level was specifically measured by the number of marks that they had earned for good conduct, work output, and educational achievement. This idea was, quite naturally, borrowed from Maconochie's system on Norfolk Island. It is also important to point out that the Irish system developed by Sir Walter Crofton was also much more detailed, providing specific written instructions and guidelines that provided for close supervision and control of the offender, assigning police personnel to supervise released offenders in rural areas and an inspector of released prisoners in the city of Dublin (Petersilia, 2003).

Release on license was contingent upon certain conditions, with violations of these conditions providing for the possibility of reimprisonment. "While on license, prisoners were required to submit to monthly reports and were warned against idleness and association with other criminals" (Latessa & Smith, 2007, p. 142). Thus, offenders released on license did have to report to either a police officer or other designated person, they had specific requirements that they had to meet, they had to curtail their social involvements, and they could be again incarcerated if they did not maintain those requirements (Latessa & Smith, 2007). This obviously resembled several aspects of modern-day parole programs. In fact, the impetus for parole in the United States was a paper delivered by Sir Walter Crofton at the 1870 National Prison Association annual meeting in Cincinnati. The results of this presentation were the incorporation of ideals of indeterminate sentencing and classification into the principles. Reformers ultimately coined the U.S. parole system as the "Irish System" (Petersilia, 2003, p. 58).

In 1876, Zebulon Brockway, warden of the Elmira, New York, prison facility for young men ages 16 to 30, first began incorporating these principles into practice in what he deemed a graded system of rewards and punishment. All offenders entered the prison at the second grade of classification. Inmates who behaved correctly for 6 months were moved up to first grade classification. Those who misbehaved or were disruptive could be moved down to third grade classification. An inmate who remained in the first grade classification could be released early under the jurisdiction of the authorities for 6 months whereby they were "required to report on the first day of every month to his appointed volunteer guardian" (Petersilia, 2003, p. 58). In 1927, New York became the first state to formally pass a law adopting all components of parole. "By 1927, only three states (Florida, Mississippi, and Virginia) were without a parole system, and by 1942, all of the states and the federal government had such systems" (Petersilia, 2003, p. 58). These mechanisms for release were based on discretionary decisions by the prison facility and the warden. Parole boards were instituted in the early 1900s to assist with these decisions. The implementation of parole, although progressive, has always been met with skepticism. Studies dating back to the 1930s report that American citizens believed parole was too lenient on offenders. As Rothman (1980) noted, the original parole board members made these discretionary release decisions based upon the seriousness of the offense and their institutional eligibility as opposed to readiness to reenter society. The move away from any form of rehabilitative ideal has become apparent with the abolition of discretionary release (parole) in 15 states and the federal government as it was originally intended. Most states still maintain some form of supervision following release but the release is mandatory less good time credits.

Good time credits allow for the early release of an offender based upon good behavior. These credits range from 1 day off for 1 day served to as much as 2 days off for 1 day served. The federal sentencing guidelines restrict good time to 85% of the sentence being served. This process of receiving credits for good behavior very closely resembles that used in the earliest forms of marks in the Irish system and that used by Brockway at the Elmira Reformatory. Merit credit time is another variation of this process that rewards offenders for program completion. In Indiana, for example, offenders can earn up to 6 months' early release per qualified program

completion for things such as an educational degree (including the GED) substance abuse programming, cognitive programming, etc. Following release on a fixed sentence, all but sex offenders are supervised on parole for a maximum of 2 years not to exceed the original sentence. Sex offenders, when released, are required to be supervised for up to 10 years not to exceed the original sentence. Offenders receiving no time off for good behavior are required to serve their maximum fixed time with no supervised community release.

As you recall from Section VI, the focus of removing offenders from institutions centered on the rehabilitative ideal or the medical model (1930s to 1950s). This line of reasoning was followed by the community-oriented and reintegration efforts. The mid- to late 1970s saw a slowly emerging shift take place due to high crime rates that were primarily perceived as being the result of high recidivism rates among offenders. As you recall from Section IV, Robert Martinson's (1974) article stated that "with few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism" and served as an impetus for this shift (p. 22).

