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RUNAWAY YOUTH

GOVERNMENT
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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. Res. 32

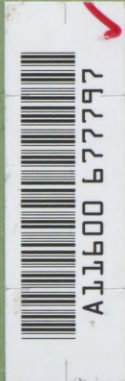
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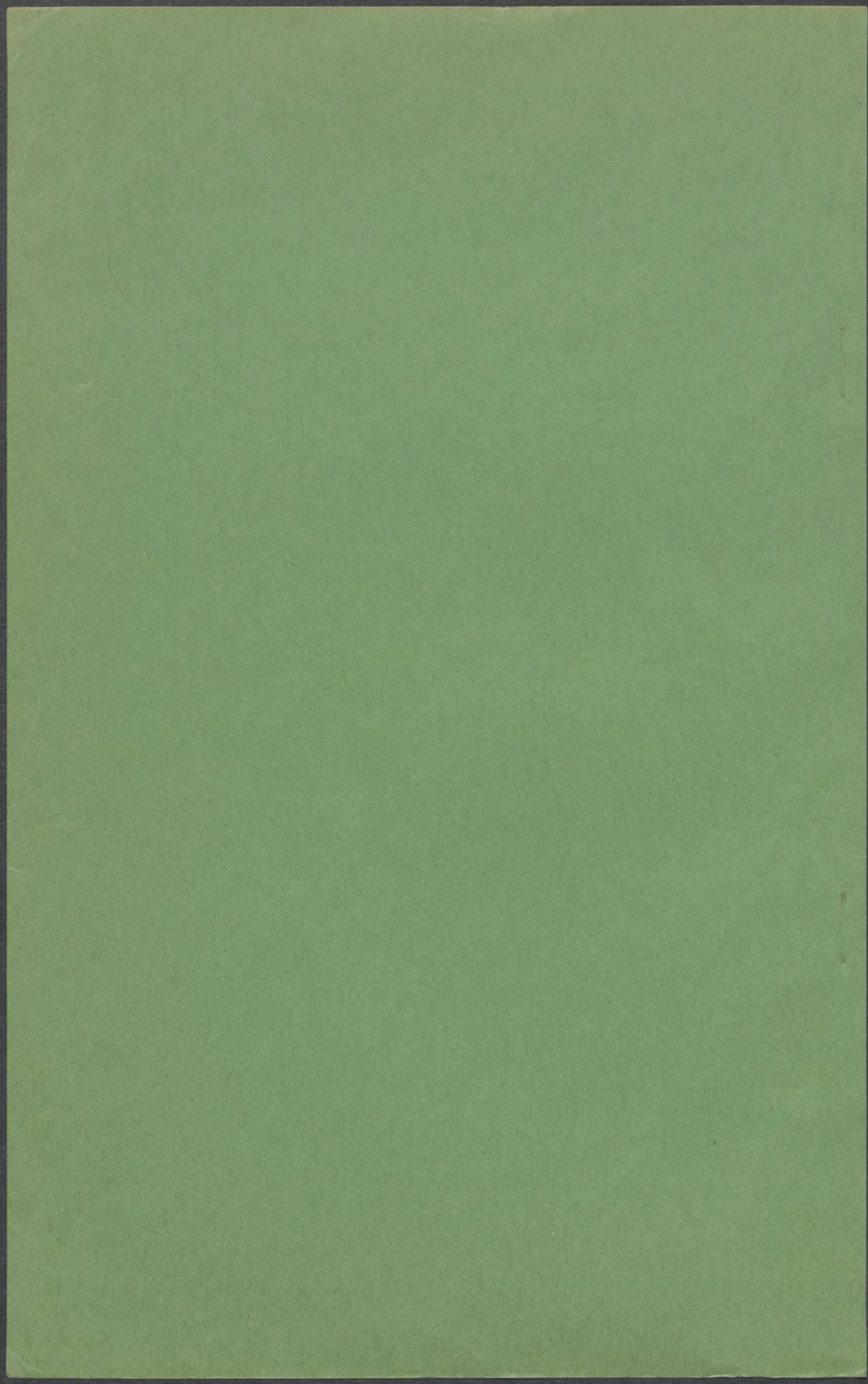
INVESTIGATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN THE
UNITED STATES

LEGISLATIVE HEARINGS ON S. 2829, THE "RUNAWAY YOUTH ACT"

JANUARY 13, 14, 1972

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary





RUNAWAY YOUTH

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BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
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COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1972

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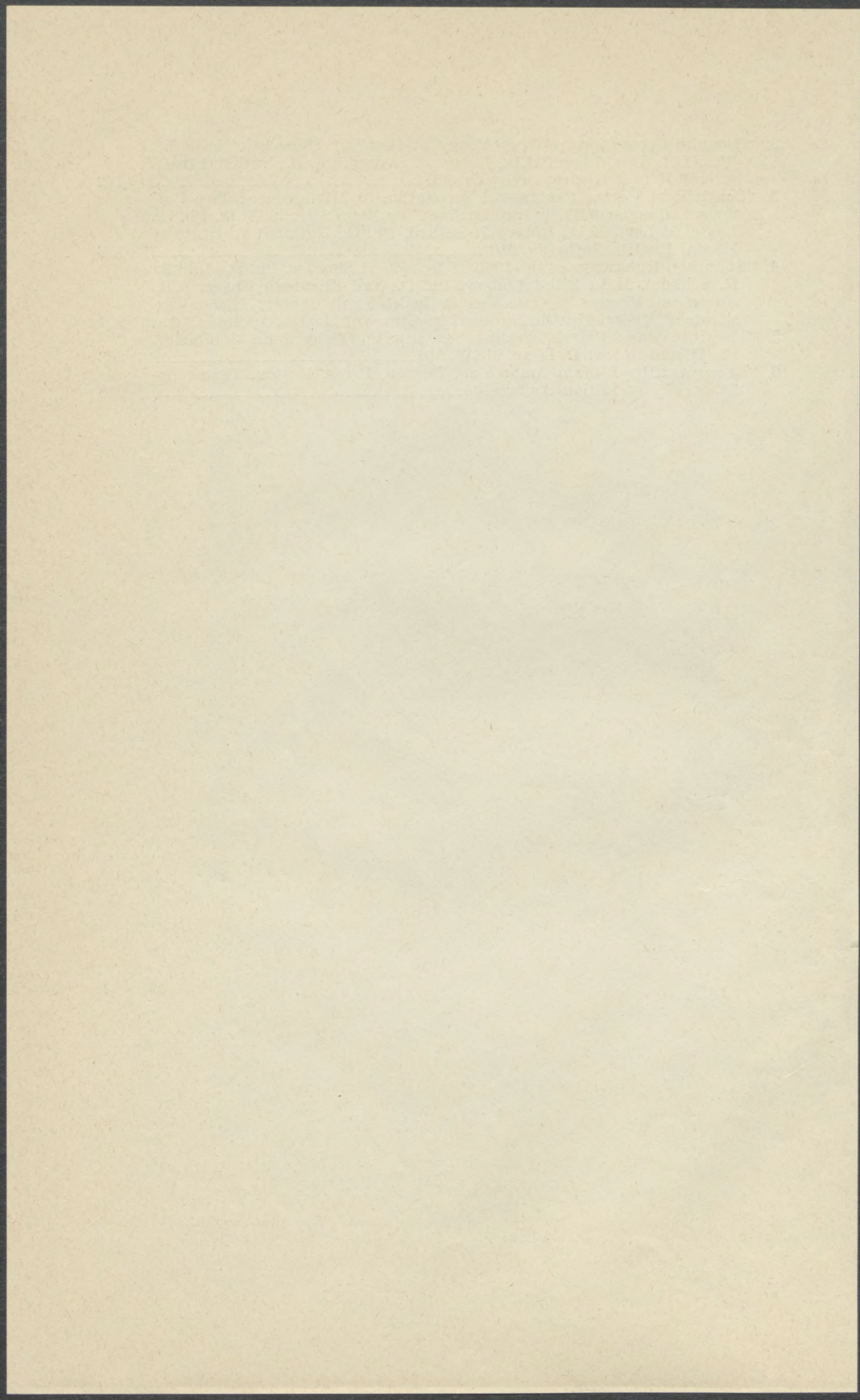
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THE "RUNAWAY YOUTH ACT"

THURSDAY, JANUARY 13, 1972

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee (composed of Senators Bayh, Hart, Burdick, Kennedy, Cook, Kruska, Fong, and Mathias), met pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building, Senator Birch Bayh (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senator Bayh.

Also present: Mathea Falco, staff director and chief counsel; John M. Rector, deputy chief counsel; Michael A. Nemeroff, assistant counsel; William C. Mooney, investigator; Mary K. Jolly, chief clerk; Nancy L. Smith, research assistant; B. Elizabeth Marten, personal secretary to the staff director and chief counsel; Cheryl A. Wolf, assistant chief clerk; Lance Ringel, Archie Lovell, and Scott Farkas, interns; Stanley Ebner, Esq., for Senator Hruska; Joel Abramson, Esq., for Senator Mathias; Dorothy Parker, for Senator Fong; Betty A. Webb, for Senator Cook; and Ronald Meredith, Esq., for Senator Cook.

Senator BAYH. We will reconvene our juvenile delinquency hearings this morning with special attention to the problem of runaway children.

I will include in the record at this point the text of the subcommittee's enabling resolution Senate Resolution 32 and the text of the legislation before us today, S. 2829, the "Runaway Youth Act."

(The documents were marked "Exhibit No. 1 and 2," and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 1

[S. Res. 32, 92d Cong., first sess.]

[Report No. 92-11]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 1 (legislative day, JANUARY 26), 1971

Mr. McCLELLAN (for Mr. EASTLAND), from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration

FEBRUARY 19 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 17), 1971

Reported, under authority of the order of the Senate of February 19 (legislative day, February 17), 1971, by Mr. CANNON, with amendments

MARCH 1 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 17), 1971

Considered, amended, and agreed to

RESOLUTION Authorizing additional expenditures by the Committee on the Judiciary for inquiries and investigations

Resolved, That, in holding hearings, reporting such hearings, and making investigations as authorized by sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, in accordance with its jurisdiction under rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the Committee on the Judiciary, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized from February 1, 1971, through February 29, 1972, for the purposes stated and within the limitations imposed by the following sections, in its discretion (1) to make expenditures from the contingent fund of the Senate, (2) to employ personnel, and (3) with the prior consent of the Government department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to use on a reimbursable basis the services of personnel of any such department or agency.

SEC. 2. The Committee on the Judiciary, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized from February 1, 1971, through February 29, 1972, to expend not to exceed \$3,861,300 to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to each of the subjects set forth below in succeeding sections of this resolution, said funds to be allocated to the respective specific inquiries and to the procurement of the services of individual consultants or organizations thereof (as authorized by section 202(i) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended) in accordance with such succeeding sections of this resolution.

SEC. 3. Not to exceed \$325,500 shall be available for a study or investigation of administrative practice and procedure, of which amount not to exceed \$2,000 may be expended for the procurement of individual consultants or organizations thereof.

SEC. 4. Not to exceed \$778,100 shall be available for a study or investigation of antitrust and monopoly, of which amount not to exceed \$5,000 may be expended for the procurement of individual consultants or organizations thereof.

SEC. 5. Not to exceed \$228,500 shall be available for a study or investigation of constitutional amendments.

SEC. 6. Not to exceed \$280,000 shall be available for a study or investigation of criminal laws and procedures, amount not to exceed \$3,000 may be expended for the procurement of individual consultants or organizations thereof.

SEC. 7. Not to exceed \$210,000 shall be available for a study or investigation of criminal laws and procedures.

SEC. 8. Not to exceed \$9,500 shall be available for a study or investigation of Federal charters, holidays, and celebrations.

SEC. 9. Not to exceed \$243,500 shall be available for a study or investigation of immigration and naturalization.

SEC. 10. Not to exceed \$259,400 shall be available for a study or investigation of improvements in judicial machinery.

SEC. 11. Not to exceed \$620,000 shall be available for a study or investigation of internal security, of which amount not to exceed \$3,900 may be expended for the procurement of individual consultants or organizations thereof.

SEC. 12. Not to exceed \$308,300 shall be available for a study or investigation of juvenile delinquency, of which amount not to exceed \$5,800 may be expended for the procurement of individual consultants or organizations thereof.

SEC. 13. Not to exceed \$140,000 shall be available for a study or investigation of patents, trademarks, and copyrights.

SEC. 14. Not to exceed \$59,900 shall be available for a study or investigation of national penitentiaries.

SEC. 15. Not to exceed \$155,000 shall be available for a study or investigation of refugees and escapees.

SEC. 16. Not to exceed \$63,600 shall be available for a study or investigation of revision and codification.

SEC. 17. Not to exceed \$180,000 shall be available for a study or investigation of separation of powers between the executive, judicial, and legislative branches of Government, of which amount not to exceed \$14,800 may be expended for the procurement of individual consultants or organizations thereof.

SEC. 18. The committee shall report its findings, together with such recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable with respect to each study

or investigation for which expenditure is authorized by this resolution, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than February 29, 1972.

SEC. 19. Expenses of the committee under this resolution shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

EXHIBIT No. 2

[S. 2829, 92d Cong., first sess.]

A BILL To strengthen interstate reporting and interstate services for parents of runaway children; to conduct research on the size of the runaway youth population; for the establishment, maintenance, and operation of temporary housing and counseling services for transient youth, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Runaway Youth Act".

FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 2. The Congress hereby finds that—

(1) the number of juveniles who leave and remain away from home without parental permission has increased to alarming proportions, creating a substantial law enforcement problem for the communities inundated, and significantly endangering the young people who are without resources and live on the street;

(2) that the exact nature of the problem is not well defined because national statistics on the size and profile of the runaway youth population are not tabulated;

(3) that many of these young people, because of their age and situation, are urgently in need of temporary shelter and counseling services;

(4) that the anxieties and fears of parents whose children have run away from home can best be alleviated by effective interstate reporting services and the earliest possible contact with their children;

(5) that the problem of locating, detaining, and returning runaway children should not be the responsibility of already overburdened police departments and juvenile justice authorities; and

(6) that in view of the interstate nature of the problem, it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to develop accurate reporting of the problem nationally and to develop an effective system of temporary care outside the law enforcement structure.

TITLE I

SEC. 101. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized to make grants and to provide technical assistance to localities and nonprofit private agencies in accordance with the provisions of this title beginning July 1, 1972, and ending June 30, 1975. Grants under this title should be made for the purpose of developing local facilities to deal primarily with the immediate needs of runaways in a manner which, wherever possible, is outside the law enforcement structure and juvenile justice system. The size of such grants should be determined by the number of runaway children in the community and the existing availability of services. Among applicants priority should be given to private organizations or institutions who have had past experience in dealing with runaways.

SEC. 102. (a) To be eligible for assistance under this title, an applicant must propose to establish, strengthen, or fund an existing or proposed runaway house, a locally controlled facility providing temporary shelter, and counseling services to juveniles who have left home without the specific permission of their parents or guardians.

(b) In order to qualify, an applicant must submit a plan to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare meeting the following requirements and including the following information. Each house—

(1) shall be located in an area which is demonstrably frequented by or easily reachable by runaway children;

(2) shall have a maximum capacity of no more than twenty children, with a ratio of staff to children of sufficient proportion to insure adequate supervision and treatment;

(3) shall develop an adequate plan for contacting the child's parents and insuring his safe return according to the best interests of the child;

(4) shall develop an adequate plan for insuring proper relations with law enforcement personnel, and the return of runaways from correctional institutions;

(5) shall develop an adequate plan for aftercare counseling involving runaway children and their parents within a twenty-five-mile radius of the house;

(6) shall keep adequate statistical records profiling the children and parents which it serves;

(7) shall submit annual reports to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare detailing how the house has been able to meet the goals of its plans and reporting the statistical summaries required in section 102(b)(6);

(8) shall demonstrate its ability to operate under accounting procedures and fiscal control devices as required by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; and

(9) shall supply such other information as the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare deems necessary.

SEC. 103. An application by a State, locality, or nonprofit private agency for a grant under this title may be approved by the Secretary only if it is consistent with the applicable provisions of this title and meets the requirements set forth in section 102.

SEC. 104. Nothing in this title shall be construed to deny grants to nonprofit private agencies which are fully controlled by private boards or persons but which in other ways meet the requirements of this title and agree to be legally responsible for the operation of the runaway house. Nothing in this title shall give the Federal Government and its agencies control over the staffing and personnel decisions of facilities receiving Federal funds, except as the staffs of such facilities must meet the standards under this title.

SEC. 105. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall annually report to Congress on the status and accomplishments of the runaway houses which were funded with particular attention to—

(1) their effectiveness in alleviating the problems of runaway youth;

(2) their effectiveness in insuring an early return to the children's homes and in encouraging the resolution of intrafamily problems through counseling and other services;

(3) their effectiveness in reducing drug abuse and undesirable conditions existing in areas which runaway youth frequent; and

(4) their effectiveness in strengthening family relationships and encouraging stable living situations for children.

SEC. 106. As used in this title, the term "State" shall include Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, Guam, and the Virgin Islands.

SEC. 107. (a) The Federal share for the construction of new facilities under this title shall be no more than 50 per centum. The Federal share for the acquisition and renovation of existing structures, the provision of counseling services, staff training, and the general costs of operations of such facility's budget for any fiscal year shall be 90 per centum.

(b) The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall pay to each applicant which has an application approved 90 per centum of the cost of such applications.

(c) Payments under this section may be made in installments, in advance, or by way of reimbursement, with necessary adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments.

(d) There is authorized to be appropriated for each of the fiscal years 1973, 1974, and 1975 not to exceed \$10,000,000 to carry out this title.

TITLE II

SEC. 201. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall gather information and carry out a comprehensive statistical survey defining the major characteristics of the runaway youth population and determining the areas of the country most affected. Such survey shall include, but not be limited to, the age, sex, socioeconomic background of runaway children, the places from which and to which children run, and the relationship between running away and other illegal behavior. The Secretary shall report to Congress not later than June 30, 1973.

SEC. 202. There is authorized to be appropriated a sum not to exceed \$500,000 to carry out this title.

Mr. BAYH. Let me make a few opening remarks before we move to our first witness.

Today we open hearings on the problem of runaway children. When Mark Twain pictured Huckleberry Finn and Tom Sawyer floating down the Mississippi River he was responding to a well-established American tradition. Running away has always been a part of America's folklore. For many of our young people, it has served as part of their rite of passage into adulthood.

Today, however, running away is less likely to be a healthy striving for adulthood than an anguished cry for help from a child who has nowhere to turn. Experts agree that most runaways are not involved in a healthy search for a mature self-identity. Instead they are escaping from the reality of serious problems at home, at school, or within themselves.

The act of running away calls attention to the problem, but it rarely leads to a solution. The runaway who is returned home against his will is more likely to represent a problem postponed than a problem solved. However, forceable return is the only solution made available by most institutions that now deal with runaways.

If running away is likely to be an unhealthy escape from problems, it is a far less safe solution today than it was in the past. A runaway today literally has no friends. If he is under 18, he is probably violating the law. Thus, most runaways are subject to arrest by the police and may well be incarcerated in a juvenile institution, or even an adult jail. According to a recent survey in my own State of Indiana, more than half the children in the Indiana Girls' School were there for having run away from home. Ironically, while the police are by law the adversary of runaways, they are virtually the only group which deals with them on a regular basis.

There are very few private agencies that provide help for runaways. The Travelers Aid Society helps runaways contact parents and return home, but they rarely maintain facilities to house a child overnight. Even more rarely do they provide any counseling for the troubled young person. The YWCA has been working with runaways for many years, but they, like Travelers Aid, lack the funds to help the fundamental problems that caused the run. Finally, there is a very small number of shelter facilities devoted to the needs of runaways run by church groups and dedicated private individuals.

Not only are there very few of these shelter facilities, they are also habitually underfunded and understaffed. While they provide temporary care and some counseling services, their existence is usually precarious. Further, their impact is limited in terms of the total dimensions of the problem. The lack of resources devoted to the needs of runaways means that the young person who leaves home must rely primarily on himself.

Because the runaway problem is largely ignored in our society, a young person seriously endangers himself when he leaves home. Unlike Mark Twain's era, running away today is a phenomenon of our cities. Most runaways are young, inexperienced suburban kids who run away to major urban areas. New York, San Francisco, Washing-

ton, Boston, Chicago, Atlanta, and many other cities receive the bulk of the runaway population. The children who run to these cities look for companionship, friendship, and approval from the people they meet. Instead, they often become the easy victims of street gangs, drug pushers, and hardened criminals. Without adequate shelter and food, they are prey to a whole range of medical ills from upper respiratory infection to venereal disease. One wonders what a modern version of "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn" would be like, or even if it would be permitted reading in our Nation's high schools.

While there is presently no organized national research on the size of the runaway problem, available information indicates that as many as 1 million children run away each year. According to the FBI, the number of runaways arrested has jumped 60 percent in the last 4 years. This figure is especially alarming when we realize that the large majority of runaways never have contact with the police, and so are not counted as part of the runaway problem. Thus, police statistics are showing us only the tip of the iceberg.

What kinds of children run away? Surveys in two major cities indicate that the majority of runaways are girls. In Minneapolis, 53 percent of the runaways in 1969 were girls. In New York City, the missing persons bureau estimates that approximately 55 percent of all runaways reported during the past 4 years were girls.

Runaway children are much younger than might be expected, and they are younger each year. In 1963 and 1964, the most common ages noted for runaways were 16 and 17. In the past few years, that age has dropped to 15. Recently, there has been an alarming increase in the number of very young runaways. In New York City, for example, 43 percent of the runaways are between the ages of 11 and 14. Indications are that this group may become the single largest runaway age group. Fifty-five percent of girl runaways in New York City are already in the 11 to 14 age group.

Although running away is a serious problem, we have not responded to the clear need to provide services for these children. We are concerned with juvenile crime, and juvenile drug abuse, and we have developed rehabilitation programs to help juveniles after they are in trouble. But we have too often failed to realize the need for prevention. We have developed very few programs to help our young people before they become serious lawbreakers. The runaway is a strong potential candidate for juvenile delinquency and a life of adult crime. If we help the runaway deal with the problems that caused him to run, we can prevent many runaways from becoming truly delinquent.

The legislation which I have proposed to deal with runaways is designed to prevent delinquency. It provides \$10 million a year to help finance temporary shelter facilities which would bring young people off the streets of our cities and insure their safe return home. While at the shelter, the runaway would receive intensive short-term counseling to help him begin to deal with the problems that caused him to leave home. Once home family counseling would be provided to deal with the root causes of the young person's problems. Additionally, my legislation would finance data-gathering, so that we can build a national picture of who runs away and where they go.

During the course of these hearings, we will explore the scope of

the runaway problem and the kinds of solutions necessary to deal with it. We will hear testimony from many individuals and organizations who work with runaways. We will also hear from some runaways themselves. Additionally, a representative of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will give us the administration's views on the problems of runaways and the legislation which is before this subcommittee. We are particularly interested in the administration's views because of its interest in delinquency prevention. In the annual report of the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, prevention is given priority "since, in addition to the human factor in preventing delinquency careers, this report shows preventive services are far less costly." This bill is clearly such a prevention measure. If we could discover and treat more of today's runaways, we could prevent more of tomorrow's juvenile delinquents.

Our first group of witnesses is fully qualified to discuss runaways. William Treanor has been associated with Runaway House here in Washington since it was founded 3½ years ago. The young people who accompany him are former runaways and will tell us of their experiences.

Would you all please come forward? We appreciate very much your taking the time to be with us.

Would you identify the two young people?

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM TREANOR, DIRECTOR, SPECIAL APPROACHES IN JUVENILE ASSISTANCE, INC.; ACCOMPANIED BY BECKY LOVELACE AND LYONELLE "MOUSE" NORRIS, CLIENTS OF RUNAWAY HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. TREANOR. Yes; this is Becky Lovelace and this is "Mouse" Norris.

I am Bill Treanor. I am the director of Special Approaches in Juvenile Assistance, Inc., a nonprofit corporation here in the District of Columbia that administers a number of youth projects. One of these, Runaway House, has been exclusively dedicated to working with runaways for the past 3½ years.

Since June of 1968, almost 3,000 runaways aged between 10 and 17 have come to Runaway House for shelter and assistance. Often we have over 20 young people a night. They come from every class, race, religion, and geographic area. Many are from families with a single parent or a stepparent; others come from military families; some have already seen the insides of our institutions for children. They are the unwanted, the overprotected, the ignored, the pampered.

They are, as they wander the streets of our cities, the living witnesses of every conceivable problem or abuse that a family with children can endure. Whether or not the 535 adult representatives in Congress consider their reasons for running sufficient is irrelevant to their growing legions. They are a problem of growing magnitude and I hope this Congress will recognize that fact.

What happens to a younger person once he or she has run away? Any attempt to generalize would be deficient. The young people—Becky and Mouse, and some others—are here to speak for themselves.

But one thing is certain—the life of a runaway is fraught with danger. They are forced to live like escaped convicts.

If life on the street is unpleasant the lot of the runaway isn't much better after they are arrested or turn themselves in. Ex-runaways are a major part of the youth population in mental hospitals, reform schools and detention centers. These young people, often whose only desire is to get away from an intolerable family life, are kept for months * * * even years in these institutions.

Runaway House is a three story house in the Dupont Circle area of Washington where a runaway can come and stay. When fully staffed there are five full-time, residential counselors to meet the needs of the youth. They work for subsistence pay, about \$50 a week.

When a runaway knocks on the door of Runaway House, the staff and the runaway are making a contract.

The runaway contract is this: I will trust you as much as I am able, I will observe the house rules and if I cannot do so I will leave. I will think about why I ran away and what I can realistically do now.

Our contract, the people who work there, is this: I will trust you, the runaway, as much as I am able—we will trust you as much as we are able; we will not exploit you in any way; we will not contact your parents, the police or anyone else without your knowledge and consent; you can stay at Runaway House as long as you observe the rules and are actively working on your problems.

Runaway House has developed a style and philosophy that we feel is helpful and effective for the young runaway, his family and our own needs. The house tries to offer much more than shelter and counseling.

We provide a warm, trusting environment where young people can decide for themselves what to do about their family situations. For many, it's the first time in their lives that they have been able to make an important decision themselves. The runaway has the opportunity to talk over family problems with the counselors and the other runaways. We try to help the young person realize how realistic his or her plans are.

A group takes place in the house every day. During these groups runaways and the staff explore feelings and work together identifying and solving problems. With the help and support of other young people, many runaways are able to more freely understand why they have problems at home and what they can do about them.

Runaway House is just one of dozens of projects across the country that have emerged during the past 4 years to help young people.

The efforts of these projects has been substantial. Most are underfunded and because of this have failed or have been forced to curtail their services. Many projects, including the house I work with, are understaffed. Every runaway project has to overcome community and police suspicion and hostility. Some projects have succumbed to the temptations of large Government grants and indirect control because it was the only way to ensure financial support.

On the other hand, several projects have become effective youth advocates. They have been able to challenge the assumptions that lead to young people being institutionalized. Some have grown to meet other youth needs. SAJA, my organization, is one example. During the past 3 years we have enlarged our activities to include

two group foster homes—both Becky and Mouse live in one of the group foster homes—a job cooperative, an alternative high school and several other programs designed to help younger people.

I have carefully read the Runaway Youth Act bill. I have discussed it with the people I work with. We feel that it is an excellent bill. We are very leery of Government funding because of the fear of Government control with its attendant problems.

This bill is remarkable because it sets up procedures that will hopefully channel funds to Runaway House projects themselves and not to administrators. The responsibility and authority for developing the approach to be used by each project is placed where it belongs—with the project staff.

I think that this is a bill that Runaway House projects, the police, and the community can live with and support. However, there is always the danger that the flexible guidelines in this bill will be taken advantage of by some Federal administrator more interested in controlling than in helping young people. In addition, I feel that \$50,000 should be the maximum grant for any project.

Senator BAYH. I just interrupt to say that that is an amazing statement. I have sat in on a number of hearings, chaired a number, I have listened to hundreds of witnesses, and I have never in my life heard anyone suggest that the maximum amount of money they should be given is \$50,000.

Mr. TREANOR. Senator, I have found, in part by necessity because we have not had a lot of money, that effective programs can be run on a lot less than professionals feel they can be.

Senator BAYH. I want to explore that with you in a minute. I did not want to interrupt, but the shock of that was too much.

Mr. TREANOR. Finally, I would like to speak on my own involvement with this problem. I was a runaway 12 years ago. I was 16, hated school and had family problems. I left my home in New York and traveled by train to Los Angeles—I won't go into my various experiences, but they are not so different from the kind of things young people today are going to talk about. After 3 weeks in California, I was picked up for hitchhiking and sent back home. While I was a runaway, there was absolutely no place I could go. I needed advice, but I was afraid to ask anyone for it. After my return home, the only solution that was around, really, those days, and I think it is used today still to some extent, was the military. So I went into the Army for 3 years. So that was my first awareness, really, that of what the runaway problem was, when I was a runaway myself.

In conclusion, I do think that this bill holds great promise, not just for helping runaways, but for helping young people—like teenagers—Becky who works part-time at Runaway House now—and people in their twenties, who work in a project to help young people help themselves. I think professionals have failed to a large extent and I believe the research is that the kind of people going into the Peace Corps and things like that shy away from these programs. I think we will see in the future that this is going to be the area where a lot of talented young people are going to be putting their energies. This will help to facilitate that process.

Senator BAYH. Fine.

Now, Becky, and you, Mouse, why not give us a little capsule view, if you would, of your experience. Why did you run away? What was it like. How do you feel about Runaway House? What treatment did you receive and how did it help with your problems?

MISS LOVELACE. I am from Arlington and my parents were pretty comfortable. My mother had been sick since around when I was born. So it made for a lot of confusion in the family, because she wanted a lot of attention and even tried to battle with me for it. They also would have fights and blame it on me.

The first time I ran away was when I was about 14. I was not really aware of why I was doing it. It was sort of like a friend who was going and agreed to go with me and I kind of just took off. I did that a couple of times. One time, I did get raped and had some hard times. But I was not really understanding what I was doing and I was not really changing anything.

Then, in December, when I was 15, 2 years ago, I went down to Florida with a friend and had gotten arrested down there and put in Daytona Youth Hall, which was not too comfortable. They did not have any toilets in the rooms and all they had was little cans; they would not let you out at night, you had to use a can. It was pretty dirty.

Then I was sent back home and I had to pay my plane fare back and I went to court and got put on probation. Then later on that year, or the next year, in April, my parents had had a fight and then they told me that they thought I was sick and crazy. It really upset me, because they were being really serious about it, and a lot of other things had been building up in me, I thought of leaving. I left home and I was over at a friend's house and we looked at Quicksilver Times and found the name of Runaway House and called and they said come over and talk to them. We had already left home. I went over there and stayed there.

I started trying to, like, change my problem. I tried to get my parents to agree to family counseling. I called my probation officer regularly and talked to my parents and decided that I wanted to go back home and try that first, to have family counseling to see if anything could be worked out.

Eventually, I went back home and they did not agree to family counseling. I stayed home all summer long. Then in the fall, I just could not really take it much more, because I—there was just a lot of confusion and fights and things that really upset me, and things like that.

So I left again in the fall and went back to Runaway House and tried to get—tried finding another place to live, like a foster home or tried to get into one of the group foster homes. My father would not agree to pay for me. Finally, he agreed to give \$100 a month to someone who would let me live with them if the court would approve. I did not find anybody like that that I could do that with.

And I got arrested and went back home and left again when my father gave me the ultimatum that I could not live at home any more and I either had to go to a southern Baptist boarding school or I just could not live at home anymore. So I left again, spent some time living on the street for about a month, got really sick and went through tonsillitis and strep throat and went back to Runaway House and

social family

finally ended up on the GW psychiatric ward, where right after that, I got placed in Third House.

Senator BAYH. Let me ask you, just from your personal experience, did you feel that you just had to run away because of some spirit that moved you, or was it a matter of not being able to communicate with your parents and not feeling that they were concerned about your problems and not being able to just sit down and talk with your mother and father?

Miss LOVELACE. At first I felt like it was an impulse and I was not aware, you know, of what my problems were. Then after I had gone to Runaway House and started getting into what I was feeling, which I had not been aware of at all, it was more a feeling that home was really intolerable. I would have talked to my father—

Senator BAYH. You would not?

Miss LOVELACE. I would. I did talk to him a lot. My mother was really difficult, because most of the problems were with her. She really resented, I really felt like she resented my being around. Sometimes when I left, she would say, "Go ahead and go to California and run away," because she said she had left home when she was 10 years old and I could do it. Just really, she would make me feel like I was the worse person in the world.

Senator BAYH. Your mother actually urged you to run away from home?

Miss LOVELACE. When I called them up, I said I was not going to actually leave town, I was going to stay in the Washington area and try to work things out. She suggested that I go away. And there were just a lot of complications around that. So that is where most of my difficulty was, because my father could not really do anything about it, you know. He felt strongly tied to my mother. But most of it was just the way she made me feel and it was really hard to live with.

Senator BAYH. Mouse, what was your experience? What caused you to run away? What happened when you did? What do you feel about it now as you look back on it?

Mr. NORRIS. Well, first when I ran away, it was in August of 1968. I was in the Boy Scouts, and I had just gotten home. I owed my father \$20 because he paid for me to go to camp. I had been doing some work and I did not have the money right offhand and he wanted me to get his money. I did not, so he came at me with an electric cord and I took off out of the house.

Senator BAYH. He came at you with an electric cord?

Mr. NORRIS. Right, like an ironing cord.

So I stayed at my godmother's house for a night and a day and then I went home. Things became steadily worse.

It was, like my father is a disabled veteran and he is receiving a pension. My mother was a registered nurse and she got sick and died in 1968 and the responsibility of the family was left with me.

Senator BAYH. How old were you at that time, Mouse?

Mr. NORRIS. About 15. My older brother had left home when he was 13. He is now in Lorton Reformatory. I left home. Nothing was ever worked out after I came back home from my godmother's house. So I went on through that year and I was, I just stayed terrified of my father most of the time. So in May of 1970, I decided I could not take his harassment anymore, because I had been working with the

Black Panther Party and we had differences in that. We could not communicate at all on any level. I decided I just could not take it anymore.

Senator BAYH. You mean you could not communicate with your father?

Mr. NORRIS. I could not communicate with him at all.

So I went to school one day and decided that I just would not go back. So I went down to the bus station, bought a ticket to New Haven, and went to New Haven. I stayed at the Panthers—my intentions were going to New Haven, joining the Panthers there, and forgetting about the whole thing. But they were involved in the Bobby Seale trial and they told me that they could not bother with me as a runaway, because they were already hot and they were being raided pretty regularly. So they put me on the bus and sent me back to Washington.

I went to the Panther center here and they tried counseling with me, but the counseling was kind of go home, you know, you can help us more if you go home.

So I decided I would not go home and I went down to Dupont Circle and I met some people there. They said, yes, you can crash with us, and we went to this vacant apartment and I stayed there a night. I woke up the next morning and there were some newspapers on the floor, so I looked at them and there was an old Quicksilver Times there. And I opened the Quicksilver and there was Runaway House. So I called and they said yes, come over.

So I went over and I was there about 2 weeks. Nothing really got worked out. I was arrested going back to Runaway House one night and I was taken down to the station and booked. My father came and picked me up and took me home and we got into a big fight. I stayed home for a week and he said, "Now, if you want to leave, leave, the door—once you go out the door, the door is going to be locked forever." So I left and I got on the bus and went to New York.

I cruised around for a summer and I went back to Runaway House and stayed for awhile, with no contact with my father for about 6 months.

Then I finally called him because I had to get back into school and I wanted to finish school.

I finally contacted him and he got me back in school and in January of last year. I was placed in Third House by the courts.

Senator BAYH. You were placed where?

Mr. NORRIS. In Third House. It is one of the group foster homes.

Senator BAYH. Do you now communicate with your father?

Mr. NORRIS. Very, very rarely.

Senator BAYH. Your problem started when—you say your father is a disabled war veteran, your mother died, and you had the full responsibility of the family—you were aged what—14, 15?

Mr. NORRIS. Well, that is when everything came to a head. The problem started—I guess it started when I was born, because constantly it was drilled into my head that I would never be anything.

Senator BAYH. Your older brother, you say, is in Lorton Reformatory?

Mr. NORRIS. Right.

Senator BAYH. Did either one of you have any experience, from the time you ran away, with drugs?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Miss LOVELACE. Yes.

Senator BAYH. What kind of drugs?

Mr. NORRIS. I got really heavily involved with all types of hallucinogens, and to some extent, I got involved with heroin and cocaine.

Senator BAYH. How about you, Becky?

Miss LOVELACE. Most of my involvement with drugs was not specifically when I was a runaway.

Senator BAYH. How did you get started?

Miss LOVELACE. Mostly I got started with drugs when I would steal my mother's. She had a lot of "down" drugs.

Senator BAYH. What kind of drugs did she have?

Miss LOVELACE. She had Seconal and Librium and a lot of tranquilizers and some sleeping pills.

Senator BAYH. You got started on drugs by taking your mother's sleeping pills out of her medicine cabinet, is that it?

Miss LOVELACE. No, they had them locked in her room. Sometimes I would sneak in and get them. I did not get into those too heavily.

But the summer I stayed home, toward the end of the summer, I had gotten involved in hallucinogens, mescaline, and acid. I was doing those just on a regular basis.

Senator BAYH. Were you dropping them or shooting them?

Miss LOVELACE. I was dropping them. I never shot up.

After a while, I got out of doing that with some help from my friends.

I had gotten into speed, too, during that summer, and was doing that pretty regularly. I almost got too far into it, but I stopped before I did.

Senator BAYH. Mr. Treanor, let me ask you, if I might, some questions, so you can expand your testimony about your experience at Runaway House.

Describe the average runaway. I know it is difficult to say, with all the differences that young people have. But what is the average runaway like? What is the most common problem? Looking at the young people you have dealt with, why does a young person run away.

Mr. TREANOR. Let me start with two of the myths. First of all, this is not a middle class problem. We will be very emphatic about that. These young people are running away from home because of family problems and it has been my observation that there are as many runaways from working class and lower class families as there are from middle class families, in terms of percentage of the population, whatever that may be. It is pretty much the same.

Senator BAYH. Does the problem affect all economic classes, all races, and all religions?

Mr. TREANOR. Yes; so any preconceptions about it being a sort of phenomena of people of particular value systems, I do not think it is true.

The other thing is that runaways are not running to something that they expect to find. I mean some of them do have fantasies that it sounds like such a good idea to hang on the streets of Georgetown, Greenwich Village, or whatever part of the country they are from. But young people who are running to something are a very, very small minority. It is almost exclusively a problem of running away

from the family. So those would then be two characteristics. I think I have found that it is pretty common for a runaway to come from some kind of a fractured family.

Let me describe the kind of kid who is least likely to run away. That is a young person who has at least one other sibling, who is living with both of his natural parents, who has not moved during the period that he has been in school—his family has not changed houses, or at least neighborhoods—and whose family has some kind of value system that they are trying to transmit on to the child and they are consistent about it. The reason that I say those are the kind of young people who do not run away is because I do not recall ever seeing a runaway that was raised that way.

Senator BAYH. So it is fair to say that if you have a family that is relatively stable, where you have both parents with certain values that are being transmitted from parents to children—

Mr. TREANOR. Consistently.

Senator BAYH (continuing). Consistently, and there is some kind of family stability, then the runaway crisis is unlikely to occur. You do not see runaways from families like that?

Mr. TREANOR. That is true, Senator, but it is not a very important point, because the reality of American family life is that there are fewer and fewer families like that. You can scratch around the metropolitan area and talk to 100 families before you find one that fits that description. Most people are mobile, there are divorces, deaths in the family, there are a lot of problems. The thing that I think we have to come to grips with is that more and more young people are going to be raised by single parents, their families are going to be moving a lot, and we are going to see a continued increase in the number of young people that are running away from home.

Senator BAYH. What are some of the dangers that you have witnessed, some of the problems that have confronted young people who have left homes and been on the streets prior to coming to Runaway House?

Mr. TREANOR. Prior to coming to Runaway House?

Senator BAYH. And even while they are there.

Mr. TREANOR. While they are there, of course.

I do not know, Senator, how—I guess I do not feel able to be very sensationalistic about it, but I would say there is hardly a thing that a person in this room could think of that could happen to a young person that does not happen regularly, from homosexual involvement to involvement with every conceivable drug, including heroin, to being taken off by someone to cross the country, to being injured.

Just last week, there was a young person who was staying at Runaway House who was stabbed. There is a lot of danger in the streets. The way the Government deals with the problem, as I said in my statement, places the runaway outside of the law, and so who will consort with him? Well, other folks who are outside the law for the most part. About the only people he can hang with are people with poor intentions and other runaways.

Senator BAYH. That is a good point. If we talk about a boy or girl like Becky or Mouse who leaves home at a young age, runs away because of problems with the home or emotional problems, and lives on the street, is it then safe to say that he is likely to have more contact with those outside the law, and is his chance of pursuing a life of

crime increased? In other words, when we deal with the problem of the runaway, are we dealing with the problem of more serious juvenile delinquency by preventing it before it happens?

Mr. TREANOR. I would say given the number of people involved in corrections work and law enforcement; there is a definite need for a supply, and I would say the way the laws are set up right now, they do an excellent job of creating the demand. These young people pretty much get drawn into the system because that is all the system offers them, into the criminal justice system. They cannot get any help until they have committed some real or imaginary violation. The critical problem for young people is that if they want to deal with their difficulties, if they want to find a living situation that will help them meet their needs, there is nothing for them, and what the Government provides for them is incarceration and institutionalization.

If you are white (pointing to Becky), you go to a mental hospital, if you are black (pointing to Mouse), you go to a reform school. But that seems to be the thrust of the whole system. It creates such a— young people pretty much can't get help until they commit some kind of a crime.

Senator BAYH. In other words, the effort is directed more at incarceration and detention after the fact instead of prevention.

Mr. TREANOR. Absolutely. And the system is set up, has been set up, I believe, primarily to serve the need of the professionals involved and not the needs of the young people. A lot of Becky's difficulties stem from the fact that even after it was identified that she had such a serious family problem, nothing could be done about it because she had not stolen a car or robbed a bank or been picked up for prostitution. No one would deal with her. She had to do something more. Finally, her father agreed to pay some of the costs of her living at a group foster home.

In Mouse's case, he had not, in effect, signed up for the services that society offers by stealing a car or sticking somebody up on the street. So what we had to do with him in order to get services for Mouse was to find a friendly police officer, and there is such a thing, find a friendly intake worker, and there are quite a few of those, find a friendly judge, and they exist also. What we did is we drew up papers on Mouse as being beyond control. We did this ourselves. We gave them to the cop, who took them to Mouse's father, who signed them—you know, anything to screw Mouse was all right with his father. His father signed them, we took them down to the intake worker. The intake worker took it to the judge. The judge found Mouse to be incorrigible or whatever their label is. Then we had it worked out with the welfare department and he was placed in a group foster home. But we had to go through all of that in order to get Mouse some services.

We told him jokingly, "Just go out and steal a car. Mouse, so we can deal with the problem." But that is the only way we could deal with it.

Senator BAYH. That is a sad story in a society that prides itself on being compassionate. If you steal a car or stick up a corner grocery store, there are all kinds of facilities and services to help or treat you. But if you have a problem that has no criminal dimensions, we do not have the facilities necessary to treat the problem.

That, of course, is the purpose of our bill, to try to provide those services and make them available before a child becomes stigmatized and perhaps irreversibly channeled into a life of crime.

Let me ask you a question; you may have already answered it. Right now, what services are available to you at Runaway House from a governmental agency, either the District government or the Federal Government?

Mr. TREANOR. Well, Senator, that gets kind of mixed reviews. I have put a lot of energy into trying to get government support for our programs. We have financed Runaway House almost exclusively without government money. We have gotten a little bit from the National Institute of Mental Health to find out how the program works, but most of our programs have been run with money from foundations and church and community organizations. I have found that the Washington area presents some kind of unique political problems.

The local government, in terms of young people, is concerned almost exclusively with black kids and I think probably rightfully so. Most of the runaways, of course, are from the suburbs. The suburbs would not spend a dime in the District of Columbia if that was the last thing they did. I have been trying through the Council of Governments and what not, and I have talked to a whole lot of people and made no progress whatsoever, in trying to get some kind of regional planning to deal with your problems. Because, of course, kids ignore these political boundaries that we all think are so important.

The welfare department has given us a contract, the District Welfare Department, plus juvenile services in Maryland and Virginia for young people to be placed in their group foster homes.

Probably the main thing that a worker at a runaway house does, in terms of dealing with the outside world, is constantly being in contact with psychiatrists, psychologists, probation officers, judges, intake workers, welfare workers, people at the detention centers, people in reform schools, trying to work out a better alternative. They become, in effect, the youth advocates in trying to find something better for the young people. But it is pretty discouraging, because in most cases there is just nothing better to be found.

I think that there is beginning to be some recognition by both the District government—although they have not done anything in the past to help us—that is, the administration of the District government. The City Council has been helpful. The Federal Government, I think, is beginning slowly to recognize this as a serious problem. I think that they are hopelessly ensnared in their own administrative procedures and are pretty much incapable of action at this point.

I was invited by the Youth Development Delinquency Prevention Administration to go to a conference a couple of months ago, where I had a chance to talk with people about the problems of runaways, but for the most part, what we hear from the Government is from the younger workers who are sensitive to the problems of people, and, of course, they are the ones without the power—a lot of awareness, a lot of sensitivity, with the desire to do something, but somehow, as it bubbles up through all that mess, nothing ever comes out.

Senator BAYH. Let me ask you one last question. It goes to the \$50,000 limitation you thought should be placed on any one grant to an organization. Would it be your experience that the less institutionalized a service agency or a halfway house or a runaway house or a foster house can become, the more personal attention can be given

to the child and thus the greater chance for service? Is that the reason you put that amount in?

Mr. TREANOR. There are two reasons for that. The first one is that, as you say, a program of this kind, where you just have a young person with you to live with you for a few days, it is pretty difficult to do that effectively with over, say, 10 people in a house. One of our problems with Runaway House is like now, last night we had 19 runaways staying there. We are kind of overwhelmed. We probably need to open another house in the neighborhood so we can cut down on the number.

But there is another problem also. The reason why youth projects like the one I represent and some other people who are going to be testifying today have such a hard time getting money is because it is all geared to go right through the same old professional channels, through the State planning agencies, and, you know, a percentage is always getting raked off every step of the way. And the kind of programs they come up with insure plenty of jobs at good salaries for more professionals. It is professionals taking care of professionals. By the time a program emerges through the professional channels, it is at an inflated cost, it is of questionable value, and it does not really deal with the problem. ↙

You can set up a program to deal with runaways, and you can get one kind of runaway easily, the kid who has already decided he wants to go home, the real good kid. But the real tough runaways, the really confused people, you will miss unless you have a fairly flexible, open kind of program. So projects like Runaway House or Huckleberry's in San Francisco or the one in San Diego have a tough time competing with people who sit in a room and write proposals all day. So we have a very difficult time of it.

Now, if we are going to have a difficult time, we are in the big cities, we have a large population to draw on for staff, what is going to happen in Memphis? What is going to happen in Iowa City and in Terre Haute? How are those people going to compete for this money? They are not going to be able to. What is going to happen is the establishments are going to gobble it all up—that is, if this bill is passed, if this money is available, if the administrators do not take half of it as they usually do.

Senator BAYH. Of course, that bill emphasizes funding projects directly, as you know.

Mr. TREANOR. Yes; but I am sure that—well, I hope that happens. But I do think that the projects that get established in middle-sized cities, and they are going to be needed in every middle-sized city in this country—they need it now, but they are probably going to be there in a couple of years whether this Congress decides on this or not—they are going to have a tough time getting this money. That is why I feel a \$50,000 limitation is important. No matter how good a proposal I write, how persuasive I am, or how good my projects are, my project is going to get no more than its fair share and those other projects that are just perfecting their proposal-writing skills are going to have a greater opportunity.

The way it is set up now with grantsmanship in the Government, is that success begets success, and it is going to be very hard to get new programs funded, youth programs in particular.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, Mr. Treanor, Mouse, and Becky. We appreciate very much your letting us have your personal experience. Hopefully, we can profit from it and hopefully others may profit from it as well.

Mr. TREANOR. Thank you.

(Mr. Treanor's prepared statement is as follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WILLIAM TREANOR, DIRECTOR, SPECIAL APPROACHES
IN JUVENILE ASSISTANCE, INC.

I am the Director of Special Approaches in Juvenile Assistance, Inc., a non-profit corporation here in the District of Columbia that administers a number of youth projects. One of these, Runaway House, has been exclusively dedicated to working with runaways for the past three and a half years.

Since June of 1968 almost 3,000 runaways aged between 10 and 17 have come to Runaway House for shelter and assistance. Often we have over 20 young people a night. They come from every class, rare religion and geographic area. Many are from families with a single parent or a step-parent; others come from military families; some have already seen the insides of our institutions for children. They are the unwanted, the over-protected, the ignored, the pampered.

They are, as they wander the streets of our cities, the living witnesses of every conceivable problem or abuse that a family with children can endure. Whether or not the 535 adult representatives in Congress consider their reasons for running sufficient is irrelevant to their growing legions. They are a problem of growing magnitude and I hope this Congress will recognize that fact.

What happens to a younger person once he or she has run? Any attempt to generalize would be deficient. The young people are here to speak for themselves. But one thing is certain—the life of a runaway is fraught with danger. They are forced to live like escaped convicts.

If life on the street is unpleasant the lot of the runaways isn't much better after they are arrested or turn themselves in. Ex-runaways are a major part of the youth population in mental hospitals, reform schools and detention centers. These young people, often whose only desire is to get away from an intolerable family life, are kept for months . . . even years.

Runaway House is a three-story house in the Dupont Circle area of Washington where a runaway can obtain shelter and counseling. When fully staffed there are five full-time, residential counselors to meet the needs of the youth. They work for subsistence pay.

When a runaway knocks on the door of Runaway House, the staff and the runaway are making a contract.

The runaway contract is this: I will trust you as much as I am able, I will observe the house rules and if I cannot do so I will leave. I will think about why I ran away and what I can realistically do now.