From this point forward, there was a clear shift from a community model of corrections to what has been referred to as a **crime control model of corrections**. During the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, crime became a hotly debated topic that often became intertwined with political agendas and legislative action. The sour view of rehabilitation led many states to abolish the use of parole. Indeed, from 1976 onward, 15 states and the federal government abolished the use of parole. The state of Maine abolished parole in 1976, followed by California's elimination of discretionary parole in 1978, and the full elimination of parole in Arizona (1994), Delaware (1990), Illinois (1978), Indiana (1977), Kansas (1993), Minnesota (1980), Mississippi (1995), North Carolina (1994), Ohio (1996), Oregon (1989), Virginia (1995), Washington (1984), and Wisconsin (1999) (Petersilia, 2003, pp. 66–67; Sieh, 2006). In addition, the federal system of parole was also phased out over time. Under the Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984, the U.S. Parole Commission only retained jurisdiction over offenders who had committed their offense prior to November 1, 1987. At the same time, the act provided for the abolition of the Parole Commission over the years that followed, with this phasing out period being extended by the Parole Commission Phaseout Act of 1996. The Parole Commission Phaseout Act of 1996 extended the life of the Parole Commission until November 1, 2002, but only in regard to supervising offenders who were still on parole from previous years. Thus, though the U.S. Parole Commission continued to exist, continued use of parole was eliminated, and federal parole offices across the nation were slowly shut down over time (see Focus Topic 9.1 for further information on various developments in parole).

Focus Topic 9.1

Historical Developments in Parole

- 1840 Maconochie creates his "mark system" in Australian penal colony.
- 1854 Sir Walter Crofton establishes the ticket-of-leave system in Ireland.
- 1869 New York establishes indeterminate sentencing processes.
- 1870 The American Prison Association publicly endorses parole.
- 1976 Maine abolishes parole.
- 1984 Federal government abolishes granting additional forms of parole leniency.
- 1999 The state of Wisconsin becomes the 15th state to formally abolish parole.

In addition to the eventual elimination of parole, many states implemented determinate sentencing, truth-in-sentencing laws, and other such innovations that were designed to keep offenders behind bars longer periods of time. The obvious flavor of corrections in the 1980s was toward crime control through incarceration and risk containment (Clear & Cole, 2003). This same crime control orientation continued through the 1990s and even through the beginning of the new millennium, with greater emphasis on drug offenders and habitual offenders during the 1990s. Also noted were developments in intensive supervision probation (ISP), more stringent bail requirements, and the use of three strikes penalties. The period during the last half of the 1990s and beyond the year 2000 had a decidedly punitive approach. The costs (both economic and social) have received a great deal of scrutiny even though crime rates had lowered during the millennium. Though there was a dip in crime during this time, it was not necessarily made clear if this was in actuality, due to the higher rate of imprisonment or due to other demographic factors that impacted the nation.

State of Parole Today

The state of parole and the characteristics of the population serving under that sanction have gone through noticeable fluctuations and changes. For instance, while the parolee population has continued to grow every year from 1980 to 2008, this sanction experienced the highest rate of growth between the years of 1980 and 1990 during which time the number of entries to state parole supervision more than tripled, going from 100,000 to 349,000 parolees. These state parole entries continued to rise during the 1990s while parole charges also increased during that same time period. Nevertheless, an overall growth pattern in the number of parolees released in the community continued to occur. However, during the years 2000 to 2008, the number of state parole cases that entered into the parole phase of supervision consistently exceeded the number of parolees that exited the system. All in all, the average percentage increase in state parolees has been around 1.7% annually. As of 2008, the nation's parole population included 828,169 offenders, of which 91,395 were federal probationers (Glaze & Bonczar, 2009).

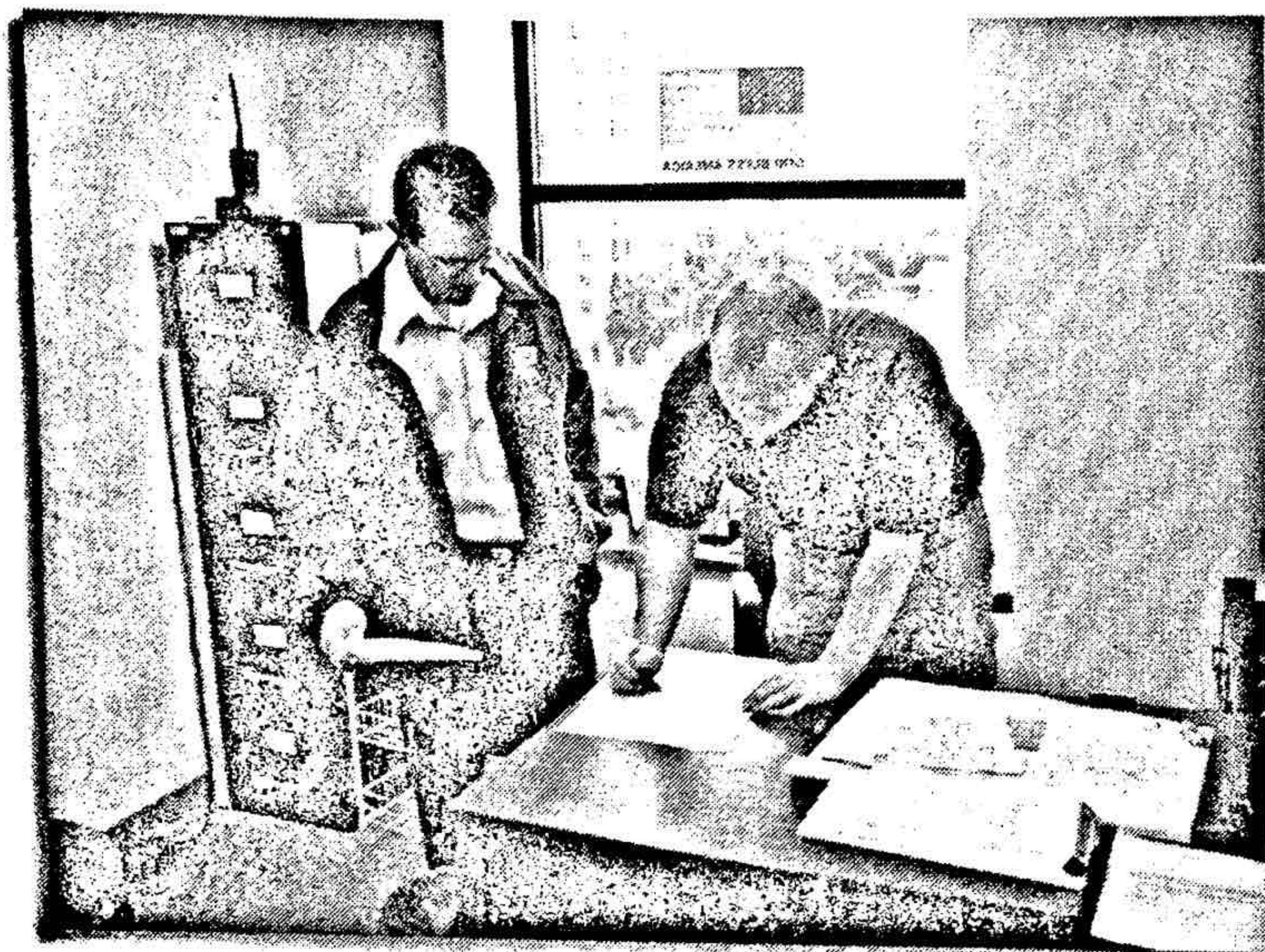
Among the parolee population, roughly 1 out of 8 (or about 12%) are female offenders. During the past decade, the proportion of female parolees has increased from 10% to 12%, making this a 20% increase in the proportion of female offenders represented in the parolee population. In addition, the percentage of parolees who are African American tends to be around 38%, with a slight downward trend having been noted during the past decade or so (in 1995, African American offenders made up 45% of the parolee population). Lastly, the proportion of white American offenders has increased during the past several years, coming to 45% of the overall parole population. Roughly 19% of all parolees nationwide are Latino, with another 2% in other racial categories. Lastly, the largest percentage of parolees were convicted of drug offenses with 37% of the total parolee population having some drug-related conviction. Twenty six percent of all parolees had violent offenses while 23% had property offenses (Glaze & Bonczar, 2009).