The Runaway House contract is this: We will trust you as much as we are able; we will not exploit you in any way; we will not contact your parents, the police or anyone else without your knowledge and consent; you can stay at Runaway House as long as you observe the rules and are actively working on your problems.

Runaway House has developed a style and philosophy that we feel is helpful and effective for the young runaway, his family and our own needs. The house tries to offer much more than shelter and counseling.

We provide a warm, trusting environment where young people can decide for themselves what to do about their family situations. For many, it's the first time in their lives that they have been able to make an important decision themselves. The runaway has the opportunity to talk over family problems with the counselors and the other runaways. We try to help the young person realize how realistic his or her plans are.

A group takes place every day. During these groups runaways and the staff explore feelings and work together identifying and solving problems. With the help and support of other young people, many runaways are able to more freely understand why they have problems at home and what they can do about them.

Runaway House is just one of dozens of projects across the country that have emerged during the past four years to help young people.

The efforts of these projects has been substantial. Most are underfunded and because of this have failed or have been forced to curtail their services. Many

projects, including the house I work with, are understaffed. Every runaway project has to overcome community and police suspicion and hostility. Some projects have succumbed to the temptations of large government grants and indirect control because it was the only way to ensure financial support.

On the other hand, several projects have become effective youth advocates. They have been able to challenge the assumptions that lead to young people being institutionalized. Some have grown to meet other youth needs. SAJA is one example. During the past three years we have enlarged our activities to include two group foster homes, a Job Co-Operative, an alternative high school and several other programs designed to help younger people.

I have carefully read the Runaway Youth Act Bill. I have discussed it with the people I work with. We feel that it is an excellent bill. We are very leary of government funding because of the fear of government control with its attendant problems.

This bill is remarkable because it sets up procedures that will hopefully channel funds to Runaway House projects themselves and not to administrators. The responsibility and authority for developing the approach to be used by each project is placed where it belongs—with the project staff.

I think that this is a bill that Runway House projects, the police and the community can live with and support. However, there is always the danger that the flexible guidelines in this bill will be taken advantage of by some Federal administrator more interested in controlling than in helping young people. In addition I feel that 50,000 dollars should be the maximum grant for any project.

Finally, I would like to speak on my own involvement with this problem. I was a runaway 12 years ago. I was sixteen, hated school and had family problems. I left my home in New York and travelled by train to Los Angeles. After three weeks in California I was picked up by the police for hitchhiking.

During that time there was no place I trusted. I needed advice but was afraid to ask for it, for fear of arrest. After my return home I was in effect institutionalized in the Army for 3 years.

This bill holds great promise for helping young people get the help they need and deserve. I think that the Runaway Youth Act can play an important part in enabling young people to organize to help themselves.

Senator BAYH. Our next witness or witnesses are James Edwards, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation (Welfare), Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, accompanied by Philip J. Rutledge, Deputy Administrator, Social and Rehabilitation Service; and Robert Foster, Deputy Commissioner, Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, Social and Rehabilitation Service, down at the Department of HEW.

Gentlemen, we appreciate your taking the time to let us have the thoughts of the Federal agency that has the primary responsibility for dealing with youth problems, juvenile problems, runaway problems. How do you desire to present your testimony?

STATEMENT OF PHILIP J. RUTLEDGE, DEPUTY ADMINISTRATOR, SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE; ACCOMPANIED BY JAMES EDWARDS, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR LEGISLATION (WELFARE), DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE; ROBERT FOSTER, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ADMINISTRATION, SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Mr. RUTLEDGE. Mr. Chairman, I am Philip Rutledge, Deputy Administrator, Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health,

Education, and Welfare. I am pleased to be here today to express the concern of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare with the problems facing youth, including runaway youth, and to participate in your effort to address these issues.

Although yet to be measured accurately, the problem of runaway youths, and the problems faced by youths when they become runaways, is real, and as our very dramatic testimony this morning indicated, it is growing. Testimony heard by this committee, recent coverage in the press, statistics collected by the Department and, indeed, my own personal experience as the Director of the Department of Human Resources in the District of Columbia, attest to the growth and the currency of the problem. The question then, is not of the seriousness of the issue, nor of the desirability of the Department's involvement, but rather, of the most effective, comprehensive approach to be taken to deal with the problems facing youth in the United States in the coming decade.

The Department's position is that services to youth should be provided on an integrated, comprehensive basis and provided in a manner that recognizes the interrelatedness of the many manifestations of youth alienation from modern American society. I think as the chairman indicated in his opening statement, the experts agree that the runaways are not involved in a healthy search for a new mature self-identity, as the chairman said; instead, they are escaping from the problems of the realities at home, at school, and within themselves.

It is these kinds of problems that we really must approach. So what is called for is not legislation establishing new categorical programs dealing with one aspect of this larger problem. Instead, efforts are needed at the State, Federal, and local level to integrate those services that are already available, and to fill gaps in the provision of services in each community, according to the needs of that community.

New legislative authority is not necessary for the Department to support the development or continuation of homes to shelter runaway youths; authority already exists under the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968, as amended (Public Law 90-445) as well as under title IV of the Social Security Act. The Youth Development, Delinquency Prevention Administration, for example, is presently funding several of these homes.

Senator BAYH. How many, Mr. Rutledge?

Mr. RUTLEDGE. There are only four.

Senator BAYH. In other words, you tell us that we need no new legislative authority to deal with the problem. That an act which was created in 1968 is sufficient to deal with the problem. Yet between 1968 and 1972, you have funded four projects and you tell us that you do not need any new authority. Now, you are either wrong or somebody down there is laying down on the job.

Mr. RUTLEDGE. The question is not one of authority. The question is one to design a program and appropriate funding to do that particular thing.

Senator BAYH. Why is it that in 4 years, if you do not have a problem of legislation or somebody laying down on the job, in 4 years, you can only come up with four programs?

Mr. RUTLEDGE. These particular ones were only funded recently. I think, Mr. Chairman, the magnitude of this problem simply has not been adequately recognized and has not been adequately addressed. I think that now that it is before us, we must look at the best way to address it. My major point this morning is that we need to provide the kind of program that does not necessarily subsidize alternatives to responsible parenthood or family stability. We must design programs and develop the services of programs that deal with the complex of problems that these youngsters face.

I do not mean to suggest by any manner that we have adequately met this particular problem.

Senator BAYH. Sometimes, I feel, and I do not want to criticize any of you gentlemen unless the shoe fits. If the shoe fits, then perhaps you should wear it. But sometimes, I feel that administrators believe they have a vested interest to rationalize everything that is going on rather than admit that there are shortcomings and maybe we need a new and innovative approach. Now, I do not see any way in which our Runaway Youth Act is designed to try to subsidize and perpetuate and further lack of responsible parenthood. Rather, it recognizes the existence today of many irresponsible parents. We just talked to two children today whose parents were not responsible. What are you going to do with parents like that or children that live in homes like that unless you give them an alternative to living in a home with an irresponsible parent?

Mr. RUTLEDGE. The purpose of the statement, Mr. Chairman, is not to say that there is no problem or to rationalize previous failures to deal with it adequately. What we are proposing today is that this bill, which is categorical in nature, does not deal with the total problem of youth and the families, is an undesirable way to deal with it, but what we do need to do more of, which we have not done adequately, either at the State or local level, is to develop a comprehensive program that deals with families and children, that keeps the families together, that avoids the evils of institutionalization that have been brought out today and in other settings. It is in that direction that we would like to see the Congress as well as the department move—not to say that there is no problem and to forget about it.

Senator BAYH. Mr. Rutledge, let me suggest that I know you have been battling some of these problems in a district capacity and I hope that the sensitivity that you showed there in dealing with this problem is not lost in an effort to try to rationalize some of the things which may have happened over which you had no control now that you are in a new capacity. I do not intend and neither do the other sponsors of this Runaway Youth Act intend to suggest that this is a panacea or that it is going to solve the whole problem. I have been working, as I know you and others have, to deal with the related problems of housing and counseling and so on. I must say there is some inconsistency in your testimony when you talk about the need for an integrated comprehensive approach, at the same time you suggest that we do not want to institutionalize it. Yet it seems to me the problem we have today is that every program we have designed to deal with the problems of juveniles, delinquents, whatever it may be, is institutionalized to the extent that you do not deal with the problem of each child.

Mr. RUTLEDGE. Mr. Chairman, institutionalization is appropriate under some circumstances, but that is not the only way. You mention some problems related to this that we have been dealing with locally and those problems exist nationally. There needs to be a variety of resources in the community, supported by local groups, supported by government groups, but at the same time related to one another so that all of the services available in that community can be brought to bear to assist that youngster.

Now, this bill—we support the objectives that the bill attempts to reach, but we think by utilizing the authorities available, particularly those authorities that provide comprehensive services under the social security amendments, and particularly some of the thrust that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare proposes to present later to provide incentives to State and local governments to integrate their services and to provide them on a more comprehensive basis, will be a better approach to resolving this problem than the single categorical approach here.

Senator BAYH. Well, you see, I do not know that those of us who deal with the administration of a program are any better qualified to provide oversight than some of you people who live with it. But the old adage of not being able to see the forest for the trees might be at least worth considering here.

It seems to me that we are in a position where there is great competition, whether it is the LEAA or the Juvenile Delinquency Act that you are referring to, we have great competition for the funds that unfortunately have been sorely limited to deal with the problems of young people. The purpose of the Runaway Youth Act is to try to get some of those funds channeled into programs, into homes and houses, into centers that can treat with the problem of the runaway before he or she becomes a “traditional” juvenile delinquent. Most of the funds have been channeled to date into those programs of what do you do with the child, the problems of a child, after he or she has committed a crime; however, the purpose of the Runaway Youth Act is to deal with the problems of the child before he commits a crime. Now, does that not make sense?

Mr. RUTLEDGE. Yes, the objectives make sense and as you know, Mr. Chairman, from previous testimony before this committee by other representatives of the Social and Rehabilitation Service, the thrust of our program now is diversion from the criminal justice system, to deal with youngsters before they get in, to keep them out. We would like to see that thrust increased.

Senator BAYH. But you have to admit that you have not been—not you, but you have to admit that the system has not been very successful to date in doing that?

Mr. RUTLEDGE. Yes, I would agree with that.

Senator BAYH. Now, another question. Would it not be helpful to you—I have perhaps been a little quick to criticize here some of the things you have said. You have admitted that you agree with the objective of our act. Is that not accurate?

Mr. RUTLEDGE. Yes, I am only suggesting that there are better ways to deal with it that we would like to work with the committee on.

Senator BAYH. Yes, well, of course, we want to cooperate with you in any way possible. But would it not be helpful in accomplishing

this objective if we focused attention with a specific act such as this on the problem of prevention? Right now, you are facing tremendous competition with those who want to rehabilitate during incarceration, with those who want to deal with prevention after arrest. Would it not be helpful in achieving the objective that you feel is a worthy objective if we had one single vehicle with which we could arouse public opinion and public support?

Here we are providing \$10 million to deal with the problem of prevention, to deal with the problems of crime that can be and are created by runaway youth, and that is as much money as has been appropriated for the whole juvenile delinquency program in HEW last year. Now, is that not going to be helpful to you?

Mr. RUTLEDGE. Well, I think, Mr. Chairman, in terms of dramatizing the problem, which has not been as fully recognized by either governmental or even private agencies as it should have—a part of that purpose of dramatizing the problem and exciting some interest and concern about it will be, I think, a very useful outcome of these hearings.

Our next approach will be to work with the committee to design those approaches and that legislation which we feel will be most effective.

Now, as you know, the current authorization for the Juvenile Delinquency and Prevention Act expires in June and we will be coming before the committee with a new draft of legislation. It may very well be possible to amend this particular legislation to give a greater emphasis on runaway houses than has been shown before. But we would also hope at that time that whatever legislation is passed recognizes that this is only one categorical approach to a larger problem.

Senator BAYH. I would be the first to say that perhaps if we dealt more effectively with the problems before the child runs away, we would not have as many runaways, just as if you deal with the problems of the runaway, you are not going to have as many young people in reformatories, and if you deal with the problems of the reformatories, you are not going to have as many problems with hardened criminals in places like Attica and Michigan City and Leavenworth. But we have to start someplace.

You mentioned other authority that you now have. The social security amendments, for example. What has been done to deal with this problem under the authority that you have under the Social Security Act?

Mr. RUTLEDGE. Well, there have been a number of programs. It is funny that you mention that. The Youth Delinquency and Prevention Act has only been funded recently, some \$10 million. But \$50 million, I am informed, under the social security amendments have been expended on these same kinds of programs in a more comprehensive fashion.

Senator BAYH. Give us some specific examples.

Mr. RUTLEDGE. Well, there are some comprehensive programs in the State of Florida, for example, the exact details of which I would need to submit for the record on the funding. But it does not deal simply with one categorical aspect. It attempts to work at the problem of delinquency, providing other kinds of social services, prevention and things of that sort, to the youngsters. Even in the District, for exam-

ple, in some of our programs like Active Community Teams and others, there is funding through larger programs, which provide a funding for mental health assistance; if there are other social problems, difficulties that the kids have, they can have those services provided.

Of course, as we heard from the testimony this morning, frequently there are problems of drugs and other difficulties that if they are linked with the broader services within a city or State, and if there are appropriate reporting procedures and program planning procedures, you are able to deal with those more directly than if you just have the planning emphasis of small funding for counseling at a runaway house.

Now, I am merely suggesting, Mr. Chairman, that we need a variety of approaches, and they need to be linked and tied in which what the cities and States and other units are doing, and they should not be a categorical program standing by itself.

(Subsequent information supplied was marked, "Exhibit No. 3," and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 3

There are some comprehensive programs. In the State of Florida, for example, the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services negotiated a contract between the Division of Youth Services and the Division of Family Services (the State welfare agency) for children who meet the definition of "former and potential" welfare clients under Title IV-A of the Social Security Act. This allowed Florida to initiate a statewide program of intake and probation services to counties where no such services were previously available. The program is now in full gear and hopefully will divert many youngsters from the juvenile justice system and will reduce the percentage of institutionalization.

The Georgia agency has staff designated as delinquent children staff which provide services such as counseling return to school, family planning, summer employment, and recreational activities, drug addiction prevention and treatment, etc., as well as referral for any needed services provided other staff of the social service program.

The Cleveland County, Okla., Department of Welfare has staff assigned to the juvenile court and paid for out of Title IV funds to provide services to children and families referred to the court.

The Philadelphia County Department of Welfare has a contract under Title IV funds for \$2,124,798 to provide group services to hostile youth groups.

The State of Illinois Department of Public Aid has a contract with the Juvenile Protective Association for the training of departmental staff for providing a broad range of services to youth in difficulty, with a total of \$216,160 Title IV-A money for this contract. Illinois is now in the process of contracting with the Department of Corrections to provide service to delinquents and potential delinquents using Title IV-A money.

In Maine, for example, there is a small but very good program for school dropouts and potential dropouts.

Salt Lake County, Utah, provides shelter care for runaways funded under Title IV.

In the District, Title IV funds are being used to support a research project jointly with the Bar Association of the District of Columbia to examine the processing by juvenile courts, particularly that of the District of Columbia, of allegedly juvenile delinquents who are emotionally disturbed.

There are others, and we have great hope they will be successful.

Mr. EDWARDS. May I add to that, Mr. Chairman?

Senator BAYH. Please.

Mr. EDWARDS. I think Mr. Treanor's testimony pointed out very clearly the administrative tangles that someone on the local level faces in attempting to put together the funding necessary for this kind of project. The title IV-A expenditures for social services under the

Social Security Act will be well over a billion dollars, at a 75 to 25 percent matching rate.

Senator BAYH. Will you tell me how many of these over \$1 billion are really going to be directed at children that run away because they have problems with their parents and are out here on the street? How many are really going to provide services for those children that are going to be on the street?

Mr. EDWARDS. What I am saying now is that very few of those dollars are being spent for that, but the authority is there. What is needed is a way on the local level of assembling the money which is available through various already existing categorical grant programs. YDDPA is experimenting with Model Systems right now, sitting down with service agencies on the local level and pulling together all of the kinds of funding that are available. A State now can draw 75 to 25 Federal money to provide these very same kinds of services, but it is not happening to a great extent.

Senator BAYH. What is the primary criteria for section IV moneys before they can be expended? What category of the income scale do you have to fit into?

Mr. EDWARDS. You have to be a former or potential recipient of a categorical cash assistance program.

Senator BAYH. Which means what?

Mr. EDWARDS. For example, a recipient of aid to families with dependent children. That criteria is interpreted very broadly by the States. In fact, social services under 4(a) legally could be provided to a great majority of people, although this is not done at present.

Senator BAYH. Mr. Edwards, the law says, as I recall, that before you can qualify for these funds and the programing for these funds, this applies either to families or children that are on welfare or have a high potential of being on welfare. In the runaway problem, we have ample evidence to indicate that it is not just a welfare problem. We have middle-class kids, working-class kids, blue-collar kids, kids from blue-ribbon districts. Yet that program, the one you say is the ample one to deal with the problems of these kids out on the street, under the law, they do not qualify for it.

Mr. EDWARDS. I did not mean to imply that ample funds are being spent on the program right now, but with that authority and the current YDDPA authority, enough funds could be made available. The thrust of the administration's proposal, which we should have in 4 or 5 weeks to present before the committee, will be a way to help the local level to take advantage of funding which are already available for these people.

Mr. RUTLEDGE. Section 422(a) under title 4, part (B), Mr. Chairman, specifically provides that child welfare service funds may be used for "paying cost of and returning any runaway child who has not attained the age of 18 to his own community in another State and of maintaining such child until such return for a period not exceeding 15 days in cases in which such costs can't be met by the parents of such a child or by any person, agency, or institution legally responsible for the support of the child."

Senator BAYH. Let me ask you a question. That is all very well and good. I come from a little place over in western Indiana called Sherkyville. Maybe it has 80 or 100 people in it. Suppose a child that is reared

in that environment or that particular locale runs away to the big city of Indianapolis. What does that bill say about that child?

Mr. RUTLEDGE. There would be a problem with youngsters within States under this particular legislation.

Senator BAYH. That is right. In other words, not only a problem, but it specifically says, to qualify, you have to run from one State to another. If you run across the line from Sherkyville, Ind., over to Paris, Ill., you qualify. But if you run from Sherkyville, Ind., to Indianapolis, you do not qualify under that; is that right?

Mr. RUTLEDGE. Under that particular section. Although as indicated earlier, the information and the data is sketchy, and we need to do a better job of checking on the characteristics of the runaways. I think HEW's Center on Social Statistics can help on that.

But the information that is available suggests that most of the runaways tend to come to the larger cities, frequently in the metropolitan area, from across the lines, and I think still, though we have not done as much as we might do here in this area, there is more that can be done. I think we can also work with the committee on an amendment to our coming legislation that might fill in these gaps, on what we might call a comprehensive creative approach.

Senator BAYH. You see, one of the shortcomings of that particular provision is the interstate versus intrastate limitation. In our Runaway Youth Act, we provide, as you know, for significant amounts of funds to deal with the problems of research. We really do not know how many young people cross State lines, nor the answers to many other questions. You say it can be done under a specific authority, I say it has not been done. You have to admit that it has not been done.

Mr. RUTLEDGE. We will admit that it has not been done; it can. As we are well aware, the number of new social challenges that we have been confronted with and recognize newly in recent years have really, in many cases, outpaced our use of current authority and resources to deal with it. And the problem of the runaway youth is a problem that has really been increasing dramatically in the last 5 years or so—it is catching up with us and we have to address it. But we would want to address it in a manner that would serve the total social goals of improving our communities as well as improving and increasing the stability of families.

Senator BAYH. Another problem with the law that you just recited, in addition to the interstate-intrastate problem, is as it has been interpreted to me, and very largely, I think, as it has been administered, is it not fair to say that you are talking about returning children from the one State to which they have run to the homes from which they have run away?

Mr. RUTLEDGE. Yes.

Senator BAYH. One of the things we are trying to say in the Youth Runaway Act is that the child would not have run away from that home in the first place if there were not a problem in that home, that if you have a problem parent and a problem child, you probably will have a runaway child. If you go to one State and take a child and drag him back kicking and screaming to that home from which he ran away, that is not dealing with the problem, is it? We are trying in our bill not only to return the child to the home but to deal with that problem that caused the child to run away in the first place.

Mr. RUTLEDGE. There is no disagreement with that objective. In fact, the approach that we would propose would be to both deal with the problem of the runaway, but very importantly have sufficient services to deal with the total family that would improve and enhance the stability of that family and keep it together. We think that can best be done through a variety of program resources, rather than just a categorical approach that focuses here. Neither with the authorization nor that appropriation in this regard, without it being linked to the many millions and billions that are being spent in the other human resources area, will the job be effective.

Senator BAYH. Mr. Foster, you have sat there very attentively without saying anything. Would you care to comment or add any thoughts to what has been said by Mr. Rutledge and Mr. Edwards?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, I would like to agree that we have not done enough in the area of runaways. I feel satisfied that we have tested a number of approaches and we have learned a good deal from those approaches. I think the runaway homes themselves have learned the need for additional services such as outreach services, if they are located in a metropolitan area like Atlanta, to the hippy district. They have learned the need for supplemental educational services for some young people that have run near the runaway house, because the young people are not having their needs met in the public school system.

I think that we have to go beyond this in terms of other comprehensive services so that we build things like substitute adult models for young people who do not have them in their own home and we cannot strengthen the home situation enough for them to make it there.

I would think of things like moving the Big Brother movement into areas that do not now have it.

I would think one of the reasons that many young people are running is that they do not have socially satisfying roles—roles within the family, roles in a community, roles in the school. That is why I think we need to approach this in an integrated basis, involving a number of comprehensive services. But those services need to be changed somewhat so that there is far more youth participation in those services than there are now.

Senator BAYH. Now, as the deputy administrator, is there any reason why you could not administer the Runaway Youth Act effectively, and coordinate it with some of these other services, some of which are now existent, some of which you talked about a moment ago?

Mr. FOSTER. It could be done. I think there would be some minor problems, since the approach we are taking is to attempt to coordinate services at the State level. I think that a lot of 4(a) funds are not getting into the area of prevention and youth development because State plans are not calling for them. I think that we need to try to coordinate Federal funds going through State agencies and utilize other funds like YDDPA funds and other categorical grants to kind of glue the thing together into a package so that if a kid is not on welfare and does not qualify for the services, we can find some way to provide for those services.

Senator BAYH. I do not want to dwell on that, but there is a bit of inconsistency between what you said earlier and that last statement. One of the problems now is that the State agencies do not provide for these services that are needed. Yet you say we really ought to deal

with channeling the funds through the various State agencies that now do not recognize the necessity for these services.

Mr. FOSTER. I think we have to tie it into the youth services, whether they are a direct categorical grant program to the grantee, or whether they are services that are passing through State planning agencies. I think we should seek some kind of logic in the planning of services within States. For example, I think in the State of Indiana, it should not matter whether a kid lives in Indianapolis or Terre Haute. The same kinds of services should be available and many of these have to go through State plans.

Senator BAYH. Well, I am not wed to specific provisions of this particular bill, and I would be glad to have any suggestions which you who deal with this at the top echelon of the bureaucracy or the administration or whatever you want to call it—I hate to use the term “the administration” because all of a sudden, people get defensive. If you criticize what has been done, particularly in this year of our Lord 1972, it has political ramifications. In the meantime, while we are all concerned about political ramifications between now and November, there are a lot of kids out there on the street who are going to get into trouble, trouble from which they may not be able to extract themselves.

I think we have to look at this rather pragmatically. We have to have a lot of ideas and pragmatism. Sure we need a comprehensive program, but we want to have as little redtape as we possibly can. I have sat here for 10 years in the Senate of the United States and watched well-intentioned coalitions shoot down one comprehensive program after another. It is like pulling teeth to get funds spent in some of these areas where you can prevent crime. If you have a nickel’s worth of sense, you can see some of these problems early that create hardened criminals 10 years later. I see here a vehicle. I can convince my colleagues to try to deal with the problem of the home, the problem of the child, before the child commits the criminal act. I can sell some of these programs before I can sell the comprehensive programs. I say I am willing to move in this direction first and then deal with some of the other problems that we have in the programs that we have not been able to sell.

Mr. RUTLEDGE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to add one other thought to what Mr. Foster said about the necessity of sensitizing the States in their State planning process to some of these difficulties.

As the chairman knows, in the last many years, particularly during the last 10, there were a number of programs developed, authorized, and appropriated, that attempted to deal with social problems of this sort, that went directly to cities or other local groups, private as well as public. Very often, these program thrusts did bypass the States, largely on the grounds that for many reasons, they were not sensitive. And in bypassing these agencies, they also lost the opportunity to key in on a lot of resources, perhaps the bulk of the resources, particularly the bulk of the HEW resources that could be brought to bear.

Now, the challenge that faces us in HEW as public administrators is how to work with the Congress, both on legislation and with the States, so that the State planning process also begins to recognize these local and community area problems. We think that this can be done and we would like to work with the committee on legislation that might move with it.

Senator BAYH. I want to work with you on it. We want to have as comprehensive a program as we possibly can. I think the comprehensive approach is really what we are after, but sometimes, you know, you build the Empire State Building, a comprehensive structure, a block at a time. And with resources being as limited as they are, we have to see where we can spend those funds where we get the maximum return on investment in those areas where we can convince the Congress to spend funds.