As with probation, parole has differing levels of supervision. Roughly speaking, one can divide parole into two categories: active supervision and inactive supervision. Active supervision requires parolees to routinely report to their parole officer through personal contact, via mail, or by telephone. Active supervision is used with roughly 85% of all parolees, and this statistic has remained stable over time. On the other hand, parolees on inactive status are still carried on the caseload, but they are not required to report to their parole officers. Only about 4% of all parolees are placed on this type of release, making this a small portion of offenders who are the least likely to pose any serious public safety risk. In addition, roughly 6% of parolees have absconded during a given year. Lastly, during the past 10 to 12 years, the percentage of parolees who have successfully met the conditions of their parole sentencing requirements has remained

stable at around 48%. However, this is lower than the rate of success that probationers have; probationers successfully completed the terms of their probation sentence in about 60% of all cases.

Tasks and Nature of Work for Parole Officers

First, it is important to note that parole differs from probation in some very distinct ways. The offender on parole has served a portion of his or her sentence in a correctional facility. This alone can have an impact on the type of security that must be maintained as well as the issues associated with reintegration. In these



▲ **Photo 9.1** Two parole officers discuss their schedule for the upcoming week in an effort to maximize their field and office work. They work as partners in supervising a specified area (called a zone) of the city.

cases, the offender will likely need more support services since they have been subject to the effects of prisonization. For the most part, probationers have only served brief stints in jail and therefore do not tend to suffer the same level of emotional shock when introduced back into the free world. For the ex-prison inmate, it may have been years since they have seen their area of origin, family members, and/or friends. Spouses may have abandoned them, they may be cut off from much of their family, and progress in society may have drastically changed workforce requirements and/or other issues.

Latessa and Allen (1999) noted that in one study it was found that parole officers tend to review their caseloads in an effort to identify the presence of offenders that seem unpredictable and/or irrational. These offenders are likely to be more dangerous and in need of added supervision since they do not respond to threats or promises made by the supervision agency in a rational manner. In this regard, it would seem that parole officers tend to view their role as being one primarily concerned with public safety.

In many states, such as Colorado, Louisiana, and elsewhere, community parole officers are also Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST) certified. This is, quite naturally, similar to the previous discussion related to probation officers, where much of the training is similar to that provided to law enforcement. Parole officers must maintain offender records, and they often must maintain automated information systems that manage inmate records.

Unlike probation officers, parole officers almost always tend to work for the state, and they do not answer to a judge or set of judges. The parole office is an extension of the correctional system and is therefore run by the executive branch of the government. This makes for a less stressful situation since there tends to be much more uniformity in operations for parole officers. Also, parole officer caseloads tend to be a bit lighter than are encountered among probation officers. Though these caseloads are still challenging and are often considered too high to manage, they do still tend to be lower than those for probation officers. However, one thing should be kept in mind: All of the offenders on a parole officer's caseload tend to have more serious offenses than is the case for probation officers.

Essentially, the work of a parole officer is very similar to that of a probation officer; it is perhaps for this reason that the functions are combined among several state systems. Nevertheless, parolees are a distinct group from probationers, and in many states, they are supervised separately. Even though this may be true,

The tasks performed by both types of supervision are fairly similar. Beyond this general description, parole officers in Colorado, Kansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere may conduct a pre-parole investigation (PPI) for the purpose of determining the suitability of an inmate's proposed parole plan. Such an investigation may include an examination of the proposed living conditions, the type of community surroundings, the plans for employment, input from regional law enforcement, as well as explanations from the person that has agreed to sponsor the parolee. This is somewhat similar to the presentence investigation report (PSI) that was noted when examining the job functions of probation officers.

In addition, just as with probation officers, parole officers make personal contact with the parolees on their caseload, though there is often a great deal of caution associated with this aspect of the supervision process. This is especially true in the states of Kansas and Texas where lower-ranking parole officers are given less discretion when conducting their jobs. In these cases, low-ranking parole officers may be assisted or directed by a higher-ranking parole officer, particularly when field visits and/or other tasks may be conducted in high danger areas of the state.

Though many parole officers view themselves as performing an enforcement function, many find themselves addressing issues such as marital discord, financial troubles, housing challenges, placement with vocational and/or educational training, referral for mental health counseling, as well as providing appropriate referrals to community service agencies for the previously mentioned issues as well as others that may emerge. Naturally, this resembles a casework function that has been similarly noted in Section VI. These parole officers will take reports from the parolees themselves and will also verify the validity of these reports by checking with employers, family, and other sources that have contact with the parolee.

As would be expected, the parole officer, by virtue of his or her job assignment, assumes responsibility for the proper maintenance of the offenders assigned to their caseload and is expected to ensure that offenders comply with the rules and regulations of their parole requirements. When violations are detected, these officers will be required to complete incident reports for major violations of parole conditions, but they may exercise some degree of discretion in the case of technical violations (technical violations are those that do not result in a new criminal offense but are noncompliant actions). It is the parole officer who typically makes the decision to issue a warrant for parole violations, which result in the offender being sent back to prison.

Parole officers, like probation officers, will frequently make regular and special home visits to the offender's domicile. The parole officer will also visit the parolee's family members, sometimes in separate circumstances and sometimes jointly. As noted with probation officers, this can be an unpleasant experience even if the family is welcoming and compliant. In many cases, the neighborhood will be able to identify the parole officer (particularly if they are driving a state-owned vehicle with state markings), and in criminogenic neighborhoods, it is often the case that local community members consider the parole officer's presence to be a bother or an intrusion. Aside from field visits, parole officers may visit prison facilities for the purpose of establishing personal contact with prospective parolees who will soon be released. Such decisions will often be made by what is referred to as an institutional parole officer (referred to as a facility parole officer in the state of New York), who is tasked with assessing inmates within the prison system and making determinations of suitability that go before the state parole board. In other cases, prison classification personnel may make this determination and will fill the role that institutional parole officers would perform.

Lastly and very important, parole officers will usually be expected to maintain an open line of communication with the law enforcement community in the area. This is also similar to the functions of probation officers but also reflects the need for collaborative functions between agencies, as discussed previously. However, this is an especially important function for parole officers, particularly in areas where released

offenders may be prior or—unbeknownst to correctional staff—current gang members. Because gang offenders tend to recycle in and out of prison systems—going into the community, committing an offense, getting placed back in prison, and then again being paroled—this can have a revolving-door effect that is observed both by parole officers and police officers who routinely arrest and rearrest these offenders. Parole officers may also be instrumental in overseeing gang exit programs so that youth can safely and permanently break away from gang membership. Regardless, it is clear that parole officers (typically called aftercare officers when dealing with juvenile offenders) work closely with police in cases where this is beneficial or a necessity. This also fits with the self-image that parole officers tend to have of themselves where their primary function is one of enforcement and ensuring compliance among their parolee caseload.

Education, Training, and Qualifications for Parole Officers

For the most part, the education and qualifications for parole officers are similar (if not identical) to probation officers. Parole officers typically must have a bachelor's degree in criminology, criminal justice, social work, psychology, counseling, sociology, or some other related field. In addition, many areas of the nation (such as the state of New York) also require 3 to 5 years of relevant work experience in casework or some other related area of employment. In addition, most states require parole officers to be at least 21 years of age and also require the applicant to successfully pass a civil service examination.

Naturally, candidates must prove eligible through a full background investigation and after psychological screening. Depending on the specific state, the psychological screening can be quite extensive. Consider the state of Ohio, where a series of three personality tests are given to prospective parole officer candidates along with an in-depth interview. The assessment process is conducted by contract psychologists who either recommend the candidate for employment, recommend with reservations, or (when the applicant is not suitable) decide not to recommend the applicant for any future employment whatsoever.

Training for parole officers, as with probation officers, can vary. In states where probation and parole are combined, the training is naturally similar to that discussed with probation officers. Often this may include attendance in paramilitary and/or law enforcement styles of training (such as in the states of Louisiana where such officers are POST certified). In states where parole functions are not combined with probation, training can still require that parole officers be peace officer certified (as with the state of Texas where officers are Texas Commission on Law Enforcement Officer Standards and Education [TCLEOSE] certified). In other states (such as Ohio), parole officers are expected to be distinct from peace officers and therefore are not given that capacity of training.