I might say if I might just risk offering a word of advice to you people down there at HEW who are dealing with the problem of children and young people, I sympathize with the problem you have. Right now, there are a lot of people over at the Justice Department in LEAA ready to pull the rug out from under you altogether, to take away all the jurisdiction over juveniles and to put the treatment of juvenile problems completely under the law enforcement branch of this Government. If that happens, I think it would be a tragedy. Then you have the glamorous treatment of the large institutions, where the emphasis is on placing young people in institutionalized structures where you cannot deal with them as individuals. They become numbers and depersonalized beings. That does not deal with the problems.

Somewhere down there, you have to get a handle on the concern that people have for their safety and the concern they have for the increase in crime, or you are going to lose the ball.

The administration did not even come up here and testify for the extension of the Juvenile Delinquency Act until we brought it to their attention that it had almost expired. The law enforcement people down there are the ones who have the ball right now. That is all well and good. We need to enforce the law and we do have a problem of crime. And we are not going to get on top of that unless we have law enforcement programs. But, we have to give you the opportunity down at HEW to deal with juvenile problems before they become law enforcement problems.

I hope you will realize that this act is one of those vehicles that will let you deal with those problems in a way that you can convince the average voter and the average taxpayer that by dealing with youth problems, you are also dealing with crime problems. It may be a bit pragmatic, but boy, I have seen those pressures grow and I have seen them effectively channel most of those funds into law enforcement hardware instead of crime prevention.

I have been one of the main supporters of trying to keep you in HEW in business to help us. Help us. Do not come up here and oppose what we are doing when we are really trying to help you. We want constructive suggestions. Now, you are in a situation where you can give us those suggestions.

Well, you have been very kind and I hope we can continue to communicate directly and at the staff level so that we take the best of what you have to offer and the best of what we have to offer in solving the problem.

Mr. RUTLEDGE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. If I may, I would like to file the rest of my statement for the record.

Senator BAYH. Oh, please, I am sorry. We got carried away on this discussion and did interrupt your statement. Let me suggest that we file the entire statement as if it had been read and then at an appro-

priate place in the record, we can have this rather enthusiastic dialog.
(Mr. Rutledge's prepared statement is as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF PHILIP RUTLEDGE, DEPUTY ADMINISTRATOR, SOCIAL AND
REHABILITATION SERVICE

I am pleased to be here today to express the concern of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare with the problems facing youth, including runaway youth, and to participate in your effort to address these issues.

Although yet to be measured accurately, the problem of runaway youths, and the problems faced by youths when they become runaways, is real and growing. Testimony heard by this Committee, recent coverage in the press, statistics collected by the Department and, indeed, my own personal experience as the Director of the Department of Human Resources in the District of Columbia, attest to the growth and the currency of the problem. The question then, is not of the seriousness of the issue, nor of the desirability of the Department's involvement, but rather, of the most effective, comprehensive approach to be taken to deal with the problems facing youth in the United States in the coming decade.

The Department's position is that services to youth should be provided on an integrated comprehensive basis and provided in a manner that recognizes the interrelatedness of the many manifestations of youth alienation from modern American society. What is called for is not legislation establishing new categorical programs dealing with one aspect of this larger problem. Instead, efforts are needed at the State, Federal and local level to integrate those services that are already available, and to fill gaps in the provision of services in each community, according to the needs of that community.

New legislative authority is not necessary for the Department to support the development or continuation of homes to shelter runaway youths: authority already exists under the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968, as amended (P.L. 90-445) as well as under Title IV of the Social Security Act. The Youth Development, Delinquency Prevention Administration for example, is presently funding several of these homes. A grant made by YDDPA to Youth Advocates, Inc. in San Francisco has provided for the expansion of the services of Huckleberry House. From a runaway crisis center, the home has become a comprehensive center for youth, performing the services integration function I referred to above. Huckleberry House provides assistance to troubled teenagers by coordinating available youth services, creating necessary but lacking services and acting as an advocate for youth. Legal and medical services, psychiatric counseling and therapy, housing services, education and counseling are among the services provided either directly or through referral. In brief, since the Department does not need additional legal authority, we would prefer not to have funds channel categorically through new legislation, but to retain flexibility to meet the needs of youth as those needs are evidenced at the local level.

Before turning to the more specific aspects of S. 2829, I would like to note that the Department also has sufficient existing authority to accomplish the purpose of Title II, without additional legislation.

In addition to our general position that existing legislation already authorizes sufficient activity in this important area, we have a number of specific problems with S. 2829. Although there is some mention of other youths in the bill, the major emphasis is on homes for runaways. We believe that this should be broader, to allow the homes to be used to provide shelter for juvenile status offenders of all types. For example, youths detained for these offenses, who would spend the night in jail because their parents could not be found, would have an alternative in these centers, if they could be informally referred by the police for service, care and disposition. I understand that many runaway houses are now run so that this is possible.

Also serious from the Department's point of view is the mechanism for awarding grants: funds given from the Federal Government directly to the prime sponsor almost preclude effective joint planning with other related programs, or coordination on the local, State or regional level. To be effective all service providers should tie their services in with other services in the community for youth, such as hot lines, drug abuse centers, and the provision of special medical care.

In closing, I would like to thank the Committee for this opportunity to represent the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Department is currently developing a legislative proposal on which we will be working with

the Justice Department and the Interdepartmental council, which would provide for youth development demonstration activities. We share the concern the Committee has demonstrated today, and in recent hearings, with the problems of youth. We are also committed to attacking these problems and look forward to working with the Committee in pursuit of this common goal.

Senator BAYH. Our next witness today is Mr. Brian Slattery, of Huckleberry House for Runaways in San Francisco. I understand he is going to be accompanied by Mr. Rick Wagner, who has had some personal experience of the need for the servicing of Huckleberry House.

Thank you, gentlemen. Thank you for giving us the chance to consider your thoughts on runaway youth. Huckleberry House has had a good deal of experience in this. Why don't you tell us about it.

STATEMENT OF BRIAN SLATTERY, CODIRECTOR OF YOUTH ADVOCATES, INC.; ACCOMPANIED BY RICK WAGNER, CLIENT AT HUCKLEBERRY HOUSE, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Mr. SLATTERY. Thank you, very much, Mr. Chairman. I am Brian Slattery, I am one of the codirectors of Huckleberry House. This is Richard Wagner, one of the clients of Huckleberry House.

I am pleased to be here today to talk with you about some of the problems of the hundreds of thousands of teenagers who run away from home each year. I would like to share some of the experiences I have had and some of what I have learned from working with some of these 2,500 young people who have run away and come to San Francisco in the last 4 years.

Senator BAYH. 2,500 children over the last 4 years?

Mr. SLATTERY. Right, using the services of Huckleberry's.

Senator BAYH. This one center, Huckleberry's?

Mr. SLATTERY. Right. Actually, there are considerably more. There are 2,500 young people who used the services long enough to participate in a pretty intensive interview in which records of themselves and their situations were maintained. Probably double that have come to use the services of Huckleberry House.

The services started in 1967, which was a time when thousands of young people were coming to the Haight-Ashbury section of San Francisco because of the aura of glamour and excitement perpetrated by the media. Those thousands of young people who did show up in the city found their alternatives being either to live on the streets of Haight-Ashbury or to submit themselves to arrest and detention in Juvenile hall. At the same time, there was a group of young people in the city working with local churches and some of the private social agencies in order to create an alternative for some of these children coming to the Haight. Huckleberry House would be that alternative.

The same year, 1967, also saw the publication of the only significant federally sponsored research in the area of runaway youth. This was a study conducted by NIMH through the Society for Research in Child Development, in which Dr. Robert Shellow and his associates studied 731 youths who had run away from homes in suburban Prince Georges County, who left home in 1963-1964. I have submitted some quotations from Suburban Runaways of the 1960's for the record.

We found, then, two analytically separable groups of children who knowingly and purposefully removed themselves from the effective control and surveillance

of their parents. One was a relatively small group for whom running away was ultimately bound up with individual or family pathology. This group appeared almost exclusively among frequent runaways. The second and much larger group consisted mainly of those who ran away only once, but included many repeaters as well. This second group, though distinguishable from nonrunaways in many respects, resemble more closely the nonrunaways than they do the seriously disturbed minority.

In part, their difficulties lie outside themselves, in the different social systems in which they move, in their relations with their parents, with the school system, and with their peers. For them, running away may be a calculated maneuver in their dealings with parents, ultimately designed to change the relationship rather than to deny it. It may be a way to break free from a longstanding conflict with an unyielding and profitless educational system. Or it may be simply a desire to step back, take stock, and rest before engaging again with parents, teachers, or friends. Running away may be any one of a number of things ranging from a cry of despair to a victory yell. Most frequently, perhaps, it is something in the middle: a plain, forthright expression of dissatisfaction at home or school. *The problems facing most runaway adolescents are the same as those facing many other young people; in this sense, running away from home can be seen as one way of dealing with these problems.* Other adolescents deal with these problems differently but not necessarily in ways that are better either for themselves or for the community.

I would like just briefly at this point to indicate the significant findings published in 1967 by Dr. Shellow showed that—

the problems facing most runaway adolescents are the same as those facing many other young people. In this sense, running away from home can be seen as one way of dealing with these problems. Other adolescents deal with these problems differently, but not necessarily in ways that are better, either for themselves or for the community.

The specific recommendation of Dr. Shellow and his associates was to take recognition of the fact that the runaway crisis offers a unique opportunity to give assistance to families when they most want it and to wait at all may be to wait too long. Their recommendation was that communities set up around the clock, on the spot, emergency aid services for teenagers and their families.

In 1967, Huckleberry House became the first such center.

Senator BAYH. May I just interrupt here? You heard the dialog and the discussion we had earlier with the gentlemen from HEW?

Mr. SLATTERY. Yes.

Senator BAYH. It is awfully easy in the legislative process to create a hodge-podge of different programs going in different directions that make it impossible to administer. From what you have just said, I gather from the Shellow study, which is the only one that HEW has ever made—

Mr. SLATTERY. That was sponsored by NIMH. It is the only one to my knowledge.

Senator BAYH. It is the only one that the Federal Government has ever sponsored. Is it fair to interpret from your remarks that perhaps the problems of the runaway are so unique and the time factor, as pointed out by Dr. Shellow, is so important that there is a need for a specific program designed to deal with that specific problem as quickly and in as concentrated form as we can?

Mr. SLATTERY. Yes, we desperately need services for today's runaways. The time factor is important because the runaway crisis makes the entire family more open to seeking help if immediate services are offered.

Runaways are not unique compared to other adolescents except that they are subject to arrest if apprehended and are shut off from many

services and alternatives, because to seek help from juvenile courts and most traditional agencies results in incarceration and a forced return home or institutionalization. To be used by teenagers and to be effective with families in crisis, a runaway center must offer immediate, personalized services and be an alternative to the entire process of arrest, detention, and a coerced return to the situation the teenager left in the first place.

Since 1967, Huckleberry's has evolved into a youth service center which serves runaways and other teenagers as well, making these services available to local youth before they leave home. We have worked with over 2,500 teenagers whom we perceive as being normal adolescents, who are experiencing a lack of resources and alternatives with which to deal with parental, school, and personal problems. A statistical picture of young people that we have seen from the years 1967 through 1971 shows that 51 percent of our clients are from outside the bay area and 45 percent are local youth. Their average age is 15 years, they are almost evenly male and female. While most of those from out of the bay area are white, suburban youth from middle-class homes, those who live in the bay area more closely reflect the racial composition of the community in that 16 percent are black, 11 percent are from families with Chicano and Latino surnames, and 8 percent are oriental youth. This I think indicates that the problem is not one of simply white middle-class suburban youth.

Senator BAYH. But neither is it a problem of poor, underprivileged ghetto youth.

Mr. SLATTERY. Right, it is a problem of kids, all kinds of kids.

Senator BAYH. Across the spectrum.

Mr. SLATTERY. That is right.

Senator BAYH. It is fair to say, then, that from the figures on the kids you pointed out, both those from inside the San Francisco area and those outside the San Francisco area, since a larger percentage of our population is middle class or above, they represent a larger percentage of our problems, and that is where the stereotype of the middle-class runaway comes from?

Mr. SLATTERY. Right.

More than half of our clients have come from a home where the marriage of the natural parents is not intact. Almost half report themselves as having difficulties with school, and an equal number have been arrested or cited for juvenile offenses. However, only 18 percent are on probation at the time we see them, and few of these receive any supportive services from probation departments.

Over 40 percent of our clients have seen a school counselor or other mental health professional but almost none have had family counseling or therapy made available to them in their hometowns.

All teenagers who come to Huckleberry House are offered a confidential interview which records the teenager's perceptions of himself and his relationship to parents, siblings, school, and law enforcement, and his present and future goals. Staff then gives each teenager realistic feedback on himself, his situation, and his part in causing his present problem as well as alternative ways of dealing with his situation. Some of these alternatives include individual and family counseling services; legal counsel and representation before the juvenile court; medical and psychiatric services; assistance in finding foster homes

and other alternative living arrangements with the cooperation of parents or the juvenile court, short-term housing in Huckleberry House, which is a State licensed residential center in San Francisco. We provide these services in a way that the professional community respects and youth trust. We not only allow them to decide what they want to do, but we insist that they accept responsibility for their own decisions and behavior. We provide our clients with our support and feedback, and our knowledge of community resources. We create resources that are requested but don't exist, we remain knowledgeable of services offered youth by others, and we act as advocates for our clients within systems with which they are involved.

In the last 12-month period, 51 percent of those interviewed sought and obtained the necessary consent for housing services at Huckleberry House. Of the half who were not housed, about 35 percent had no need for this service as they were living at home or in a satisfactory alternative. This group of the 35 percent are the kids who are coming to seek services from Huckleberry House prior to the point of crisis that would lead other kids to run away from home. This is one preventive aspect of the program. The remaining 15 percent who want or need housing services are unable or unwilling to get consent from parents or guardians, and within our present limitations were not housed. With more flexibility allowed to runaway centers, many of these could be provided better alternatives than living on the run and on the street.

Senator BAYH. Let me clarify that, please. Just more than 50 percent are living or seek shelter or temporary residence at Huckleberry House with parental concern?

Mr. SLATTERY. That is correct.

Senator BAYH. Thirty-five percent seek services at Huckleberry House that permit them to live in the home and still utilize other services—counseling and so on?

Mr. SLATTERY. That is correct. More specifically, that is usually individual and family counseling services that that kind of kid requests and receives. Use of that service enables them to stay in their own house.

The remaining 15 percent are kids who want the housing services but can't get consent for them. Under our present limitations, we cannot house them and they return to the street.

With more flexibility allowed to runaway centers, many of these could be provided better alternatives than living on the run and on the street.

Senator BAYH. What type of flexibility would you suggest?

Mr. SLATTERY. I think if we were able to house teenagers for a limited period of time—3 days to a week—without the necessity of having parental consent before.

Senator BAYH. You have to have parental consent before a child can live at Huckleberry House?

Mr. SLATTERY. Right. Under California law as strictly interpreted by San Francisco police, we have no alternative but to get parental consent.

Senator BAYH. What occurs if a child comes to Huckleberry House asking to live there and not having parental consent?

Mr. SLATTERY. If the child chooses not to contact his parents, he is informed as accurately as we can of the consequences of living on the

street, some of the alternatives, survival techniques for living on the street, but he is certainly in no way obstructed from returning to the street. If he does contact his parents, then what happens depends upon the specific information that comes from the result of that contact with the family.

Senator BAYH. Let's take a child, without looking at the reasons for running away. The child runs away from home. He comes to you for help and asks to be able to live there. He does not have parental consent. Thus you turn him down. But the situation is so bad at home—perhaps it is a 13-year-old girl like the one from El Paso that we heard from last year who ran away from home because she was tired of being sexually molested by her stepfather. What is the position or the status of that 13-year-old girl after you have turned her down in the eyes of the law and she refuses to go home, under the California law?

Mr. SLATTERY. Well, she remains a runaway subject to arrest if she encounters a police officer who has the time and inclination to arrest her. In such a case, before a client like that would leave the house, there are services which we would discuss with them. The last client I worked with in a similar situation was informed of the availability of counselling, of the processes of the juvenile court, of filing a petition alleging sexual molestation on the part of the father, and then involving the court in investigating and substantiating the fact that such molestation did occur and the girl being placed back at Huckleberry House under court order, which of course, supersedes the consent of the parents, and staying at Huckleberry House until an appropriate foster home can be obtained. So there are other alternatives. Not all teenagers are willing to use them, because the only other legally sanctioned alternatives are through the juvenile justice system.

Rick would be another example of somebody who used us to use the juveniles justice system to get a foster home in order to get out of an intolerable situation.

Senator BAYH. Suppose a child, a little girl such as I described, instead of living in California and being aware of Huckleberry House, lives in Redding or Chico or the other end of the State—Riverside—so that they are not advised of the alternatives of going into a court and bringing charges against the parent and thus being committed by the court or permitted by the court to live in Huckleberry House. So the child is out on the street. Again for our record, tell us what the status of that child is in the eyes of the law in California?

Mr. SLATTERY. The child is a runaway and beyond parental control. He is subject to arrest and is ineligible for any services other than after the arrest and detention in Juvenile Hall. Time of detention for kids like that is frequently six months.

Senator BAYH. Six months?

Mr. SLATTERY. Yes; it pretty much comes down to kids like that staying on the street until it gets so intolerable that detention in Juvenile Hall seems a better alternative.

Senator BAYH. You say Juvenile Hall. You have a juvenile hall in San Francisco?

Mr. SLATTERY. Yes.

Senator BAYH. Do they have one in Chico?

Mr. SLATTERY. Each county in California has at least one.

Senator BAYH. Each county must have a juvenile hall?

Mr. SLATTERY. Right.

Senator BAYH. That is a positive step.

Mr. SLATTERY. I am not so sure. It is preferable to county jail.

Senator BAY. Yes, there are States where there is no juvenile hall, so the child is incarcerated with an adult or adults. I am sure you could give us some graphic examples of what that could lead to.

Please go ahead. I am sorry I interrupted.

Mr. SLATTERY. You have asked me to comment on our difficulties with local officials. The local probation and social service officials are fully cooperative with Huckleberry House. Local police officials conducted a campaign against Huckleberry's in 1967, resulting in the arrest of our directors and nine teenaged clients on charges which were promptly dropped at the preliminary hearing. Police problems were then resolved with the community support resulting from publicity coming from our bust and our reluctant agreement to become licensed by the State of California as a "child care institution". With the assistance of the legal services of the attorneys of the Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation, the Youth Law Center, and many dedicated volunteer attorneys, and the support of our mayor, churches, and community groups, we seem to have finally convinced police officials of our value to the youth and parents of the community.

Our present agreement with the police is that we will not hold or arrest anyone, but will obtain consent from parents or guardians before housing teenagers. It is absolutely essential that a runaway center be protected from any obligation to detain, arrest, or report on its clients if any young people are to be expected to trust the center enough to use it. If a runaway center is to be functional, it must truly be an alternative, it must be one that the kids will trust when they come in off the street.

The most significant thing I have learned from the police has come not from my meetings with the chiefs and captains, but from the conversations with beat patrolmen looking for runaways to arrest. Police patrolmen almost unanimously think that runaways should not be a police problem that having police arrest and detain them is a waste of police manpower and a process which doesn't help either the runaways, their families, or the police.

Senator BAYH. That hardly fits the stereotype of the hardened cop that is not sensitive to the problems of young people.

Mr. SLATTERY. That is true. I have not encountered many patrolmen who do fit that stereotype. I cannot say the same thing of some of the ranking officials.

Senator BAYH. I think that is an important thing to get on the record. In other words, here the policemen out on the beat who have the responsibility for picking up these youngsters who are law violators, subject to arrest, really do not like the position they are in and feel that the problem of the child should be treated in another way?

Mr. SLATTERY. That is right. My most recent encounter with local police looking for a runaway was quite interesting. It was a young girl who had run away from home because of an inability to get along with her stepfather, who was a deputy sheriff in a county adjoining ours. She had called her stepfather to allow her to stay at Huckleberry House, because she could not do it without his consent. He refused consent to house her, called the local police and ordered them to come

to Huckleberry's to pick her up. The police who came seemed to pretty much identify with the girl and her family problems, became involved in a discussion with her of some of the difficulties her father as a law enforcement officer might be encountering that would make it more difficult for him to provide properly for the family needs. Their conversation with her resulted in the police officers themselves telephoning the deputy sheriff on our telephone and advising him that they thought she would be much better off staying at Huckleberry House than in a juvenile detention home and he consented to her staying at our place, feeling that it was preferable to the detention home. Police patrolmen are people, too.

Any viable community project needs and will have the support of the community it serves. We have actively sought to make ourselves and our program known in the streets, shops, churches, schools, and agencies in our community.

We offer specific programs for the community such as on-the-job training for volunteers with college and university credit, training of ministers and others working with youth, drug information and education services, and consulting with other youth programs being started by community groups throughout the bay area.

The services we offered voluntarily to young people last year again confirm my belief in the wisdom and necessity of providing alternative services and resources for youth to use to meet their needs. Last year, 75 percent of the teenagers we housed went directly home, to relatives or placements directly from Huckleberry's after using the housing, counseling, medical and legal services. The remaining 25 percent returned to the community—some decided not to use our services, some decided to continue traveling, others became self-supporting.

One of the most important things I have learned from my 4 years of involvement at Huckleberry House is that the decisionmaking of young people can be trusted, and when their decisionmaking power is trusted, young people usually involve their energies in constructive and responsible ways, rather than in undermining the system which suppresses their decisionmaking, whether that system be family, school, or government. This leads to some of my criticisms of the Runaway Youth Act you are considering.

I and my coworkers and clients support the act—S. 2829—as a realistic way of dealing with the problems faced by over one million runaway youth each year. There are, however, three specific recommendations that we have to offer for your consideration.

Senator BAYH. We would like to have them.

Mr. SLATTERY. The first is that in section 102, parts (b) (3) and (b) (4) be amended to require only that the centers shall develop an adequate plan to contact parents and to insure that runaway centers are protected from reporting on or arresting young people who use the services so that they can be utilized by the thousands of young people looking for a center to trust. Quite frankly, I do not think that we or anyone else can insure the safe return of anybody home without detaining and actually accompanying them to their home out of State. I feel that it is just an unrealistic expectation to put on a runaway house. And I would fear interpretation of that by the various bureaucrats and local authorities that might be involved in administering the funds and the act.

More importantly, I think that we need to insure that runaway centers are protected from reporting on or arresting young people who use the services. I think the act needs to specifically give that protection.

Senator BAYH. This was the matter of trust that you mentioned a moment ago.

Mr. SLATTERY. Right. There is a wealth of supporting information to show the necessity for this position. This is the same kind of concept which was in the Presidential Commission report on delinquency in terms of the necessity for a youth service bureau, that if it is to be a really effective force, must be alternative to the police system. If it were to arrest and detain young people who chose not to use the services, of course, it would be much less effective.

My second recommendation is that in part (b) (6) and (b) (9) of section 102 you add provisions to guarantee anonymity and confidentiality to the clients of runaway centers. These two sections are those that deal with HEW's request for information it deems necessary. I feel that we and other runaway centers are probably willing to be most helpful in giving any information that is requested, as long as that information is given confidentially without the name of the client.

My final recommendation is that you delete part 3 of section 105 which measures the effectiveness of runaway centers in dealing with the problems of the central city areas frequented by youth, since these problems are beyond the scope of a runaway center.

Thank you.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, Mr. Slattery.

Now, Mr. Wagner, do you like to be called Richard, Rich, Rick, what?

Mr. WAGNER. Rick.

Senator BAYH. Why not give us your thoughts?

Mr. WAGNER. Of the bill?

Senator BAYH. Oh, no; not the bill. Tell us a little bit about your background. You are 14 years old; is that right?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes.

Senator BAYH. How long ago was it that you first felt compelled to run away from home and why?

Mr. WAGNER. For real, the first time I ran away was when I was 11. That is when I started becoming aware of the problems and the unbearable situation is when I was around 10, about 10½, I guess.

Senator BAYH. What sort of problems did you have at age 10½ or 11 that you felt you could not deal with or could not bear at home?

Mr. WAGNER. Mainly, it is what I could not deal with, what I could not cope with, because I had, you know, there was so much stuff going on outside of me that I did not have, you know, enough time to put energy into my own problems.

Senator BAYH. Give us some example—I realize you have been very kind to come here and I do not want to pry, but the more we can know about your home situation and what part that played in causing you to run away, the better we are able to understand the overall runaway problem.

I understand that your mother and father do not live together. Is that accurate?

Mr. WAGNER. Right.

Senator BAYH. Where is your mother now?

Mr. WAGNER. She lives in Germany, West Germany.

Senator BAYH. How long has it been since you have seen her?

Mr. WAGNER. About 7 years.

Senator BAYH. You are now 14, so you have not seen her since you were about age 8?

Mr. WAGNER. Right.

Senator BAYH. Have you been living with your father?

Mr. WAGNER. And my grandparents.

Senator BAYH. Is this the parents of your father or the parents of your mother?

Mr. WAGNER. My father.

Senator BAYH. What was it about that home situation that you could not tolerate?

Mr. WAGNER. Mainly, like, the two grandparents, they were alcoholics and they were into that really heavy.

Senator BAYH. Your grandparents were alcoholics?