Lastly, as mentioned earlier, there is a growing emphasis on the professionalization of community corrections that includes both probation and parole. The American Probation and Parole Association (APPA) and the American Correctional Association (ACA) have been instrumental in advocating for continuing training on everything from the use of technological equipment to understanding unique needs associated with specialized offenders. It is expected that this tendency will continue into the future as community supervision becomes an increasingly important function of the overall criminal justice system.

When Probation and Parole Are Combined Into One Department

In many states, probation and parole functions are combined. Although numerous states have abolished parole, some residual offender caseloads may exist from before the abolition of this sanction.

Learning Objectives

1. Know the early origins of juvenile probation.
2. Know and understand the processes involved with juvenile probation.
3. Demonstrate knowledge of the juvenile court system and its effect on community corrections with juvenile offenders.
4. Understand how risk factors and protective factors affect the likelihood for continued offending among juveniles.
5. Identify the different forms of residential and nonresidential programs that exist in juvenile corrections and the types of therapy they both employ.
6. Be aware of the basic dynamics associated with juvenile gang offenders and understand the difficulties in getting youth out of gang life.
7. Be aware of the informal and alternative approaches to juvenile processing, including restorative justice, family conferences, and teen courts.

Thus, even the adult offenders who John Augustus might have supervised were probably juveniles by today's standards. John Augustus' work was instrumental in legislation that established probation for juveniles in 1878. During this same time period, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was also established in 1875. Later, in 1899, this group would be instrumental in forming the first juvenile court in Cook County, Illinois.

The Cook County juvenile court emerged from the concerns of a group of compassionate and wealthy women in Chicago who advocated for the rights of disadvantaged children who were found errant of the law. These women, commonly referred to as the child savers, fought for these needy children to have the same care, custody, and treatment as their natural family would have presumably provided. The creation of the juvenile court was one project that was thought to help toward this objective, integrating individualized treatment approaches, serving needs of the youth, and providing guidance to avoid engaging in further deviant behavior. It was at this time that the concern with stigmatization of youth emerged within the treatment of juveniles, a concept that is still alive and well today. In order to avoid the negative effects of labeling, informal court proceedings were utilized where the full gamut of constitutional safeguards would not be necessary—the point to the court being one of reintegration rather than punishment.

Thus, juvenile court proceedings were informal and conducted without any of the typical constitutional protections secured by adults, with the goal to protect and serve the best interests of the child. Interestingly, juvenile court records were sealed as a means of ensuring that youth were not negatively labeled as a result of their contact with the court. The whole idea revolved around the notion that youth, unlike adults, were not yet lost and that reintegrative efforts would tend to have optimal likelihoods of success. This line of thought also considered youth to be more impressionable and open to positive change, if only given the appropriate guidance. The use of constitutional safeguards were thought to be impediments to the informal helping approach that was desired since these safeguards were rooted in an adversarial mentality that juvenile advocates sought to avoid.

After the first juvenile court was established, these courts spread throughout the nation until in 1927 all but two states had enacted legislation for both juvenile courts and juvenile probation. It is important to point out that probation is largely an extension of the courts in many respects, even though it is presented in this text (and in others) as a branch of corrections. Thus, any developments in the juvenile court also transferred to eventual changes in the nature of juvenile probation. Thus, juvenile probation quite naturally implemented the helping approach with youth, just as did those courts that processed juveniles. According to Latessa and Allen (1999), “the theoretical assumption of juvenile probation was that providing guidance, counseling, resources, and supervision would assist low-risk juveniles to adapt to constructive living,” and in the process, these youth could avoid the detrimental effects of institutionalization.

■ The Nature of Juvenile Probation

Juvenile probation is a judicial disposition under which youthful offenders are subject to certain conditions imposed by the juvenile court while being allowed to remain in the community during the duration of their sentence. Probation is the most widely used judicial disposition used in juvenile courts around the country. The three primary functions of juvenile probation are intake, investigation, and supervision. During the intake stage of the court proceedings, the probation officer will typically decide whether or not to file a petition on a child referred to the court. Investigation consists of the compilation of a social history of the juvenile to assist the judge in making decisions. Lastly, supervision focuses mainly on crime control elements to ensure that juveniles do not reoffend.