Mr. WAGNER. Right, my dad was also an alcoholic, but he couldn't admit it to himself or anybody else. He pretty much did not look at it as if he had a problem with drinking.

Senator BAYH. You were staying in a home with your father and your grandparents and all three of them were alcoholics?

Mr. WAGNER. Right. More or less, yes.

Senator BAYH. What did they do to you? What did that mean to you as a child, a young man living in that home?

Mr. WAGNER. The grandparents did not try to structure me, they just took care of, like, material necessities. My father is like the main one that tried to—I mean if any trips were going to be laid down on me, it was him that was going to do it.

Senator BAYH. When you say if any trips were going to be laid down on you, tell us in language that some of us might be more conversant with what you mean.

Mr. WAGNER. Okay.

Let's say I come home really late or something, you know, and if he is going to get mad or if he is going to, you know, if anybody is going to deal with the situation and, you know, he is mad about it or whatever, then he is the one that is going to talk to me and then do whatever things he feels like doing. Usually, it depends how he feels at the time. If he is feeling like in a bad mood, then he tends to project that on to me. So that pretty much depends too.

Senator BAYH. You are talking about a situation that existed when you were 10½ or 11, right, when it first started?

Mr. WAGNER. Right.

Senator BAYH. Do you feel there are things that a 10½- or 11-year-old boy might do that a father should be angry about?

Mr. WAGNER. I think it depends on the situation.

Senator BAYH. You are not answering the question right.

Mr. WAGNER. I think it is a vague question.

Senator BAYH. In other words, in order to keep a child from running away from home, should a father always say yes?

Mr. WAGNER. Oh, no. I mean, I don't know about that, but I think there is a better way of dealing with things rather than—I guess it seems like you might have the wrong picture of what the situation was like.

Senator BAYH. Well, then, give me the right picture.

Mr. WAGNER. Okay. It wasn't like—okay, you know, you stayed home late so you are going to have to stay in tomorrow. It is, you know, you stayed home late, he is going to beat the shit out of you. That is where it was at. It wasn't like, you know, a yes or no kind of thing. That is what was intolerable to me.

Senator BAYH. Your father beat you while he was drunk?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, or straight, either. I don't know if that gives you a clue.

Senator BAYH. You first ran away from home when you were ill?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes.

Senator BAYH. Where did you go?

Mr. WAGNER. A number of places. I either stayed—the first time, there was like a modernized apartment building with an alleyway in it and a furnace and it had a couch laid out and an unlocked door that didn't have a lock on it where the garbage was kept. I stayed there for one night. The first time I ran away, I didn't even get—I mean I wound up right back. They sent my brother out after me to drag me back home, because he knew all the places that I went to.

Senator BAYH. Your older brother?

Mr. WAGNER. Right.

Senator BAYH. Did he ever runaway?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes.

Senator BAYH. What happened to him ultimately when he ran away?

Mr. WAGNER. Ultimately, he wound up back home and the situation got worse each time he did it.

Senator BAYH. Did he become involved in drugs?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes. But that was—well, he was arrested for drugs about 2 years ago, but he was not a runaway at the time.

Senator BAYH. Where was he committed when he was sentenced for drugs? He has been in one of the institutions, has he not?

Mr. WAGNER. Synanon, yes.

Senator BAYH. How long was he there?

Mr. WAGNER. About a year and a half.

Senator BAYH. How old was he when he was committed?

Mr. WAGNER. Sixteen.

Senator BAYH. Go ahead. Tell me more about you.

Mr. WAGNER. I guess I would like to know what you want to know. It is hard for me just to—

Senator BAYH. You ran away from home and you came back home right away. The second time, you say you spent the night on a couch in an apartment house with a furnace where the garbage was.

Mr. WAGNER. You misunderstood again—yes, that is true. It wasn't like one night I wound up and the next day I split. It was like the second time I had run away, it was like the heaviest time I had ever gotten beaten or whatever. I was like, during this trip I was in elementary school and I would stay home and my grandmother would be at work. She would go to work really early, there would be nobody else in the house but me. I would phone her up, tell her, hey, I am sick, could I stay home today, and I am not sick at all, and she would say, "yes, okay." Groovy, I hang up.

I don't get in contact with the school at all. So they send a truancy officer out knocking on the door, or house. So I didn't know how to deal with this situation. So I thought, I will just split, you know, so I split without a coat, I had just shirt sleeves on, you know, the most unget-together runaway you could possibly find.

So I left and then there were stories about the police having an APB out for me and stuff like that.

Then I was—

Senator BAYH. Well, did they?

Mr. WAGNER. No, no. The truancy officer was out for me, but that was just stories from my dad to tell my brother to freak me out so I would come back home.

Senator BAYH. How long were you gone then?

Mr. WAGNER. This particular time?

Senator BAYH. Yes.

Mr. WAGNER. This time one night also, which I was going to tell you some about how that happened if you want to hear that.

Senator BAYH. Sure.

Mr. WAGNER. So I went back to that alley thing again and what happened was my dad said, "Listen, go out and get Richard, you know, I won't harm him in any way physically, all I want to do is have a chat with him, just talk to him for a little while."

My brother agreed to it and said okay. So my brother came and told me the story about, oh, it is going to be groovy, he doesn't want to hassle you at all, it is going to be okay. He woke me up in the middle of my sleep, because he knew exactly where the place was. So I walked back with him and I tried to split from him a couple of times and he caught me and so on.

He brought me back and my father looked really calm, he was brushing his hair, and he said "Just sit down in the living room." My brother said, "It is okay, he is not going to harm you." So I sat down in the living room and then he comes charging in and just picked me up out of the chair and gave me three or four backhands, smashed me against the wall, threw me on the floor, started kicking me in the stomach, pulled me up by the hair, threw me in a chair and just started twisting and mutilating my arm. After that, he got started talking to me, because he goes on the basis of hurt now, talk later.

That was hard, like I didn't even have enough breath to talk, it just came squealing out and stuff.

Then I just started going back to school after that and I hadn't run away any time. Like that was the last time I had run away when I was 11 years old.

Senator BAYH. How did you come in contact with Huckleberry House?

Mr. WAGNER. I was going to junior high school and the dean of boys that I had there knew about it. I was aware of it because my brother had gone there before. And the dean referred me over there and gave me a transfer slip that says I was permitted to be off campus at school hours and I just went over there.

Senator BAYH. Where were you at the time? Were you living at home, living out on the street, in that furnace room?

Mr. WAGNER. I was living at home. I was not a runaway at the time I came to Huckleberry House.

Senator BAYH. What is the maximum amount of time in any of those four times you have run away from home, the maximum time you have been gone from home?

Mr. WAGNER. About 2 weeks, 2½ weeks.

Senator BAYH. Did you ever get hungry during that period of time?

Mr. WAGNER. I had some money. I didn't get too hungry. I stayed at a friend's house because his room was like in a basement, downstairs, and like the parents' room was upstairs, so they didn't really know. It was like we did it, like I stayed at his house without his parents every knowing it. They found out about it.

Senator BAYH. Were you ever accosted on the street, were you ever in fear of your life or ever in fear of being beaten up or assaulted during that period of time you were living away?

Mr. WAGNER. Oh, yes. Mainly I was scared of getting caught by the police. That is what I was always constantly fearing.

Senator BAYH. I understand that you may be living in a foster home, is that right, now or in the near future?

Mr. WAGNER. Right now I am presently looking for one.

Senator BAYH. Are you looking for one, is Huckleberry House looking for one, or is the court looking for one; or how does one go about looking for a foster house?

Mr. WAGNER. I have been in one before. How it works, this time is a little different than it did the first time. The first time I came to Huckleberry's, we went to the Child Intake Center. A petition was written up and then I had a court case and then was placed as a ward of the court and then from there placed at Huckleberry's under their care, and from there to the foster home.

Senator BAYH. Are you now a ward of the court?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, classified as a dependent not a delinquent.

Senator BAYH. When you were made a ward of the court and assigned to Huckleberry House, was the court aware of the beating that your father subjected you to?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes; there were other things also.

Mr. SLATTERY. I might interject that the court was so well aware of the father's behavior that the father himself had been convicted of assault and was on probation for attack on one of the grandparents at the time of my first counseling with Rick.

Senator BAYH. Of an attack on—

Mr. SLATTERY. On one of the grandparents, Rick's grandparents. The adult probation system in San Francisco is practically dysfunctional. There is no real contact between probation officers and the probationers or any other members of the family. So there was official recognition of the father's conviction and probation, but no contact with Rick or any other kid in the family until they either acted out and got caught or sought the services.

Senator BAYH. Anything else you would like to tell us, Rick?

Mr. WAGNER. No, not really.

Senator BAYH. What is it that you like most about Huckleberry House?

What it is that is available at Huckleberry House that was not available in your home?

Mr. WAGNER. Okay. I guess the most valid thing to me about going there was that they helped me get, like, out of my home situation where I could start dealing with my own problems instead of having so much stuff going on at one time that I would choose to not look at where I am; like heavy shit is coming down at home so I am not going to look at where I am, so I would just go, you know, happy-go-lucky kind of thing at school. So being there gave me like time to get my own self together and without having to deal with any other heavy problems at the time.

Senator BAYH. You did not have to worry about your father beating you while you were at Huckleberry House; right?

Mr. WAGNER. Right.

Senator BAYH. Did you have anybody at Huckleberry House you could talk to better than you could talk to your father?

Mr. WAGNER. Brian, and for awhile, I went to a psychotherapist.

Senator BAYH. Do you feel there was anybody at home that understood your concerns and problems? Was there anybody at home that you could trust like you can at Huckleberry House?

Mr. WAGNER. No; nobody at home that I could even communicate with other than by brother.

Senator BAYH. All right. Thank you, Rick, I appreciate that very much.

Mr. Slattery, let me ask you a couple more questions if I might.

One of the criticisms that I anticipate or in fact one of the criticisms that has already been leveled here this morning is that a bill such as the one we are addressing ourselves to here, the Runaway Youth Act, might indeed perpetuate runaways or perpetuate irresponsible parents. What is your attitude about this criticism?

Mr. SLATTERY. I just do not see any way that that would happen under the bill. I can see that that does not happen in the operation of Huckleberry House or Runaway House here in Washington, D.C. I think it is just a fancy theory.

Senator BAYH. Is it conceivable that Runaway House or Huckleberry House, that deals intimately with the problems of runaway children from problems that they are unable to cope with in the home might make for more responsible parents rather than institutionalize irresponsible parenthood?

Mr. SLATTERY. Definitely. I would like to point out that we see ourselves as a service agency not just for runaways but for runaways and their parents and that most of the kids who do contact Huckleberry's and use their services choose to put our services in some sort of reconciliation with their own nuclear family and return to that family on a basis other than that on which they left.

Senator BAYH. So rather than providing a home for children to live in who can't live at home because of an intolerable situation, you help to make it possible for children to reconcile their differences and return to strengthen the home unit?

Mr. SLATTERY. That is right. It is the minority kids who find the home so intolerable that they choose another alternative. The majority of kids we see choose to effect a new environment in their own home and returned to that.

Senator BAYH. I am glad you said that, because if you look at the percentage, where 51 percent are living in Huckleberry House, 35

percent at home, and 15 percent in that never-never land, we get the impression that most youngsters do not return home. But, most of the youngsters you deal with do return home and you help provide counseling services.

Mr. SLATTERY. Many of the 51 percent who stay at Huckleberry House use that stay as a cooling off period in which time they can learn to deal with the problems of the home and the family and return to the home.

Senator BAYH. Let me ask you about a problem that I think is a very significant one. In most States where you have the incorrigible child statute, which is most States—I am not sure what you call it in California, but whatever you call it, the statute says that the child who runs away from home violates the law and thus is subject to arrest—is it conceivable that a sufficient runaway house program or runaway youth program could provide nonpenal facilities for children to stay in, whereas presently the only alternatives would be incarceration within a penal institution of one kind or another?

Mr. SLATTERY. Yes; Huckleberry House and the Washington Runaway Center are programs that are active in doing that now and are doing that so well, I might say, that the court is paying them to serve as an alternative to the penal system.

Senator BAYH. But a child who is staying at Huckleberry House does not have the stigma of a court record—

Mr. SLATTERY. That is right.

Senator BAYH. And does not associate with those who have been tried and convicted by our system of criminal justice?

Mr. SLATTERY. That is correct. He also receives services. Half of the kids I see have been arrested have entered the penal system for juveniles already. Eighteen percent of those on probation are nominally receiving services. I am sure less than 5 percent are really receiving services. So perhaps the significant thing about a child entering something like a runaway house is the real issue of receiving services which will enable them to stay out of the penal system.

Senator BAYH. Can you give us any data on recidivism? Are the problems that you deal with solved with some degree of permanence?

Mr. SLATTERY. That is an area that we do want and have a desire to research. We do not have the funds to do it. I can tell you that my perceptions and those of the staff, without a formalized research project, are that of those kids who have returned home after a family counseling session, very few leave again. Of those kids who are forced to return home by police intervention or who are apprehended and drug home by their parents, most, I think, leave that home again. The difference seems to be if the services for the family and the decision to go home is voluntary, most kids will stay home, do stay home.

I might add that if funds were available under the bill, that is one area that we definitely would research and report on.

Senator BAYH. That is one of the reasons we have the research funds under the bill. What you say makes good sense. I would like to be able to get some proof of that. We do not have it.

What percentage of the youth that you deal with have problems that are just of their own—emotional problems, problems of “growing up,” totally unrelated to problem homes or problem parents?

Mr. SLATTERY. I hate to hazard a numerical guess. I would say it is a very small percentage. The most significant aspect of youth's problem are his involvement in systems, systems meaning involvement in family, schools, government systems. We do have clients who see their problem as being a truly personal problem unrelated to systems. But they are definitely the minority.

Senator BAYH. I guess what I am trying to do is divide runaways into categories. I am sure it is hard, and maybe it is not all that important. But Richard described the problem with his father just knocking the stuffings out of him. The little girl from El Paso was being sexually molested by her stepfather. There are some mothers who see a daughter as competing for the affection of the father. So you have an obvious parental problem that causes the child to flee for his or her own safety and well-being. What percentage of the youth that come to Huckleberry House fit into that category and what percentage feel they just have to flee to Haight-Ashbury, as was the case earlier—the call to some imaginary better life.

Mr. SLATTERY. I would say 70 to 80 percent have significant family problems. That is what they report when asked, why did you leave home? Those who leave for purposes of traveling and seeing California and as if the streets of Haight-Ashbury are paved with gold are probably 5 percent, if that.

Senator BAYH. Just as an aside, I had a chance to see Haight-Ashbury for myself the first time this summer. It is not what used to be, is it? Has it lost a lot of its glamour?

Mr. SLATTERY. I do not think it ever had that much.

Senator BAYH. Maybe that was just the way it was described to some of us here, a whole nation away.

Thank you very much. I appreciate very much both of you being here. And Mr. Slattery, I appreciate very much what you are doing there in Huckleberry's and for giving us your expertise in substantiating our need for this bill.

(Mr. Slattery's prepared statement is as follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF BRIAN SLATTERY, CO-DIRECTOR OF
YOUTH ADVOCATES, INC.

I am glad that the Senate is concerned with the problems of the hundreds of thousands of teenagers who run away from home each year in this country. I wish to share with you some of what I have learned in working with the 2500 young people and their parents who have chosen to use the resources of Huckleberry House, a youth resource center in San Francisco, which provides short term housing, counseling, legal, medical and educational services on a twenty-four hour basis to over five hundred teenagers and their families each year.

1967 was the year that saw the opening of Huckleberry House by a group of young adults who saw thousands of young people showing up in Haight Ashbury with no alternatives except living on the street or being arrested and detained in a juvenile institution. It was also the year of publication of the only significant federally sponsored research into runaway youth. The NIMH-sponsored research I am referring to was published by the Society for Research in Child Development and is entitled *Suburban Runaways of the 1960's*. In this study Dr. Robert Shellow and his associates studied 731 runaway youth who had run from homes in suburban Prince George County in 1963-64. I would like to read a few excerpts from this significant work:

"We found, then, two analytically separable groups of children who knowingly and purposefully removed themselves from the effective control and surveillance of their parents. One was a relatively small group for whom running away was ultimately bound up with individual or family pathology. This group

appeared almost exclusively among frequent runaways. The second and much larger group consisted mainly of those who ran away only once, but included many repeaters as well. This second group, though distinguishable from non-runaways in many respects, resemble more closely the nonrunaways than they do the seriously disturbed minority.

In part, their difficulties lie outside themselves, in the different social system in which they move, in their relations with their parents, with the school system, and with their peers. For them, running away may be a calculated maneuver in their dealings with parents, ultimately designed to change the relationship rather than to deny it. It may be a way to break free from a long-standing conflict with an unyielding and profitless educational system. Or it may be simply a desire to step back, take stock, and rest before engaging again with parents, teachers, or friends. Running away may be any one of a number of things ranging from a cry of despair to a victory yell. Most frequently, perhaps, it is something in the middle: a plain, forthright expression of dissatisfaction at home or school. The problems facing most runaway adolescents are the same as those facing many other young people; in this sense, running away from home can be seen as one way of dealing with these problems. Other adolescents deal with these problems differently but not necessarily in ways that are better either for themselves or for the community.

The runaway crisis offers an opportunity to give assistance to families when they most want it, and to wait at all may be to wait too long. We recommend that communities set up around-the-clock, on-the-spot emergency aid service."

Huckleberry's for Runaways began as the first runaway center when it opened in the Haight Ashbury in June of 1967. The initial goal was to provide runaways and their families with short-term crisis services, in a manner that respected the decision-making abilities of our young clients.

Since 1967 we have evolved into a youth service center which serves runaways and other teenagers as well, making services available to local youth before they have run away. We have worked with over 2500 teenagers who can be described as "normal" adolescents who are experiencing a lack of resources and alternatives with which to deal with parental, school, and personal problems.

A statistical picture of the (517) young people interviewed in our fiscal year 1970-71 shows that 55% of our clients are from outside the San Francisco Bay Area and 45% are local youth, who may or may not have run away from home before contacting Huckleberry's.

The average age of our clients is slightly over 15 years. They are almost evenly male and female. While most of those from out of the Bay Area are white, suburban youth from middle class homes, those who live in the Bay Area more closely reflect the racial composition of the community in that 16% are Black, 11% are from families with Chicano and Latino surnames, and 8% are Oriental youth.

More than half of our clients have come from a home where the marriage of the natural parents is not intact. Almost half report themselves as having difficulties with school, and an equal number have been arrested or cited for juvenile offenses. Only 18% are on probation at the time we see them, and few of these receive any supportive services from probation departments.

Over 40% of our clients have seen a school counselor or other mental health professional but almost none have had family counseling or therapy made available to them in their home towns.

HUCKLEBERRY HOUSE SERVICES

All teenagers who come to Huckleberry House are offered a confidential interview which records the teenager's perceptions of himself and his relationship to parents, siblings, school, and law enforcement, and his present and future goals. Staff then gives each teenager realistic feedback on himself, his situation, and his part in causing his present problem as well as alternative ways of dealing with his situation. Alternatives include—

- individual and family counseling services,
- legal counsel and representation,
- medical and psychiatric services,
- assistance in finding foster homes and other alternative living arrangements with the cooperation of parents or the juvenile court,
- short-term housing in our state-licensed community with the consent of parent or guardian.

Huckleberry House provides these services in a way that the professional community respects and youth trust. We not only allow them to decide what they want to do, but we insist that they accept responsibility for their own decisions and behavior. We provide our clients with our support and feedback, and our knowledge of community resources. We create resources that are requested but don't exist, we remain knowledgeable of services offered youth by others, and we act as advocates for our clients within systems with which they are involved.

In the last 12 month period, 51% of those interviewed sought and obtained the necessary consent for housing services. Of the half who were not housed, about 35% had no need for this service as they were living at home or in a satisfactory alternative. The remaining 15% were unable or unwilling to contact parents or guardians, and within our present limitations were not housed. This group probably includes many of the young people who are in most need of our services. With more flexibility allowed to runaway centers, many of these could be provided better alternatives than living on the run and on the street.

HUCKLEBERRY HOUSE AND THE COMMUNITY

You have asked me to comment on our difficulties with local officials. The local probation and social service agencies are fully cooperative with Huckleberry House and refer many teenagers to us. Local police officials conducted a campaign against Huckleberry's in 1967 resulting in the arrest of our Directors and nine teenaged clients on charges which were promptly dropped at the preliminary hearing. Police problems were then resolved with the community support resulting from publicity on our bust and our reluctant agreement to become licensed by the State of California as a "child care institution". With the assistance of the legal services of the attorneys of the Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation, the Youth Law Center, and many dedicated volunteer attorneys, and the support of our Mayor, churches, and community groups, we seem to have convinced police officials of our value to the youth and parents of the community.

Our present agreement with the police is that we will not hold or arrest anyone, but will obtain consent from parents or guardians before housing teenagers. It is absolutely essential that a runaway center be protected from any obligation to detain, arrest, or report on its clients if any young people are to be expected to trust the center enough to use it!

The most significant thing I have learned from the police has come not from my meetings with the Chiefs and Captains, but from conversations with beat patrolmen looking for runaways to arrest. Police patrolmen almost unanimously think that runaways should not be a police problem and that having police arrest and detain them is a waste of police manpower and a process which doesn't help either the runaways, their families, or the police!

Any reliable community project needs and will have the support of the community it serves. We have actively sought to make ourselves and our program known in the streets, shops, churches, schools and agencies in our community. We offer the community a service that can be trusted to respect its youth and the community responds with referrals and support.

We offer specific programs for the community such as on-the-job training for volunteers with college and university credit, training of ministers and others working with youth, drug information and education services, and consulting with other youth programs being started by community groups throughout the Bay Area. Huckleberry's staff also provides consultation to communities outside the Bay Area setting up programs for youth. This service includes consultation for program development and evaluation and staff screening and training, as well as in advocacy counseling methods.

RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The services we offered voluntarily to young people last year again confirm my belief in the wisdom and necessity of providing alternative services and resources for youth to use to meet their needs. Last year, 75% of the teenagers we housed went home, to relatives or placements directly from Huckleberry's after using the housing, counseling, medical and legal services. The remaining 25% returned to the community—some decided not to use our services, some continued traveling, others became self-supporting.

One of the most important things I have learned from my four years of involvement at Huckleberry House is that the *decision-making power of teenagers can be trusted and that when this decision-making power is trusted, young people usually involve their energies in constructive and responsible ways rather than in undermining the system which suppresses their decision-making, whether that system be family, school, or government.* This leads to some of my criticisms of the Runaway Youth Act you are considering.

I and my co-workers and clients support the Act (S 2829) as a realistic way of dealing with the problems faced by over one million runaway youth each year—a lack of alternatives and resources to deal with parental, school and personal problems. To insure that we deal with the underlying problems of youth and not merely the symptoms, I suggest the following changes in the Runaway Youth Act:

1. *That in Sect. 102 parts b3 and b4 be amended to require only that the centers shall develop an adequate plan to contact parents and to insure that runaway centers are protected from reporting on or arresting young people who use the services so that they can be utilized by the thousands of young people looking for a center to trust.*
2. *That in part b6 and b9 of Sect. 102 you add provisions to guarantee anonymity and confidentiality to the clients of runaway centers.*
3. *That in Sect. 105 you delete part 3 which measures the effectiveness of runaway centers in dealing with the problems of the central city areas frequented by youth, since these problems are beyond the scope of a runaway center.*

With these changes in S 2829, you would be providing our communities and our youth with true alternatives to deal with the problems of runaways and their families.

Huckleberry's for Runaways has proven the conclusions of the investigators of *Suburban Runaways of the 1960's*. I agree with them that how we deal with the real needs of the adolescent generation is a measure of our society.

Thank you.

Our last witness this morning is Maj. John Bechtel, head of the Investigations and Services Division.

Mr. Bechtel, we appreciate you taking the time to testify to us and to be with us here this morning.

STATEMENT OF MAJ. J. A. BECHTEL, HEAD OF INVESTIGATIONS AND SERVICES DIVISION, MONTGOMERY COUNTY POLICE DEPARTMENT, MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD.

Major BECHTEL. I would just like to deviate from my opening statement. Practically everything I said in there has been repeated three or four times here. I think the most important thing, since I am the only police officer here to talk about this subject this morning, is the fact that the police are sympathetic to this runaway juvenile situation. As I heard one up here testifying, if you could run into a happy police officer—well, you could run into the happiest apple there is. Our problem is, and I think I can speak from the east coast to west coast and north and south, is what are we really going to do with runaway juveniles? This is what causes the problem. I want to say that I cannot think of any other terminology than the fact that police officers and police departments are somewhat stuck with the situation. I cannot use any other terminology. The officer and patrolman on the beat, he is sympathetic to this situation. It is the fact that we are the ones that they are dealing with them, right off the street. We are basically the ones involved in the situation at the present time. And when a police officer picks somebody up, what is he really going to do?

As I said in my statement, it is a family and a social problem and the police are burdened with it.

Senator BAYH. What is the law in Montgomery County if a child or a juvenile runs away from home? What is the status of that minor in the eyes of the law in Montgomery County?

Major BECHTEL. Well, the law basically is unless you have been emancipated by the court, you must be under somebody's care and supervision until you are 18 years of age. So if you are out on the street and you are not under the control of a parent or a guardian or you are not placed, say, in a shelter home or something by the court or you have not been emancipated by the court, then you are in so-called violation of the law.

Senator BAYH. Let us get as close to specifics as we can so we will know what we are talking about. Let us take a boy 12, like Richard, who described how his father banked him against the wall and pulled his hair and twisted his arms, or let's take the little girl like the girl from El Paso was referring to who was sexually assaulted by her stepfather. Let us take the law as it applies to them. Are they violating the law when they run away from home?

Major BECHTEL. Yes; they are violating the law.

Senator BAYH. And you as a police officer, what is your responsibility when you run across those kids on the street or in a drugstore or hitchhiking somewhere?

Major BECHTEL. Our responsibility is to pick them up.

Senator BAYH. What is the next step?

Major BECHTEL. The next step is you go to the police station and try to contact the parents and try to make some kind of arrangements so they can go home. We do a certain amount of counseling. We are not professional counselors. I do not think any police department has professional counselors. But we try to solve the situation, to have them go back home. If they do not, we try to find someplace to put them.

I want to say as far as Montgomery County, Md., is concerned, and this just took place on January 1, 1972, we no longer can put a juvenile runaway into a detention center. They must go into some type of shelter home.

Senator BAYH. That was as of January of this year?

Major BECHTEL. January 1, 1972. That has just been in effect about 2 weeks.

Senator BAYH. It is too early to tell how that is working out, I suppose.

Major BECHTEL. Right, the only thing I can say about it is the fact that, are we going to have enough facilities?

If we do not have enough facilities, we are back to the same old problem we had before.

Senator BAYH. That was the next question I was going to ask you. How many of those facilities do you have, or do you think you can reasonably deal with on that halfway house requirement?

Major BECHTEL. Well, the county maintains a home. This is a rather small-type situation. As I recall, it is about a seven- or eight-bed situation. But we have, the county has contracted with Montgomery County Boys Home, Inc., for six beds, which is a private institution, supported mostly by donations. And there are, the social service department has

shelter homes within regular private homes where they have contracted with these people to take our so-called runaway juveniles that we have to place.

I want to say that the law specifically states that you cannot place CINS children, which is "children in need of supervision," which are runaways and out of controls, in with adjudicated or alleged delinquents. They must go someplace separately.

As I say, I think that—I can only say for Montgomery County, I don't want to state for the State of Maryland, I think they are going to be so-called watching our program to see how it turns out.

Senator BAYH. It seems to me you have a rather enlightened approach to the problem, that you treat the children in need of assistance different from those who have been adjudicated as juvenile delinquents and you require commitment to shelters other than detention centers. At least, as it appears procedurally, you attempt very hard to meet the needs of each individual.

Let's look at the child—let me pose a hypothetical—that is in the police station. You contact the parent?

Major BECHTEL. Yes, sir.

Senator BAYH. Suppose the parent demands that you return the child and the child says that he or she is not going to go back, then what sort of situation are you in?

Major BECHTEL. Really and truly, here we do an evaluation and we make a decision whether we think it is best for the child to go home or for the child to be placed in another situation.

I would say that you are probably talking about 1 or 2 percent of the cases that we are dealing with. But there are cases where we have not gone along with what the parents have to say, because we did some background with it in a short space of time and thought it was best for the child that they not be placed home. And also, we are protected under Maryland law that we can take this child into custody if we think his health or welfare is in danger. So if we send him back to a home where we think he is in jeopardy, we would have a legal right, if we decided not to send him home, to place him in one of these shelters. This is using—I think alcohol probably plays a more important part than anything else. It is when we contact and find both parents drunk, we just logically do not send this child home.

Senator BAYH. You make that determination as a police officer? You do not have to go to court to get that determination made?

Major BECHTEL. No; we make it on a temporary basis. The only thing the law says is when we place a child in a shelter home, we must bring that child before the judge at his next sitting. The only real problem we have is on a Friday night when we don't have a judge until Monday morning. The average situation is if you pick up a child at 8 o'clock at night, at 9 o'clock in the morning he is before a court. I know police detentions average a day and a half, because of weekends; and, say, the last Christmas and New Year's, when you had those 3-day weekends, they were longer, but they averaged 1½ days.

Senator BAYH. What is the average runaway's problem? You said that the examples I just used were 1½ or 2 percent. If that is 1½ or 2 percent, what is the 98 percent?

Major BECHTEL. Well, basically, I would say a family breakdown, but that is entirely too broad. I would have to say that a misunderstanding—and I know this has been worked to death—but a lack of communication between parents and the child. But it is basically some type of upheaval within the home which could vary—you know, we run over 1,600 cases a year in Montgomery County, and the 1,600 basically would be different. It is just a situation of—I can't say, you know, certainly that the child is always right. Sometimes some of the things that they are demanding I do not think can be met. It is difficult to pinpoint it to any particular thing. It is just a disagreement at home that the child eventually feels that he no longer can function in the home and that he has to leave. That is the only way he can get away from the situation.

Senator BAYH. But in the large majority of cases, you feel that the child goes back to the home. Is that right?

Major BECHTEL. Yes.

Senator BAYH. Now, when the child goes back to the home, do the police officers make a judgment as to whether there should be someone else to follow the future course of that child within the home? Is there some effort made either by you or someone who works with the police department to try to become involved in some parental and child counseling and solve the problem that way?

Major BECHTEL. I would say—we make one of two dispositions. We make a disposition what we call retained. When we say retained, this means that the case is kept within the juvenile section in the police department, is not referred to court. There is not an official arrest record made of it. In other words, that is the end of the case right there, when the parent and the child leave. I submitted the figures here; I cannot take them off the top of my head right now. But I think 918 of the 1,600 cases, the police handle right there.

The other decision we have is you either refer the case to court or refer it to another agency. There are the cases where we just feel that from evaluating the situation, it can't be settled without some outside agency exerting some more, I would say legal, pressure to resolve the problem. So I think really, I guess, 60 percent of the cases, I would say, we are probably handling on a police level.

Now, I would say the recidivism there is probably low, but I must say that the cases you are sending home are the cases that are not that involved, that are comparatively simple to solve.

Senator BAYH. You mentioned in your testimony, and I will ask that it be submitted in the record fully, you indicated that there were 1,608 runaways reported in Montgomery County last year, and the juvenile section of the Montgomery County Police Department spends more time on runaway cases than any other type of case.

Major BECHTEL. That is right.

Senator BAYH. What is your attitude as a police officer, when you have the problems of mugging, robbery, rape, drunk driving, what is your attitude as to the amount of time the police have to spend with runaway children?

Major BECHTEL. The statement was made up here, and, of course, you are dealing with different areas, and certainly I would have to talk with the individuals involved, that the patrolman was rather sym-

pathetic and the ranking officer was not too sympathetic. I guess I would be a ranking officer. I am in charge of the Criminal Investigation Division which happens to have the juvenile section in it. If we did not have the runaway juvenile situation, we would certainly have a lot more manpower to put on something else.

Senator BAYH. Would the average patrolman, the average policeman, or the average supervisory officer rather be apprehending drunk drivers and bank robbers and those that burgle houses, than deal with the problems of runaway children?

Major BECHTEL. I have never met a police officer, Senator, that actually went out, and he left on patrol that day to look for runaway juveniles to arrest. I can say that for our department. We have over 600 officers, and I have never heard of any other dealing with Washington, D.C., or anybody else, that they had any so-called patrols that went out specifically looking for runaway juveniles. I certainly can't believe that somebody went out and that was their ultimate that day, that they were going to arrest 10 runaway juveniles and this was going to be a big day, because this is not true.

Getting back to your other question, certainly, if we could spend more time on crimes of violence against the person and so-called get off the runaway juvenile situation, we certainly could improve it. This, of course, also is an area where we receive most pressure from the public on crimes of violence against the person. And we are tied up here with runaways.

Let me tell you one more thing about the runaway juvenile 1,600 cases so you can see how high it is. As far as juveniles are concerned, the next highest category is shoplifting, which is 1,100 cases. Then it drops to burglary and housebreaking, which is 500 arrests. So really, when you are talking about committing crimes, running away is almost double any other category. If you have a parent, also, that is very concerned and very upset about their runaway son or daughter, lots of times you have to spend more time on a runaway juvenile case than you do on a burglary case.

Senator BAYH. Now, the 1,600 cases involving runaway children in Montgomery County last year, were all of those the result of parents asking the police to find the children?

Major BECHTEL. Yes, sir.

Senator BAYH. One last question. In our Runaway Youth Act, of course, we provide funds for maintaining and establishing some of these runaway houses. Do you feel that that is a proper alternative of disposing of children rather than putting them in detention centers?

Major BECHTEL. Undoubtedly. I do not think they belong in detention centers at all. I think our CINS programs, which I mentioned before, that went into effect January 1, is probably one of the biggest steps we have made involving juveniles in the last few years. I heard someone up here say that you ought not to have a runaway juvenile put in with hardened criminals. They certainly don't belong there.

One thing we have had with runaway houses that probably causes the most problem, and we have dealt with Runaway House in the District of Columbia, and I know Mr. Treanor. This is the fact of the pressure exerted on us by parents whose children were in Runaway House in the District of Columbia, and they go down to get their children out and their children do not want to come out. They exert a lot

of pressure along this line. They were thinking of having some runaway houses in Montgomery County, and we told them the only thing we are involved with that is going to become a problem, is the fact that if parents demand that we go and get their children out of a runaway house, and we have probably because that they are in there, then we are going to have to go in. This is something we do not have to do in the District of Columbia because it is not our jurisdiction.

Senator BAYH. You believe that the runaway problem can be solved and that it is preferable to see a runaway child assigned to a runaway house outside the traditional system of criminal justice than to commit a child to an institution with those who have violated a more serious law?

Major BECHTEL. I think there is a need for runaway houses, let me put it that way. I think that the runaways should be gotten out of the realm of being a violation of the law. It is going to be difficult to get around the situation where the parents are demanding, you know, that their children be returned to them, even though they are in a runaway house. I cannot tell you how to do this. The ultimate would be, say, if there were a counseling service going on within the runaway house, and also counseling service going on home with the parents and trying to get the situation solved while the child is still down there and the parents are home, with the agreement that they want to go home and the parents want them home, this is the ultimate of a runaway house.

Senator BAYH. It is a lot better than dealing with that child later without that counseling.

Major BECHTEL. In my statement, I also said that narcotics do become involved, and girls, we have a lot of problems sexually with girls who run away. We have seen a drop in crime by runaway juveniles since they have had a place to go, legal or illegal. The so-called commune, we will say, for lack of another term, hippie commune, it is at least a place they can go. Years ago, they had to commit crimes to survive. Today they do not have to.

Senator BAYH. Do you see a definite decrease in crime where young people have an opportunity to go to a runaway house rather than to the street?

Major BECHTEL. I can tell you with our own, we have.

Senator BAYH. Thank you, Mr. Bechtel. It has been a significant contribution from one who deals with it on the other side. I appreciate the sentiments you have expressed and the experience you have given us here.

(Major Bechtel's prepared statement is as follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MAJ. J. A. BECHTEL, MONTGOMERY COUNTY POLICE DEPARTMENT

Runaway juveniles are a social and family problem but the burden in dealing with them has fallen mostly on police departments. Runaway situations are usually the product of some form of family breakdown. What do police do? We are not equipped to do much more than return them to their family, or if this is not possible place them in some type of shelter facility.

Runaway houses serve the purpose of getting runaways off the streets into a protective environment. The adverse situation presented by runaway houses are the fact that a certain percentage of juveniles who run away and go to these runaway houses probably would not run away in the first place if the runaway houses were not available.

Runaway juveniles do become involved in crime while they are away from their homes and roaming the streets, but crime by runaway juveniles has de-

creased somewhat since there are runaway houses, communes, etc. they can go to, because in the past they had to resort to crime many times to exist. Today, all the essentials to exist are supplied by runaway houses and communes. Many juveniles have been introduced to narcotics for the first time while they were runaways. Likewise many female juveniles have experienced sex for the first time while being runaways. Reports from the Free Clinics also indicate many juveniles have contracted venereal disease while they were runaways.

Our experience in Montgomery County has been that a majority of the runaways come from white, middle class homes. Most of our juveniles that run away go to the District of Columbia. The Juvenile Section of our Police Department spends more time on runaway cases than on any other type of case we handle.

This legislation would help the runaway situations by providing supervised and regulated runaway houses. Their main contribution would be getting the juvenile off the street where he is more vulnerable to becoming involved in trouble.

The following are some basic statistics for the year 1971 from Montgomery County Police records:

We had a total of 1608 runaway juvenile cases reported to us for the year; 759 were males and 849 were females. The largest age group was the fifteen year old. We had 69 runaway juveniles from other jurisdictions picked up in our County.

In considering this legislation, we consider it essential that adequate provisions be made to insure the participation of local governmental input; ideally, placing the administrative control over these operations in local hands. Additionally, it is imperative that full provision for the immediate notification as to the where-about of the runaway be made to the parents of the runaway by the administrator of the subject facility.

RUNAWAYS 1971

Age	Male	Female	Total
Under 11.....	24	4	28
11 to 12.....	65	27	92
13 to 14.....	265	269	534
15.....	158	221	379
16.....	150	182	332
17.....	75	122	197
Open cases.....	22	24	46
Total.....	759	849	1,608

	Total	Male	Female
Police handled entirely.....	918	411	507
Referred to court or other agency.....	644	326	318
Cases still open, 1971.....	46	22	24

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Juvenile File No.

PGC Form 150 (Revised 7 1 63)

PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY POLICE

MISSING PERSONS REPORT

DATE OF REPORT (Month, day, year)

ADL

TIME OF REPORT

JUV

A.M. P.M.

INSTRUCTIONS: Complete this form in quadruplicate (4). Leave no items blank. Use "NA" for "Not applicable" and "UK" for "Unknown" where appropriate.

1. Complainant's name (Last, first, middle)			2. Relation to missing person		
3. Address (Street and No., City or Town)			4. Telephone No.		
5. MISSING PERSON'S NAME (Last, first, middle)			6. Nicknames or aliases		7. Marital Status <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) <input type="checkbox"/> Single -----
8. Address (Street and No., City or Town)			9. Telephone No.		
10. Age	11. Date of Birth (Month, day, year)	12. Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female		13. Race <input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify) <input type="checkbox"/> Negro -----	
14. Height	15. Weight	16. Hair (Color)	17. Eyes (Color)	18. Complexion <input type="checkbox"/> Fair <input type="checkbox"/> Dark <input type="checkbox"/> Ruddy <input type="checkbox"/> Other -----	
19. Description of clothing			20. Other identifying scars, marks, information or personal habits.		
21. Enrolled in school? (Do not check NO if subject is on vacation from school) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No			22. Grade—Circle (If out of school circle last grade completed) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12		
23. Name of school (Now attending or last attended)			24. Evening school, college or other (Specify)		
25. Employed? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	26. Employed by (Name of employer)		27. Occupation		
28. Address of employer			29. Telephone No.		
30. Date subject last seen (month, day, year) -----		32. Complainant believes Missing Person is <input type="checkbox"/> Injured <input type="checkbox"/> Kidnapped <input type="checkbox"/> Overdue <input type="checkbox"/> Runaway <input type="checkbox"/> Lost <input type="checkbox"/> Desertion			
31. Time subject last seen ----- A.M. ----- P.M.					
33. (If runaway or desertion) Complainant thinks Missing Person has left because					
34. (If runaway or desertion) Complainant thinks Missing Person may have gone to					

35. (If runaway or desertion) Complainant thinks subject is Alone In Company with

72

Full name with nickname (if known)	Address	Age	Sex
			<input type="checkbox"/> M
			<input type="checkbox"/> F
			<input type="checkbox"/> M
			<input type="checkbox"/> F
			<input type="checkbox"/> M
			<input type="checkbox"/> F

36. Approximate amount of money in subjects possession

37. If subject is presently on parole or probation, give jurisdiction and name of officer

38. Is subject suffering from physical or mental illness, emotional disturbance, or depression? (Specify)

Has subject ever been suicidal? Give details.

39. Has subject ever absented himself from home in the past?

Yes No

40. How many times?

1 2 3 4 More

41. PREVIOUS ABSENCES:

	I		II		III		IV	
A. Where subject went (Including city and State)								
B. Reported to police?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
C. Court appearance?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
D. Date of absence	Month and year		Month and year		Month and year		Month and year	

42. Action taken by Department:

- Police radio lookout Teletype (Give number and date) _____
- Roll-call Other (Specify) _____

43. Additional information and/or comments

from complainant

from officer

44. Name and rank of person filling out this report

Department, station or unit and patrol area

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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH MISSING PERSONS STUDY REPORT OF FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEW	FORM APPROVED; BUDGET BUREAU NO. 08-R837	
	DATE OF INTERVIEW	IDENTIFICATION NO.
	INTERVIEWER:	DATA OBTAINED BY:
	NAME OF INFORMANT:	
RELATIONSHIP TO SUBJECT:		

History of contacts (or attempted contacts) with family:

1. Name of missing person (Last, first, middle)

Question 6 continued

2. Address (Street and number, City or Town)

3. Date of Birth (Month, day, year)

4. Marital Status:

 Married Single Other (Specify)

5. PERIOD OF ABSENCE

1. Date child actually left:

Month _____

Day _____

Year _____

2. Time child actually left:

_____ a.m.

_____ p.m.

3. Date you realized child was missing:

Month _____

Day _____

Year _____

4. Time you realized child was missing:

_____ a.m.

_____ p.m.

5. Date child located or returned:

Month _____

Day _____

Year _____

6. Time child located or returned:

_____ a.m.

_____ p.m.

6. BACKGROUND OF EPISODE

1. Can you tell me something about this episode?
(Narrative)

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Question 6 continued	Question 7 continued																		
2. Reason for leaving: _____ _____	2. How long before the event did you have the indication? _____																		
3. Precipitating incident: _____ _____	3. Did he make any preparations? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No																		
4. Intended destination: _____	4. What sort? _____ _____																		
5. Destination reached: _____	5. Amount of money on child at time of departure: _____																		
6. Reason for destination: _____ _____	8. PARENT'S DESCRIPTION OF THE EVENT																		
7. Were there companions present? (How many?) (Specify age, sex and relationship of each) _____ _____ _____	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th style="text-align: center;">Check one</th> <th style="text-align: center;">Reason</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>1. Injured</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>2. Lost</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>3. Removed from home by an adult against the will of the complainant</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>4. Misunderstood as to time of return</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>5. Temporarily breaking off relationship with parent or family</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>6. Unaware of the time (staying away inadvertently)</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>7. Running away</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>8. Other (Specify)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Check one	Reason	<input type="checkbox"/>	1. Injured	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Lost	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Removed from home by an adult against the will of the complainant	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. Misunderstood as to time of return	<input type="checkbox"/>	5. Temporarily breaking off relationship with parent or family	<input type="checkbox"/>	6. Unaware of the time (staying away inadvertently)	<input type="checkbox"/>	7. Running away	<input type="checkbox"/>	8. Other (Specify)
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<input type="checkbox"/>	7. Running away																		
<input type="checkbox"/>	8. Other (Specify)																		
8. Circumstances of return (volition and agent): _____ _____	9. Has your child been having difficulty with:																		
9. What made you decide to report this to the police? (Probe for time) _____ _____	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th style="text-align: center;">Check one</th> <th style="text-align: center;">Difficulty</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>1. School</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>2. Family</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>3. Friends</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>4. Job</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>5. Other aspect of his life (Specify)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Check one	Difficulty	<input type="checkbox"/>	1. School	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Family	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. Job	<input type="checkbox"/>	5. Other aspect of his life (Specify)						
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<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Friends																		
<input type="checkbox"/>	4. Job																		
<input type="checkbox"/>	5. Other aspect of his life (Specify)																		
10. Who decided to call the police? _____	6. Give details of the difficulty and specify if this is a recent development. _____ _____ _____																		
7. Did you have any indication that your child was going to leave? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No																			
1. If "yes", specify: _____ _____																			

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18. List below CHILDREN in the household. (Include subject in order of his birth)

	Name	Relationship to subject	Sex	Date of Birth (Month - Year)
CHILDREN				

How long has the child lived in this household?

19. Are there any other members of the family or household not currently living at home? Yes No
(Possible reasons for absence: illness, school, marriage, service, independent residence, other)

	Name	Relationship to subject	Sex	Date of Birth (Month - Year)	Length of absence	Reason for absence
OTHER MEMBERS NOT NOW LIVING AT HOME						

20. Are there any former members of the household who have died in the past five years?

21. Has this child lived with any other group of people? (For example, his parent, other relative, foster home, institution.) Yes No

1. With whom did the child live before the present arrangement?

	Name	Relationship to subject	Sex	Date of Birth (Month - Year)
HOUSEHOLD PREVIOUS TO PRESENT				

How long did the child live there?

2. With whom did the child live before that?

II HOUSEHOLD PREVIOUS TO NO. I	Name	Relationship to subject	Sex	Date of Birth (Month - Year)	

How long did the child live there? _____

3. In how many households has this child lived? 1

22. MAN IN CURRENT HOUSEHOLD:
(Father, stepfather, a male guardian)

OCCUPATION: _____

EMPLOYER: _____

EDUCATION: _____
(Check highest grade completed)

1. 6th grade or under	5. 10th grade		
2. 7th grade	6. 11th grade		
3. 8th grade	7. 12th grade		
4. 9th grade	8. More		

10. If more, specify: _____

23. WOMAN IN CURRENT HOUSEHOLD:
(Mother, stepmother, a female guardian)

OCCUPATION: _____

EMPLOYER: _____

EDUCATION: _____
(Check highest grade completed)

1. 6th grade or under	5. 10th grade		
2. 7th grade	6. 11th grade		
3. 8th grade	7. 12th grade		
4. 9th grade	8. More		

10. If more, specify: _____

24. Gross annual income of family: \$ _____

1. Contribution of father: \$ _____

2. Contribution of mother: \$ _____

3. Other income: \$ _____

4. Source of other income: _____

25. (Where applicable), does other parent participate in raising of child? Yes No

(If "yes," how?) _____



NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH
Area Code 301 Tel: 656-4000

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

BETHESDA, MD. 20814
Form approved
Budget Bureau No. 68-R837

WHEN YOUR CHILD RETURNS.....

Please notify the Police Department so that they may cancel their lookout. When your child returns a staff member of the Missing Children's Study will contact you. This study of children missing from home is being conducted by the National Institutes of Health, the Prince George's County Juvenile Court, the Police Department, and the Probation Department.

Last year over 600 families asked the police to help locate their missing children. Court and police officials feel that this is a problem of great importance. Unexplained absences of children are of real concern to parents as well as to public service agencies. Little progress can be made in helping these children until a careful study is made.

Useful information can be obtained by talking directly to the children themselves and their families. You can provide this valuable information to the research staff of N.I.H. Please cooperate when you are asked for an interview. All information you provide will be kept private and used only for the purposes of this study.

If you have any questions concerning the study, do not hesitate to call our number — 422-1281. Ask for the Missing Children's Study.

Intensive Interview Guide

Tell me something about the episode. ... How did you happen to leave? ... Did anyone know you were leaving? ... Did anyone other than...know...? ... What did you do while you were away? ... What was good about it? ... What was bad about it? ... How did you feel while you were away? (frightened, excited...) ... Have you known anyone who has run away? ... Have you talked with them about how they did it? ... Was anything they said of any help to you while you were away? ... What did you think the results of the running away would be? ... What were the results? (with family, friends, etc.) ... Had you thought of any other way of handling the situation? ... Did you try any other way of handling the situation? ... If you had it to do over again, would you do anything differently? ... /If appropriate/ Have you had anything to do with the police? ... Which ones? ... How have they treated you? ... While you were away, was there anyone you especially missed or thought about?

Tell me something about your neighborhood. ... Would you say it is a nice neighborhood? ... How long have you lived there? (If short time, get history of mobility and reaction to moves, comparative evaluation of residences.) ... What kind of people live there? ... Would you say your family is like most of the people in the neighborhood? ... Do you know most of the people in the neighborhood? ... Just the kids, or adults too?

Who (or who else) is in your family? (Pets?) ... Who do you find it easiest to talk to in your family? ... What do you do with your family? ... What duties or chores do you have? ... Do you think they are fair in comparison with your brothers and/or sisters; in comparison to what your friends have to do? ... Do you think it matters to your family what the neighbors think? ... How would you treat your own kids? ... Is there anything you'd do differently? ... /If applicable/ Do you ever see your real parent? ... What is he (she) like?

Are there any other adult relatives who don't live with you that you spend time with? ... What do you do with them? ... What do you talk to them about? (future plans, problems) ... Are there any other adults that you spend time with?

What do you do for money? ... (If job) Tell me something about your job. ... Who do you work for? ... How did you get the job? ... What do you do? ... Have you ever lost a job? Why? ... If you've had other jobs, compare them. ... (If allowance or dole) How much money do you get?

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Who decides: when you go to bed? how late you can stay out? where you can go? who you can hang with? who you can date? what clothes you may have? when you do your homework? how you can spend your money? ... Do you drive, have the use of a car, own your own car? ... Who decides when you can use the car? ... Do you think it ought to be different?