During the intake stage of the juvenile process, the probation officer screens youth who are referred to the court and conducts a preliminary investigation, which includes an interview where the probation officer will advise the youthful offender of their rights. If the parents or legal guardians have not yet been notified of the juvenile's status, the probation agency will inform them and will ensure that they are advised of their legal options and their right to secure an attorney. In addition, the probation officer conducting the intake may find it useful to interview the family, witnesses, victims, and other personnel to determine if detention or other considerations may be necessary for the youthful offender. Naturally, the juvenile's school will likely be contacted to gain information and to also make appropriate educational arrangements for the youth while they are being processed. Lastly, if the youth has been in court before or is already on probation, the intake officer will find it necessary to update himself or herself with the previous reports that are on file.

The investigation stage is roughly 60 days in length, but if the courthouse combines the adjudicatory and disposition stages, it may be required that the officer finish the investigation prior to the youth's appearance in court. This investigation is often referred to as the **social study**, which details the youth's personal background, family, educational progress, previous violations, employment, and so forth. This social study will end with the probation officer's diagnosis and treatment plan, as well as the probation officer's ultimate recommendation to the court. With this report, the probation officer provides final determination of whether the youth should be returned to the community as well as the specific conditions for the recommended probation sentence.

The **supervision stage** includes the casework, surveillance, and various aspects of security management to track the behavior of the juvenile. This stage is, at least in the most basic terms, a key function of the probation department. In the process of performing this function, it is common for juveniles to actually develop a strong connection with their juvenile probation officer. Despite the fact that juvenile probation officers may be responsible for supervising the security elements of the youth's sentence, the other functions of juvenile probation tend to mitigate the relationship and provide for a blend between mentor and rule monitor. The strong focus on rehabilitation tends to weigh out in most cases and reflects the general operational focus of the juvenile probation officer.

Probation supervision is used in the majority of cases where juveniles are adjudicated. This form of sentence is considered appropriate for youth who are not violent and are not seen as being in serious need of intensive services, such as might be encountered with drug addicted youth or those with serious mental health concerns. In such cases, these youth would be sent to residential community treatment centers, most of which will be designed for youthful offenders. Even though the youth may have emotional and/or behavioral problems, they can still end up on probation due to a lack of effective inpatient services being available in a given area. This might be true in some rural communities where residential facilities may not exist. In such cases, youth are typically required to participate in a number of activities and/or treatment-related functions as a means of accommodating their corollary (but important) issues. Further, during the supervision of the youth, there are often added requirements that the youthful offender obey their parents/guardians, that they attend school, that they return home at a specified time during the day, and that they avoid other known youthful offenders. During this process, the probation officer will often work with the youth, attempting to dialogue about problems facing the young offender, including the pushes toward crime and the potential lack of pulls to keep them from returning to crime.

There are many theories that speculate on the causal factors associated with delinquency, but nearly all agree that the presence of adult supervision is important and that the existence of family influences are perhaps the most instrumental forms of socializing elements available. Thus, probation officers who oversee juveniles will likely be engaged in a number of functions that also involve the families of the juvenile

offender. Addressing these factors can become quite complicated since it may be that the parents themselves are not high functioning and/or may be ill-equipped to handle the youth's behavior, both at home and in their school or community. Indeed, some parents may be in need of parenting classes and may be misguided in effective parenting techniques to aid their child. In these cases, it may seem that to some extent the entire family is on probation, particularly if family therapy is warranted and/or it is determined that the parents have been neglectful or abusive of the youth. It is common for many juvenile offenders to report disproportionate levels of abuse in their past histories, leading researchers to conclude that abusive experiences aggravate the likelihood of offending and compound the likelihood of recidivism. Thus, returning youth to these homes may not be the best option. However, many youth are returned to homes that are not the best option due to a lack of resources. Though juvenile probation officers will tend to monitor the family system's progress, this can still have negative effects on the youth and their overall ability to break out of criminal behavior. This is particularly true when the juvenile does not wish to be separated from their family, regardless of how toxic that family might be.