What subjects are you taking in school? ... Which do you like? ... Which don't you like? ... How are you doing in them? ... How would you say you're doing in comparison with your friends? with brothers and/or sisters? ... Are your parents satisfied with your school work? ... Are you satisfied? ... Is it important to your parents that you do well in school? ... How do you feel about the teachers? (teaching, authority, etc.) ... Are there any teachers you see or talk to outside of class? ... What are the rules in your school? ... Do you think they are fair? ... What kinds of things get a kid sent to the principal or assistant principal's office? ... Would you say they're tougher on boys than girls or about the same in your school? ... Have you had any run-ins with teachers, principals, etc.? ... Does your school have any particular reputation? ... Who are the big shots at your school? ... How does this school compare to the others you've gone to? ... Did you find it tough to switch schools? ... What's good and what's bad about school? ... Do you skip school much? ... Been absent much?

Do you take part in any activities in school? ... Which ones? ... What do you do? ... How much say do the kids have in the group? ... How about outside of school? (Neighborhood) ... Do you spend much time at it? ... Are you anything special in it? ... How about Church groups?

Do you go to Church? ... To services? ... Are you religious? ... Is your family religious?

Is there anything you are especially interested in, like to do? ... How long have you been interested? ... What do you do in your spare time? ... Do you usually spend time with someone or alone? ... When you are alone, what do you do? ... Would you prefer to spend your time outdoors or indoors? ... Doing what outdoors? ... Doing what indoors?

What are your friends like? ... Would you rather have a lot of friends or a few close ones? ... Do you have a lot of friends? ... Do you think you're fairly popular? Why? ... Do you have one best friend? ... What do you do with your friends? ... What do you talk to your friends about? ... What don't you talk to them about? When you do something your friends don't like, what do they do? ...

How do your parents feel about your friends? ... How do your friends feel about your parents? ... How do your friends' parents feel about you? ... Have any of your friends turned against you recently? ... What happened? ... Has running away changed anything between you and any of your friends?

Do you have any girl (boy) friends? ... How many? ... If a special one, what is she (he) like? ... How often do you date? ... Do you go steady? ... What do you do on dates? ... What would a girl (boy) have to do before you would drop her (him)? ... What do your parents think of your girl-friends (boy-friends)? ... What do your girl-friends (boy-friends) think of your parents?... Are you in a group where there is much sex "experimentation"? ... Where do you learn about sex? ... Is there much talk about sex among your friends? ... If so, what do you talk about? ... What do you think teenagers should know about sex?

Does it matter to you more what your friends or your family think?

Do you pay much attention to the news, or to what is going on in the world? ... What about what's going on locally? (picketing, school integration, etc.)

Do you find your present life pretty interesting? ... What would you want to change?

What do you think of yourself? ... Are you satisfied? ... Is there anything you would like to change? ... Is there anyone you particularly admire (or would like to be like)? ... Why?

What would you say is the worst thing a person can do?

What do you think life is going to be like for you when you are about 25 (phrase this in terms of years ahead)? ... When do you expect to leave home (be on your own) for the first time? ... Do you think you'll be finished with your education by then? ... How far do you plan to go in school? ... If you didn't need to finish high school to get a good job, would you just as soon continue? ... What kind of job do you think you'll have? ... Why? ... Does your father (mother) have the kind of job (do the kind of work) that you would like to have? ... Is there anything you especially want to do? (e.g., travel) ... Where do you expect to settle? ... Why? ... Do you expect to stay in close touch with your family? ... Do you think much about the future? (planning, worrying...) ... Have you talked to anyone about your future plans? ... What do you think the best years of a person's life are?

Why do you feel most kids run away?

Categories of Offenses and ChargesCategory A

Arson
 Assault & Robbery
 Assaulting Police Officer
 Assault with Intent to Rob
 Attempted Arson
 Attempted Rape & Robbery
 Grand Larceny
 Rape
 Sex Offense
 Sexual Assault
 Sodomy
 Assault & Breaking; Assault
 Breaking & Entering;
 Housebreaking
 Auto Larceny
 Molesting
 Robbery
 Stolen Auto

Category B

Concealed Weapon
 Neglect
 Unlawful Entry
 Possession of Stolen Auto
 Riding in Stolen Auto
 Unauthorized Use of Motor
 Vehicle
 Attempted Breaking & Entering
 Check Forgery
 Fugitive
 Juvenile Delinquency
 Occupying Stolen Auto
 Possession of Unlawful Knife
 Attempted Suicide
 Destruction of Private Property
 Indecent Exposure
 Involvement in Gang Activities
 Mental Disorder
 Tampering with Stolen Auto
 Beyond Control; Beyond Parental
 Control; Incurable
 Escapee
 In Need of Care & Treatment
 Sex Problems
 Vandalism

Category C

Accomplice to Shoplifting
 Attempted Assault
 Consuming Alcoholic Beverages
 Discharging Firearms
 Drunk & Disorderly
 Drunk
 Overdose
 Petty Larceny
 Shoplifting
 Truancy
 Unlawful Assembly
 Vandalism to Auto
 Runaway
 Accomplice to Runaway
 Dependent Child
 Disorderly Conduct, Juvenile or Party
 False Fire Alarm
 Family Conference
 Habitual Runaway
 Injured Person
 Investigation of Entry; of Breaking
 & Entry
 Investigation of Stolen Auto
 Loitering
 Missing Person
 Operating Motor Vehicle without
 License
 Pickpocket
 Possession of Alcoholic Beverage
 Threats
 Trespassing; Trespassing on Private
 Property
 Unseemly Hours; Keeping Late Hours
 Violation of Parole
 Violation of Probation
 Discharging Firecrackers
 Investigation of Auto Larceny
 Larceny of Bicycle
 Miscellaneous
 Occupant of Motor Vehicle in
 Traffic Violation
 Smoking in School
 Stolen Bicycle
 Suspicious Persons
 Tampering with Parking Meter
 Traffic - Motor Vehicle Charge
 Violating Curfew

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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH
STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

FORM APPROVED
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 65-R837

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS ANONYMOUS

DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME

INSTRUCTIONS

This Is Not A Test.

It Asks Only For Your Opinions, Attitudes, Experiences

The National Institutes of Health is conducting a number of studies on people of junior and senior high school age. We are interested in learning how they think and feel about themselves, how they get along with others, what experiences they have had, and what their plans and goals are.

There Is No Grade Or Other Work. In fact, for most of the questions there is no right or wrong answer. What we really want is your own opinion and feelings.

Do Not Spend Too Much Time On Any One Question. If you are not sure of your answer, give whatever answer is closest to your own opinion or feeling and move on quickly to the next question. If you have trouble with a question, raise your hand.

You Do Not Have To Answer A Question If You Do Not Want To. If, for any reason, you do not wish to answer a question, leave it blank. However, please answer fully those questions you are willing to answer.

If you want to add anything to any of your answers, or to explain something more fully, please feel free to do so. You may write on page 8 provided at the end of the questionnaire.

BE FRANK IN YOUR ANSWERS. We want to know something of your background and your opinions but we DON'T want to know who you are. **DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME.**

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS ANONYMOUS

It would be helpful to us to know if you had any difficulty in understanding or answering any of the questions. We would like to have your comments on the

questions themselves, especially any improvements you can suggest. Write your comments on the blank page at the end of the questionnaire.

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1. Sex: <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	4. Race: <input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Negro <input type="checkbox"/> Other
2. Age as of your last birthday? <input type="checkbox"/> 11 <input type="checkbox"/> 15 <input type="checkbox"/> 12 <input type="checkbox"/> 16 <input type="checkbox"/> 13 <input type="checkbox"/> 17 <input type="checkbox"/> 14 <input type="checkbox"/> 18	5. So we may know the general area of the County where you live, give the name of your street and the town or subdivision. EXAMPLE: 44th Avenue, Hyattsville
3. What grade are you in at school? <input type="checkbox"/> 7th <input type="checkbox"/> 9th <input type="checkbox"/> 11th <input type="checkbox"/> 8th <input type="checkbox"/> 10.5 <input type="checkbox"/> 12th	6. How many times have you moved in the last five (5) years? <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> More

7. We are interested in the people who *regularly* make their home with you. List them in the space below. Do NOT give names, but instead describe their relationship to YOU. Put yourself in the list and your age. Be sure to include any grandparents or cousins or in-laws or nieces or nephews and even unrelated persons who make their home with you regularly. If you do not know the exact age, write down your best guess. Please give an age for everyone living in your home.

EXAMPLES: Mother - 44
 Stepfather - 47
 Grandmother - About 70

Cousin - 17
 Brother - 13
 Me - 3
 Sister - 3

James

8. Is there anyone who used to make his home with you regularly who has left home in the last five (5) years?

No Yes

If "Yes", describe the person's relationship to you his age, his reason for leaving and length of time he has been away.

EXAMPLES:

Brother - 22 years old - military service 6 months
 Sister - 19 years old - married 1 year

9. What religion are you?	11. Does your father (or the man of the house) attend church? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes Which one _____ <input type="checkbox"/> No
10. Do you attend church now? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes Which one _____ <input type="checkbox"/> No	12. Does your mother (or the woman of the house) attend church? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes Which one _____ <input type="checkbox"/> No

We are going to ask questions about the work your father does. If your father does NOT live with you but if your stepfather, grandfather, guardian, older brother, or uncle is "the man of the house", answer the questions about father for him.

13. Is your father (or the man of the house):

CHECK

- Retired from one job and working at another part time
- Retired from one job and working at another full time
- Retired and not working
- Unemployed
- Employed part time
- Employed full time
- There is no man of the house (Skip to Q. 16)

14. With what sort of firm or outfit is your father (or the man of the house) associated in his work?

CHECK

- Own business
- Own professional office
- Own farm
- Rented or tenant farm
- Private firm
- Military Service
- U.S. Government
- State or County Government
- None
- Don't know

15. Describe as best you can what your father (or the man of the house) does for a living:

EXAMPLES:

He is a delivery truck driver for the Hecht Company.
 He is an assistant store manager at Giant Food Store.
 He is an accountant for the Government.
 He owns his own roofing business.

16. Check how far your father (or the man of the house) went in school:

- 8th grade or below
- Through the 9th grade
- Through the 10th grade
- Through the 11th grade
- Through the 12th grade
- Trade or special training or correspondence school

Continue in the next column

Question 16. continued

- Through 1 year of college
- Through 2 years of college
- Through 3 years of college
- 4 years of college
- More than 4 years of college
- Don't know

We are interested in how many mothers also work OUTSIDE the home. If your mother does NOT live with you but if your step-mother, grandmother, aunt, guardian, or older sister is the "woman of the house", answer the questions about mother for her.

17. Is your mother (or the woman of the house):

CHECK

- Employed full time
- Employed part time
- Not employed

18. Describe as best you can just what she does:

EXAMPLES: She is a secretary in a small law office.
 She is a waitress at a lunch counter.

19. Check how far your mother (or the woman of the house) went in school:

- 8th grade or below
- Through the 9th grade
- Through the 10th grade
- Through the 11th grade
- Through the 12th grade
- Trade or special training or correspondence school
- Through 1 year of college
- Through 2 years of college
- Through 3 years of college
- 4 years of college
- More than 4 years of college
- Don't know

20. Put a check on the line which you think is closest to your FAMILY income. (If both parents work, give the TOTAL of both their wages. Give the amount before taxes and other deductions):

CHECK	CHECK
<input type="checkbox"/> 0, to \$1,999	<input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000 to 11,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 2,000 to 3,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 12,000 to 13,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 4,000 to 5,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 14,000 to 15,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 6,000 to 7,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 16,000 and above
<input type="checkbox"/> 8,000 to 9,999	

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21. Have you ever run away from home?

 Yes

If "Yes" is checked, continue in this column:

 No

If "No" is checked, continue in this column:

22a. How many times did you run away?

Between August, 1964 and March, 1965 _____ times

Between August, 1963 and July, 1964 _____ times

Between January, 1962 and July, 1963 _____ times

Before January, 1962 _____ times

22a. If you have NEVER run away, have you ever seriously considered it?

 No (If "No", Skip to Q. 23) Yes

22b. Why did you run away on the most RECENT occasion?

22b. If you HAVE considered running away, why did you think about it?

22c. Did you go alone?

 Yes (If "Yes", Skip to Q. 23) No

22d. If no, who went with you?

(Describe their age, sex, and relationship, if any, to you):

EXAMPLES: My brother, 10 years old

My girl friend, 15 years old

22e. Why did THEY go?

22c. Why DIDN'T you ACTUALLY run away?

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23. Have you ever been reported to the police as a "Missing Person"?

No Yes

If "Yes", when was it and why were you reported missing?

24. Have you ever had any (other) contact with the police?

No Yes

If "Yes", how many contacts?

1 contact only 4-6 contacts
 2-3 contacts 7 or more contacts

25. Describe what happened each time:

EXAMPLES:

The police talked to me on the street and let me go. I had to go to the police station and wait for my parents to pick me up.

My parents had to go to the police station to talk to the police.

I was charged and had to go to Juvenile Court, etc.

Example

26. Are you on probation now?

No Yes If "Yes", what for?

27. What grades did you get this last grading period - APRIL, 1965?

Number of A's _____

B's _____

C's _____

D's _____

E's _____

28. What grades did you get for the last semester - in JANUARY, 1965?

Number of A's _____

B's _____

C's _____

D's _____

E's _____

29. What final grades did you get last year - JUNE, 1964?

Number of A's _____

B's _____

C's _____

D's _____

E's _____

30. How many schools have you attended?

Number of high schools _____

Number of junior high schools _____

Number of elementary schools _____

31. Give the name of the LAST school you attended before this one and tell where it is located:

EXAMPLES:

E. J. Brown Elementary School, Dayton Ohio

Suitland Junior High School, Prince George's County

DeMatha High School, Hyattsville, Md.

32. Do you NOW belong to any clubs, organizations or activities?

Yes No

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33. Which clubs, organizations or activities do you belong to at school?

EXAMPLES: Hi-Y
 Pom-Pom Girls
 Student Council
 Photography Club

34. Which ones at church?

EXAMPLES: Choir
 Methodist Youth Fellowship

35. Which other ones?

EXAMPLES: Neighborhood teams
 VFW Majorettes
 National Rifle Association
 Teen Club
 Scouts

36. Do you get an allowance?

No Yes How much? _____

37. Do you have to do any work for your allowance?

No Yes

38. What other ways of getting money do you have?

39. What is the BIGGEST problem you have with kids your age?

40. What is the BIGGEST problem you have to deal with at home?

41. What is the BIGGEST problem you have at school?

42. What is the BIGGEST problem you have with yourself?

43. Do your parents get upset about things you do?

- More often than most parents?
- About as often as most parents?
- Less often than most parents?

44. What upsets them most?

45. In YOUR JUDGMENT, how many kids your age do know who need personal help?

- No one
- One
- Two
- Three
- Four or more

46. In YOUR JUDGMENT, for what kind of problems do they need help?

47. Where can a boy or girl your age go if he needs help on a personal problem?

48. To whom would you go for help on a personal problem?

49. Do you think you need help with any of the problems you listed in questions 39, 40, 41, and 42 on page 6?

- No
- Yes If "Yes", which ones?

Use Page 8 For Additional Comments

Additional Comments: (You may use this space to continue any questions for which you need more room. Be sure to number the question.)

Sample

Senator BAYH. I would like to put in the record at this time a letter from the Chief of Police of Washington, Mr. Wilson, detailing with some specifics the concern that he has with the runaway problem in the District, pointing out the serious problem created by the need of the Washington Police Department to spend a number of hours which might otherwise be dealt with in another way.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 4," and is as follows:)

Exhibit No. 4

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF POLICE,
Washington, D.C., January 19, 1972.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: I appreciate the opportunity to express the views of the Metropolitan Police Department on proposed legislation S. 2829, which provides for the establishment of runaway houses.

Though exact figures are not available the considerable number of runaway children in Metropolitan Washington creates a serious problem necessitating the expenditure of many hours of police time annually. In Fiscal 1971 a total of 3,297 children were reported missing from their homes in the District of Columbia alone. Many thousands of non-resident children were known to us through interstate teletype and other messages sent from their home jurisdictions.

The Metropolitan Police Department's role in the apprehension of runaways is defined in the District of Columbia Code, Title 16, Section 2309 (4) which states, "A child may be taken into custody by a law enforcement officer when he has reasonable grounds to believe that the child has run away from his parent, guardian, or other custodian," and continues in Section 2310 (a), "A person taking a child into custody shall with all reasonable speed (1) release the child to his parent, guardian, or custodian upon promise to bring the child before the Division when requested by the Division * * *, (2) bring the child before the Director of Social Services."

Title IV, Interstate Compact on Juveniles, Return of Runaways, further defines police handling of runaways by providing, in addition to other procedures, that "Upon reasonable information that a person is a juvenile who has run away from another state party to this compact without the consent of his legal custody, such juvenile may be taken into custody without a requisition and brought henceforth before a judge of the appropriate court—"

In carrying out the police function it is our practice to assign reports on all juveniles missing from their homes in the District of Columbia to investigators in our Missing Persons Section. A search is conducted for the individual including contacts with family members and friends. In most instances when the juvenile is located, he returns to his parents voluntarily; however, should he refuse to go with his parents, he is placed in the Receiving Home for Children and a referral is forwarded immediately to the Juvenile Branch, Family Division, Superior Court for the District of Columbia.

Of the several thousands of reports received on juveniles missing from residences outside this jurisdiction, only those which indicate that the subject is believed to be in this area are assigned for follow-up. The investigator uses the information contained in the report to aid him in his search. Often the juvenile is described as a "hippy," thought to be in a runaway house or commune, and frequenting certain sections of the city known as havens for such runaways. We find that a substantial number of these children have been exposed to the misuse of drugs, liberal sex practices and related diseases, improper nutrition, unsanitary and inadequate living conditions, petty and sometimes major crime. When these non-resident runaways are located they are taken to the Receiving Home for Children and parents notified to respond immediately. A representative of the Juvenile Branch of the court makes the decision regarding release of the child to his parent. If the parent is not present by the time the court convenes its next session, or the child objects to returning to his parents, the child is sent to court for a judicial disposition.

We have no particular problem in the handling of runaways at the present time. The statutes are clear and we have excellent working relations with the Juvenile Branch of the court. Since the proposed legislation S. 2829 apparently does not modify the laws under which we are now operating, our responsibilities and procedures will not change should this bill be enacted into law. Police will still release runaways only to parents or to court, as appropriate. No other placement by police would be permissible without the approval of the Family Division of the Superior Court. However, if detention of the juvenile is deemed necessary after his referral to court, the placement is ordered by the court and the facility used could well be a runaway house such as provided for in this bill. The counseling and other services offered should certainly be of great assistance in resolving problems in the juvenile's family situation. It is desirable that such children be sheltered in professionally staffed and adequately supervised facilities away from more sophisticated delinquents and adult criminals. There should be complete cooperation and open communication among the agencies concerned, namely, the police, the court and the runaway houses with the welfare of the child and his family always in mind. A procedure to notify all agencies concerned of the identity of the children being housed would not only alleviate parental concern, but would also insure the speedy resolution of the children's problems which led to his abscondence from home. Granted this rapport, it may well be that runaway children and their parents will be reunited with a minimum of police involvement.

On these considerations I endorse proposed legislation S. 2829 as a positive effort on behalf of runaway juveniles and their families.

Sincerely,

JERRY V. WILSON, *Chief of Police.*

Senator BAYH. We will recess now and reconvene tomorrow for another day of hearings on the Runaway Youth Act at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:55 p.m., the hearing was recessed until Friday, January 14, 1972, at 10 a.m.)

S. 2829

THE "RUNAWAY YOUTH ACT"

FRIDAY, JANUARY 14, 1972

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee (composed of Senators Bayh, Hart, Burdick, Kennedy, Cook, Hruska, Fong, and Mathias), met, pursuant to recess, at 10:20 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building, Senator Birch Bayh (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senator Bayh.

Also present: Mathea Falco, staff director and chief counsel; John M. Rector, deputy chief counsel; Michael A. Nemeroff, assistant counsel; William C. Mooney, investigator; David A. Schulte, special counsel; Mary K. Jolly, chief clerk; Nancy L. Smith, research assistant; B. Elizabeth Marten, personal secretary to the staff director and chief counsel; Cheryl A. Wolf, assistant chief clerk; Lance Ringel, Archie Lovell, and Scott Farkas, interns; Stanley Ebner, Esq., for Senator Hruska; Dorothy Parker for Senator Fong; Betty A. Webb, for Senator Cook; and Ronald Meredith, Esq., for Senator Cook.

Senator BAYH. We reconvene our hearings on the Runaway Youth Act. I would like to include in the record at this point a very eloquent statement of support for this bill from the distinguished senior Senator from Minnesota, Senator Mondale, chairman of the Subcommittee on Children and Youth.

(Senator Mondale's prepared statement was marked "Exhibit No. 5," and is as follows:)

Exhibit No. 5

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE BEFORE THE SENATE
COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity to present my views to you on S. 2829, the proposed "Runaway Youth Act".

As Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth and as a parent, I am concerned about the growing numbers of youths who run away from their homes to what often turns into an unhealthy, even hostile-outside world.

We know the sad stories. We have seen the 12-year-olds panhandling on the streets of Georgetown. We have read about the arrest of teen-agers on drug charges and about the skyrocketing rate of venereal disease among young people.

To parents of my generation it is a shocking idea that a child of 11 or 15 should want to leave his home—even for a short period of time. But the fact is that thousands of youngsters have made this decision in recent years and the growth of the problem can no longer be ignored by those of us concerned about youth in this country.

Just to give you an idea of the dimensions of the problem, I would like to tell you about the findings of a study of runaways conducted in Minneapolis, the largest city in my home State of Minnesota. Several organizations concerned with youth problems combined their efforts to find out all they could about runaways in the Minneapolis area in 1969. They knew that the West Bank, a neighborhood near the campus of the University of Minnesota, had begun to attract high school age youths from all over the metropolitan area. They could see the kids "hanging around" in the neighborhood and they knew of the existence of "crash pads" where kids would go when they left home.

A check of police department records, however, showed that running away was more than a fad engaged in by youngsters from one part of the city or one social group. They found that in the Minneapolis area, 2,338 juveniles who ran away 3,227 times—in other words, some of them left home more than once—came in contact with the police in 1969. About 50 percent of the runaways were between the ages 15 and 16. But some were as young as ten.

As appears to be the case nationally, more girls than boys ran away. The majority or 66% of the runaways came from Minneapolis, compared with 22% from the suburbs and 12% from outside the metropolitan area. Of the youngsters who ran away from homes in the city, more than half were from inner city neighborhoods.

Although the West Bank neighborhood near the University attracted youngsters who were running away for the first time or for a short time, the study showed that runaways dispersed themselves throughout the city.

The Minneapolis study group, which called itself the "Runaway Youth Committee" also examined facilities that existed at the time in Minneapolis for sheltering runaways. These facilities were primarily informal shelters, run by sympathetic adults who had responded to a need when they saw it.

The Committee felt that a house known as "The Bridge" run by a Catholic nun, Sister Rita, was the most successful runaway shelter in Minneapolis. The Committee helped "the Bridge" to secure a grant from a service club and arranged for a professional evaluation of the operations of the house after six months.

Located in a house in the West Bank neighborhood, "The Bridge" now has a staff of five persons plus two social work students from the nearby University. Fifty young persons lived there in the first year or so of its operation. The staff helped refer youngsters with particular problems to agencies where they could get help.

On the basis of its study, the Minneapolis Committee endorsed the concept of "youth services houses" where runaways can stay for a short period of time and receive help while they re-establish contact with their families. They stressed the need for availability of professional staffs such as counselors and doctors.

These recommendations jibe with the intent of the legislation under consideration here today. I am pleased to endorse Senator Bayh's proposal because its passage would mean that the federal government would have the resources to aid worthwhile local efforts such as that undertaken by "The Bridge" in Minneapolis.

Although it is conceivable that federal support could be extended to shelters for runaways under existing legislation, only a minimal effort has been made. Perhaps what has kept us from acting sooner on the runaway problem is its closeness to home. Most of us have a friend, a relative or a neighbor whose child has run away. Maybe ours will be next. A parent cannot help blaming himself, wondering what other people think, when his child leaves home.

The Minneapolis committee touched on the question of guilt in its study and concluded that it "could not fix blame for . . . runaway youth, as there seemed to be too many factors beyond control of the family."

We do need to explore the causes of the runaway phenomenon and this legislation would also help us to do that. But in the meantime we will only increase our guilt if we fail to recognize the existence of the problem and provide assistance to the children and families who need it.

Senator BAYH. Our first witness this morning is Rev. Fred P. Eckhardt, director of Operation Eye-Opener, pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church, New York City. I understand he is accompanied by John and Jerry Cagiao.

STATEMENT OF REV. FRED P. ECKHARDT, DIRECTOR OF OPERATION EYE-OPENER; PASTOR, ST. JOHN'S LUTHERAN CHURCH, NEW YORK, N.Y.; ACCOMPANIED BY JOHN AND JERRY CAGIAO

Senator BAYH. Reverend Eckhardt, we are grateful that you have graciously consented to join us.

May I hazard a guess as to who is John, who is Jerry?

Mr. JERRY CAGIAO. I am Jerry, he is John.

Reverend ECKHARDT. Senator Bayh, the statement I have prepared, I will begin to read, and if you like to interrupt at any time, it is certainly my pleasure to bear witness to that.