On the other hand, it may be that the parental system is actually quite well functioning and that the youthful offender engages in delinquent actions due to other factors. One primary factor can be peers who are selected. The impact of a teen's friends is great, and if the youth befriends other youngsters who are delinquent, a certain pull toward criminogenic behavior is likely. The impact of delinquent peers is actually a commonly studied phenomenon (Cox, Allen, Hanser, & Conrad, 2008; Hanser, 2007a). In fact, as youth progress from early childhood to adolescence, they tend to place more importance on the judgment from their peers than that which they receive from their parents; that is a natural process of autonomy seeking, a process common to youth who are maturing into adults. This then means that some may go through periods of storm and stress where parents seem to have lost much of the influence and impact that they once had in guiding their child's life. Add to this the various physiological changes that occur during the teenage years and it becomes clear that these individuals can be inherently challenging for even the best of parents. Thus, it cannot be said that youthful delinquency is simply a product of poor parenting.

Further, others may see problems with juveniles on probation stemming from an inability and/or unwillingness to relate in a constructive manner with authority figures (Abadinsky, 2003). Abadinsky (2003) claims that "parents, school officials, and others who have represented authority to the young person have caused him or her to develop a negative, even hostile, attitude toward authority in general" (p. 143). While it is true that many youth on juvenile probation may have a natural distrust of authority (particularly adult authority), the general claim that school officials and parents serve as the cause of these problems is something that should be refuted. Indeed, some youth will have a variety of behavioral disorders, such as oppositional defiant disorder, hyperactivity disorder, or the even more serious conduct disorder (Hanser, 2007a). These disorders tend to appear with disproportional frequency among those youth processed through the juvenile justice system than is the case among youth not processed. Often, when youth have these types of diagnosable disorders, the fault does not lie with parents or school officials. In such cases, the causal factors are complicated and are often due to personal characteristics of the young person that are psychosocial in nature.

Even in such cases where treatment-resistant diagnoses are involved, probation officers can have an overall positive impact by role modeling healthy reactions to the youth's aberrant behavior while also enforcing consequences for illegal behavior. Further, the use of other role models who are important to the young person should be utilized, when feasible. In some cases, juvenile probation officers may incorporate such persons into the overall supervision plan, and this helps to provide a meaningful bond for the young person and, it turns out, provides an additional source of human supervision that is based in well-intended purposes.

Learning Objectives

1. Know the early origins of juvenile probation.
2. Know and understand the processes involved with juvenile probation.
3. Demonstrate knowledge of the juvenile court system and its effect on community corrections with juvenile offenders.
4. Understand how risk factors and protective factors affect the likelihood for continued offending among juveniles.
5. Identify the different forms of residential and nonresidential programs that exist in juvenile corrections and the types of therapy they both employ.
6. Be aware of the basic dynamics associated with juvenile gang offenders and understand the difficulties in getting youth out of gang life.
7. Be aware of the informal and alternative approaches to juvenile processing, including restorative justice, family conferences, and teen courts.

The juvenile justice system is one that is complicated and quite different from that of the adult criminal justice system. It is also a major component of the work involved in community supervision. Since the young tend to commit more crimes than those who are later in life, and since most juveniles are not incarcerated for long periods of time (if at all), this means that there is a substantial population of juvenile offenders on probation throughout the United States. This means that the juvenile population is one that must be given specific attention and consideration when discussing various aspects of community supervision. Though it is impossible to fully describe and detail the entire juvenile justice system in one chapter of a text, this chapter seeks to fill in some of the gaps in information that might otherwise exist, thereby integrating information specific to juvenile offenders as it fits within the whole scheme of this text. In this manner, the information in this section augments the other information so that the student will be fully aware of community supervision issues when dealing with both the adult and the juvenile offender populations.

✚ The Early History of Juvenile Probation

As with most issues pertaining to juvenile justice, **juvenile probation** traces its roots back to those precepts that were established in England during the Middle Ages under the principle of **parens patriae**. *Parens patriae* is a Latin term that denotes that the king, as father of his country, is empowered and obligated to protect the welfare of the country's children. However, it is John Augustus who is revered as the father of juvenile probation, just as he is held to be the father of adult probation. Indeed, it was not uncommon for John Augustus to supervise juvenile offenders. This is particularly true when one considers that laws back then were different in relation to adulthood, child protection, and the general coming of age into majority.