My name is Fred Eckhardt. I am a Lutheran minister in Greenwich Village and have served my parish for 19 years. The early years were a typical, traditional ministry to an established congregation. With great concern, I watched the Village become one of America's "Run-away Capitals." This concern grew to active confrontation. In turn, it gave birth to Operation Eye-Opener.

Operation Eye-Opener, a program developed by St. John's Lutheran Church in Greenwich Village, grew from the additional concern of a handful of youth over the sociological problems unique to their area. Greenwich Village in the last 20 years has moved from the Bohemian element, through the beatnik to the hippie, yippie or flower culture. To many folks it is a subculture, a radical departure from the status quo of society or the establishment per se. The drug scene, overt homosexuality, prostitution, and crime of every description are but a few of the prevalent problems. Numbers of hustlers, procurers, pimps, and pushers have increased rapidly in order to exploit the young. Where there is so much evil, there is also much to be salvaged in the "art cradle" of the Nation.

Youth flock to this area by the thousands in order to be a part of the action. They come in droves from rural, urban, and suburban areas alike. Figures range from 500 in winter to well over 2,000 in the warm months. They view the sleazy streets, the night life, the rock music and the discotheques as a haven for excitement and fulfillment. So enchanting and alluring is the attraction that responsibilities to family and home, the pursuit of education, and responsibility in general, become secondary to satiation of lustful quests.

Aware of this deplorable situation, I encouraged St. John's to embark on a program of prevention in the fall of 1964. It was designed primarily to acquaint visiting youth groups, under controlled and supervised conditions, to view the scene without succumbing to it.

Visiting youth involved in this phase of Operation Eye-Opener come from all walks of staid America. Basically they are good kids, average kids from protected middle-class American homes. They know all the answers, or think they do, until they come face to face with the reality of the street scene. Their naivete quickly gives way to astonishment as preconceived opinion and ideas dissolve in the blatant glare of decadent society.

Hosted by the youth of the church and community, programing was effected to give maximum exposure to every facet of the historical Village as well as the numerous subcultures being fed by countless

runaways. The drug scene from the pushers to the addicts, in the courts from the bench to the cell, to the rehabilitation centers was hopefully an eye-opening experience. Exposure to the "gay world," the Bowery, the strippers and pornography, rock and jazz, all hopefully preventive therapy. This program of preventing the cancer before it sets in has proven successful to the extent that last year 43 groups and 1,600 kids gained insight and knowledge. The visitors under the auspices of St. John's Youth were programed from Friday through Sunday and every available weekend. Eyes were opened literally as case histories of individual runaways were related, their involvements, their sadistic experiences, and all too often their tragic confrontation with death. As of this moment, groups are scheduled every weekend through June of 1972. On many weekends, two or three groups have been scheduled in order to accommodate requests and grant additional youth this preventive involvement.

The fall of 1966 witnesses the first recovery of a runaway by St. John's young "agents." Numerous requests followed until currently the files are bulging with some 300 runaways. Many have been recovered or encouraged to return to their homes for reestablishment of communication with parents or rehabilitation through proper therapy. Requests from distraught parents, schoolteachers, law enforcement agencies, and clergymen continue to mount. The scope of the work as well as its many challenges seems endless. Each case history reveals heartache, and often irreparable domestic damage. Each case is individually documented, continued communication with loved ones noted, then filed away only after final disposition. Each new case is different, yet equally important as the previous.

A preposterous fantasy about the life in communal centers has grown up. TV and teen movies show relaxed, happy kids playing cops and robbers with stupid police and foolish parents, and invariably winning. No hint is ever given of the unbelievable filth, greed, violence, and endless hours of boredom awaiting most runaways. They pour into East Village and its counterparts in other parts of the country in search of the freedom which they think they were deprived of at home, and find an iron-fisted boss in every crash pad, and a rigid code to which they must conform if they are to survive. In the movies the crash boss is depicted as a sweetly reasonable father figure whose one concern is to help everyone to do exactly as they please.

It doesn't take them long to find out how things really are. Particularly the girls among them find that in the name of free love their most casual boy-girl attraction is expected to be consummated in a sexual experience, very often deviant and degrading, especially to youngsters with little or no experience with sex. From this to actual prostitution is a very short step. Both boys and girls learn quickly that experimentation with drugs, if not actual addiction, is necessary in order to become accepted as part of a "family," the name by which groups who live together in a common crash pad are called.

Newcomers must prove themselves by giving up whatever money they have to the boss of the crash they want to join. Furthermore, it is customary for them to become responsible for providing food for everyone in the family until a newer victim comes along. They may have to get it by begging, stealing, or selling drugs, but get it they must or be turned out to make room for a more tractable candidate. The

threat of being turned out without friends and with nowhere to go is a very serious one. They are free to leave and join another family if they want, but the Village is crowded, and it isn't that easy to make new connections, so they manage to meet the group's demands somehow.

The boss of every crash is privileged to make the rules for his own family. He also metes out punishment when he deems it necessary, and is free to expel anyone from the family for any reason at all, or none, if that is his pleasure.

It is the task of the young agents of Operation Eye-Opener to stake out communes, cruise the pizza parlors, poster shops, head shops, et cetera, to spot runaways who fit descriptions supplied by parents or police. Hopefully, the detection will be prior to physical harm. The search may be over in a few hours or it may take months, but there is no letup in pursuit until final disposition of the case.

A reuniting of families is extremely rewarding through personal gratification to the young agents of Operation Eye-Opener. The vast number of cases are all too often eclipsed by a tragic end as a result of an overdose of drugs, despondency, or sudden death when the usefulness of the victim has been fully exploited by the calloused pimps, hustlers, or pushers. Unfortunately, the limitation of adequate staff and physical facilities curtails the job that can and should be done in this field.

A third dire need of this program is to improve the counseling and referral program for proper therapy. This, too, has been handled by a small staff of volunteer help. The runaway has to tell his or her story of why they ran away. Often the home situation is so deplorable it is unwise to return them. If, on the other hand, the environment is conducive to reconciliation, then counseling with parents as well as youth is essential. Frequently, followup counseling and medical or spiritual therapy is necessary. If not properly referred, the young offender will run again.

Hopefully, funding through a bill such as the one initiated by you, sir, Senator Bayh, will enlarge and improve our services to "Youth in Crisis." The prevention program can be escalated and the recovery and counseling programs improved to meet the demands of transition between runaway and home.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, sir. Is it your plan for John and Jerry to tell us about what they do? Do they have a statement they would like to make?

Reverend ECKHARDT. They do not have statements, sir, but if you would like to ask them questions about their involvement in the work and how they find runaways or things of this nature, they will be glad to answer.

Senator BAYH. Perhaps the best place to start will be their definition of what their involvement is. They could tell us just what they do.

Are you part of the force that Reverend Eckhardt talked about that stakes out various places in the community and looks for runaways? Is that what you do? Just tell the committee what you do.

Reverend ECKHARDT. John, you start.

Mr. JOHN CAGIAO. First, let me tell the committee about our prevention program. Usually, during every weekend, a group comes in, and we will take them around the Village, showing them all the Village, not only the bad spots but good spots, like we will take them to rock music

discotheques or something like that. Then we will show them around the rest of the Village, the sleazy streets or whatever it is, and take them around the Greenwich Village.

Senator BAYH. Well, the groups that you take around, to help us better to understand, are those groups from within your parish, young people within the parish?

Reverend ECKHARDT. These groups come from all over the country. They originally came with clergymen and their sponsors. Now they are coming from high schools and some from colleges, hopefully to be able to see the Village as it is. Every youngster seems to wish to go to Greenwich Village someday, and through this experiment, we have been able to bring them in under supervised conditions to see it precisely as it is.

We also point out the bad spots, the dangers, and the pitfalls that I elaborated on in my statement. Normally, the large bulk of the students are senior high school kids.

Now, we know that of the runaways the large bulk are 16 years of age. The youngest runaway we had was—they range anywhere from 11 to 36 years of age. But the average age is 16.

The 36-year-old, incidentally, happened to be a nurse who had an alcoholic problem, who was separated from her family, and she was finally picked up, not here but in London, and returned to her home. She was classified as a runaway.

Senator BAYH. I am glad to see that you make this service available to a wide spectrum of the population. I noted a headline in one of the local Washington newspapers yesterday that was rather enlightening about the scope of the runaway situation. We have been concerned, some of us who are searching for ways to strengthen the family unit, we have been concerned about fugitive fathers who run away for various reasons. This headline and the accompanying story noted a recent trend toward runaway mothers. So now we find we have at least one runaway 36-year-old nurse.

I should not joke about it, because I am sure it is a serious problem.

Is this Eye-Opener service available to any high school group that might be touring Washington and New York and would like to see Greenwich Village? Would you make it possible for them to see the Village as it is?

Reverend ECKHARDT. That is correct. This is our hope that more and more will become involved, but, unfortunately, as the statistics I quoted show, they necessitate limitation. We are booked now through June and many weekends; we have to book three groups each weekend. Our accommodations being a little parish house on Christopher Street, we have one john for the boys and one for the girls, and they have to line up, and if there is any difficulty there, then somebody has to get a plunger and go in there and fix it, so you can see it's not very convenient for large groups. A bill such as yours ultimately can't do anything but increase our service to the community and to the groups at large.

Senator BAYH. This is a new aspect of treating the runaway problem. In other words, we are dealing with the ultimate in prevention. We were thinking as we were drafting and formulating the bill in terms of what runaway houses could do by returning youngsters to their homes and providing guidance and counseling, and where an

amicable reunion can't be consummated, at least providing some safe haven with some guidance and counsel for the youngster and perhaps seeking out foster homes and this sort of thing. But yours is the ultimate since it deals with young people before they reach the runaway stage.

Reverend ECKHARDT. That was the original intention of our program, to prevent the cancer before it became live in the body, sir.

Senator BAYH. John and Jerry are part of your church group, Reverend Eckhardt?

Reverend ECKHARDT. We have, Senator, some 35 youngsters involved in the program. Less than half are members of the church. John and Jerry are not members; they are of a Catholic background. Some of our members are Jewish kids. Fifty percent of the members are not white; most of them are from the area. It helps to keep them away from the pimps and the pushers. They are community boys, but they are not members of the congregation.

Senator BAYH. Why don't you fellows give us a little idea of what one of those communes which Reverend Eckhardt mentioned is like. What do you see when you enter one of those communes? What is the first impression for a traveling group of youngsters when they see one of these communes after having read of the glamor of Greenwich Village?

Mr. JERRY CAGIAO. It is like a big letdown to them, after seeing the good side of Greenwich Village, then going to like a communal crash pad.

Senator BAYH. Pull that mike over, would you?

Mr. JERRY CAGIAO. It is like a big letdown, because once they see a communal crash pad compared to, like the good parts of Greenwich Village, it breaks down their image.

Senator BAYH. What are they expecting to see when they get there and what do they really see? What is the disillusion?

Mr. JERRY CAGIAO. They expect to, like, make it really nice in the Village, just like their mother and father were taking care of them. But then they walk into these crash pads and see wall-to-wall mattresses, dirty pots and pans in the sink stacked up to the ceiling. It just lets them down.

Senator BAYH. Let's envision an imaginary 14-, 15-, 16-year-old girl or boy that reads about the glamor of the Village and runs away to the Village and is initiated into one of these crash pads. What has it been your observation will happen to that girl or boy?

Mr. JERRY CAGIAO. At first they will be taken into the crash pad on a friendship basis; for like 2 or 3 days, they will feed them, take care of them. But then after that, they say, well, you have got to go out and sell drugs and prostitute yourself to support the crash pad. So they go out and sell drugs or a girl prostitutes herself.

Senator BAYH. What are some of the dangers? These youngsters, are they subject to physical harm if they do not go along with the "father" of the pad, or what usually happens? Is there danger on the street to those who are between crash pads or do not follow that way of life?

Mr. JOHN CAGIAO. Well, what would happen is if they do not cooperate with the communal, let's say "lord," they will be thrown out into the street and that is one thing they do not want to happen to them, because invariably the lord does not pick a nice day, they will

pick a day like that is very cold or it is snowing or it is raining or something like that, and it is hard to find a commune or a crash pad to go to again, you know.

Senator BAYH. You feel that a bill such as this could provide funds to permit you to make more tours and to make this experience available to more youngsters throughout the country, is that right, Reverend?

Reverend ECKHARDT. There is no question in our minds about that. We are limited by the funds. We realize the magnitude and the scope of the program. We know the challenge of the runaway program as such and we are really physically limited by space and funds. There is no question about it.

Senator BAYH. You have talked about the tour program, the eye-opener part of that. Tell us a bit more in specifics, if you will, please, about the effort you make to find runaway boys and girls and to return them home or at least see that they are properly cared for.

Reverend ECKHARDT. Actually, our program began, as I mentioned to you, on a prevention basis. Then I had a phone call in 1966 from two clergymen in Williamsport, Pa., asking if we could help them recover a runaway from Greenwich Village. I said, "Well, it is virtually impossible, because there are some thousand here that we know of, and we are not involved in this work, but if you come down we will take you around and hopefully, you will be able to spot her." We were very naive in the activity in that area at this point.

They arrived and stayed 3 days and I had my station wagon and Walter Jackson, a black boy who is leader of our group, and Jerry and two other boys. We cruised the area and in 1 hour we found the kid. This was a minor miracle, but this gave us the incentive to try to escalate this program.

We took her back to the parish house. In fact, when the clergymen knocked on the door and she opened it and saw her pastor there, she broke down and cried and wanted to go home. This is a typical reaction of these kids who have been on the streets a day or two.

When we took her home, her boyfriend, who had inveigled her to run away in the first place—he was a big shot and didn't want to go back; he remained in the place. Five days later he missed the girl and wanted her to come back. He hitchhiked back to Williamsport. They picked him up and put him in the local jail there. He made one call to his friend. His friend came down and they picked him up with dangerous drugs. When they went to talk to the girl's boyfriend in his cell, here he was attempting to hang himself by his belt and they had to cut him down and administer mouth-to-mouth resuscitation.

This just shows you, a pebble dropped in the pond, each ring goes out and out. By this clergyman getting this information on this particular girl, these youngsters were encouraged to try to find runaways.

Since all 35 are natives of Greenwich Village, have been born and raised there, they know the Village like the palms of their hands. They know the pizza parlors, the Electric Circus, the film places. They can spot these kids who are runaways. Kids can have a dialog with their peers. They can go into an ice cream parlor or pizza parlor and rap with them literally and get them interested and, in a matter of minutes, they will call me. We will come over, sit with them, have counseling, hopefully get the parents and pave the way for the kid to return home.

Many times, it is impossible, though, because the hangups they have at home or the situation, there is a breakdown in communication or a situation that is horrible or intolerable. To return a kid to a situation like that without proper therapy is bad because they will split or run again. This problem has escalated in recent years. I would say 50 percent of our program is geared to recovering runaways. It is a violation of law, as you well know, to harbor a minor under 18 years of age, so to put one up overnight, you risk being apprehended yourself by the law. Fortunately, we have a very good relationship with both the sixth and ninth precincts in the East and West Village, and when the occasion necessitates, we have kept them there with one of the senior counselors or myself; however, this leaves much to be desired; a halfway house would be the answer so we could establish something where, with proper supervision, runaways could be kept, their parents could be brought in, and we could remedy the situation.

Senator BAYH. Talk about irony, you are literally trying to rescue these boys and girls from these crash pads that could cause them great harm, and I suppose you would keep them in the parish house or church. Yet you say this would be a violation of law?

Reverend ECKHARDT. I would hope our parish house would be a little more beneficial to the situation than a crash pad.

Senator BAYH. I understand, but technically, if you harbor them overnight, technically that would be a law violation.

Reverend ECKHARDT. It is a violation. If I might cite one illustration of a 16-year-old girl who was living in a crash pad on Bleecker Street, just east of Sullivan. Together with the officers of the 16th precinct, knowing she was there—our youth had cased the joint literally for 2 days, and knowing she was in there, with the police along, they broke down the door, literally. There were some 30 people on this wall-to-wall mattress bit, with cockroaches running everywhere, pots and pans, filthy clothes, the stink of socks, and you could go on and on. The mother and father were there with us; they wanted to bring their daughter out and she refused to go because of the "intolerable" home situation. The police and the pastor said, "You have to take her or we will arrest her." The mother said, "No, if I take her, she will just run away again." She had run away three times. Five days later, this girl turned herself into Beth Israel Hospital with acute gonorrhoea. This is the price you have to pay.

So in order to help a girl in a situation like this, if we have to bring the girl into our parish house for one night in violation of the law, we will do it.

Senator BAYH. That is like a modern-day Robin Hood?

Reverend ECKHARDT. It may seem that way, but that is the way it is.

Senator BAYH. Jerry and John, tell us for the record, if you will, you have talked to a lot of runaways, have you really talked to kids that have split, so to speak?

Mr. JERRY CAGIAO. Yes.

Senator BAYH. What is the average reason for a boy or girl to leave home and run to the Village? I know you probably have a hundred different varieties, but if there are two or three or four or five things you think might be more predominant than the others please tell us. Why would a youngster leave home to go to the Village?

Mr. JERRY CAGIAO. Most likely school grades, arguments with the parents, where they feel they are not getting enough love from their parents, where they feel they are not wanted, so they will leave. One girl, for instance, she banged up a car and there was just a little dent in the bumper. She felt so bad about it that she left home because she could not face getting yelled at for breaking the mother's and father's car, or banging up the car.

Senator BAYH. John, do you have any observations?

Mr. JOHN CAGIAO. That is about it.

Senator BAYH. What percentage of the boys and girls, young men and women, that you see as runaways are running away because of specific intolerable problems in the home, the problems of a divided home, brutality, drunkenness, this type of thing, or just total inability to communicate? What percentage of youngsters run away for the first group of reasons and what percentage are just out on a lark, testing their wings?

Mr. JOHN CAGIAO. Well, I would say about 33 percent of all the kids that run away that we come in communication with have this problem of not having open channels of communication. About half of the rest run away because they have had other problems which they have discussed with their parents, but the parents have no understanding of their problem.

Senator BAYH. Do you feel from talking to those boys and girls that just returning them home is not enough, that there needs to be some sort of a provision for those who need it to bridge the gap that has developed between parents and child with an outside objective communicator?

Mr. JOHN CAGIAO. We have been trying to develop the counseling segment of our program, where we not only counsel the kids, but we counsel the parents, because we feel that maybe their parents are wrong, too. We have not had, you know, adequate workers, funds for workers, so that they can counsel these kids, and it seems important, because if a person does not have—if the runaway does not have any counseling with their parents, it seems like they will become a habitual runaway because they have no understanding between each other.

Senator BAYH. Is there any remuneration, any salary paid to those of you who work and counsel or look for runaways or is it totally a voluntary situation?

Mr. JOHN CAGIAO. It is voluntary.

Senator BAYH. Do you receive any Federal, State, or local funds at all to support your operation, Reverend, or is it all church supported?

Reverend ECKHARDT. It is all in the church, yes. We do have some parents who are grateful when the youngsters are returned. They will send a check. I think the largest we received was \$25. But this is just a token of gratitude and we are extremely happy with them. But there has been no Federal funding or State either. It has been all a congregational thing.

Senator BAYH. Would you have any problem from the congregation with using outside funds, governmental funds?

Reverend ECKHARDT. I would not envision this. They are grateful for whatever assistance they can get, there is no question about that, and they have been very happy with the program, because it involves

the youth of our parish as well as the youth of the community. It gives them a positive reason for carrying on the program.

Senator BAYH. Have you had any experience with what has happened to some of these runaways who might have been put in jail or sent to juvenile detention centers? What, of course, we are battling here is the traditional way of doing things, locking the kids up and putting them in a juvenile institution or something like this, on the one hand, and trying to deal with the problem before they leave and "become criminals" on the other. I just wonder if you have had any experience in that field.

Reverend ECKHARDT. In New York, if you are aware of the situation, and I am sure you are, in order to visit a youngster who has been arrested, either in the youth house or Riker's Island, you have to be a parent or an attorney. So the youngsters themselves have not gone there to ask for release or to talk with those who have been arrested. We have found if we can get to the kids before they are arrested, then we have a greater percentage of opportunity to rehabilitate them and to get them back into a normal home situation before they are spoiled. If they get into a youth house or into The Bridge, it is just a deplorable situation due to sheer numbers. If the kid has any problems, they will be magnified. If he has any bad habits, he will develop more. So it goes on and on.

Senator BAYH. You talk about sheer numbers. I suppose that you would share my belief that in a runaway-house situation, the smaller the capacity of the house, the closer to the community involved and the fewer number of young people in each home, the more personal attention, and the more success you might expect.

Reverend ECKHARDT. This is mandatory as far as we are concerned. We want each youngster to have direct, personal attention. The 20 that is mentioned in your proposed legislation seems to me to be sufficient. I certainly would not go beyond that number and even at any one time, if you had less, you could concentrate more on them unless you had a sufficient staff.

But I think each kid has an isolated problem. Every problem is different from the other. They need special attention, not only to be checked out physically, because of the hassles they have been involved in, but also on a spiritual level as well as their reorientation to society, to be a normal, responsible individual.

Senator BAYH. Last May, I think it was, I visited Riker's Island. I think it is fair to say that, by comparison, Riker's Island is probably a pretty enlightened institution. I never have had adequately explained to me why, with all the young men and boys I talked to there—at least half, and that is probably a significant understatement, but at least half of the kids were there for drug use or drug-related charges. Perhaps it was not possession or use that had been proved, but crime to sustain a habit. Yet in a situation like that there was no drug program at Riker's Island. Is there any reason for that that you could explain?

Reverend ECKHARDT. I think there is so much funding going into other agencies—the city, the State, and the Federal—incidentally, we do take our visiting groups to Horizon House, Odyssey House, Day-top House, Teen Challenge, et cetera, each of our groups goes through exposure to these. They are funded by the Government and the courts

give the youngsters the alternative to either relate to a program or to go in and serve a sentence at Riker's Island. Many of them will not swallow any pride, of course, and they would rather go and serve the term than go into the program where they think a lot of squares are relating to them and they do not want to be a part of.

Senator BAYH. I talked to one boy that I remember, 15 or 16, who had just been committed. He had just been there a couple of days. He had previously applied to the methadone treatment center and been turned down. They said they did not have room for him and so, the following day, his father committed him to Riker's Island. So you are sort of on the horns of a dilemma—at least that kid was.

Reverend ECKHARDT. It is very difficult to try to assess this. This is the situation as it is structured now. But here again, I think if there were individual institutions that were geared to this type of treatment and to rehabilitate the runaways before they actually did violate some law or were apprehended, it would serve some purpose here.

I do not want you to have any delusions that our youngsters are all angels, either, sir. With 35, I imagine about 10 of them have already been busted or arrested, and at least five of those, I have had to go down to 100 Center Street or Riker's Island and pull them out, by assuring the judge we would get them into a program. But these kids know the scene, there is no question about it. If they sit down with the runaways or potential runaways and tell them exactly what it is like, this is a deterrent to them and very helpful therapy for our program.

Senator BAYH. Those that have been busted, do you feel it is possible for you to rehabilitate them, that you have done this?

Reverend ECKHARDT. Very much so.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much. I wish it were possible for me to send a letter to the pastors of my State or to the high school principals of my State, urging them to take groups to see Greenwich Village under your guidance, but rather obviously, you have all the groups you can handle.

Reverend ECKHARDT. Please do. You invite them for me. We will be glad to welcome them.

Senator BAYH. This would be a very rewarding experience. Thank you very much.

Jerry and John, we appreciate your giving us your experience as well.

(Reverend Eckhardt's prepared statement is as follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE JUVENILE
DELINQUENCY

"OPERATION EYE-OPENER"

My name is Fred Eckhardt, I am a Lutheran minister in Greenwich Village and have served my Parish for 19 years. The early years were a typical, traditional ministry to an established congregation. With great concern, I watched the Village become one of America's "Runaway Capitols." This concern grew to active confrontation. In turn, it gave birth to "Operation Eye-Opener."

"Operation Eye-Opener", a program developed by St. John's Lutheran Church in Greenwich Village, grew from the additional concern of a handful of youth over the sociological problems unique to their area. Greenwich Village in the last twenty years has moved from the Bohemian element, through the Beatnick to the Hippie, Yippie or Flower Culture. To many folk it is a "sub-culture", a radical departure from the status quo of society or the "Establishment" per se. The

drug scene, overt homosexuality, prostitution, and crime of every description are but a few of the prevalent problems. Numbers of hustlers, procurers, pimps, and pushers have increased rapidly in order to exploit the young. Where there is so much evil, there is also much to be salvaged in the "art cradle" of the nation.

Youth flock to this area by the thousands in order to be a part of the "action." They come in droves from rural, urban, and suburban areas alike. Figures range from five to seven hundred in winter to well over two thousand in the warm months. They view the sleazy streets, the night life, the rock music and the discotheques as a haven for excitement and fulfillment. So enchanting and luring is the attraction that responsibilities to family and home, the pursuit of education and responsibility in general become secondary to satiation of lustful quests.

Aware of this deplorable situation, I encouraged St. John's to embark on a program of "prevention" in the Fall of 1964. It was designed primarily to acquaint visiting youth groups, under controlled and supervised conditions, to view the "scene" without succumbing to it.

Visiting youth involved in this phase of "Operation Eye-Opener" come from all walks of staid America. Basically they are good kids, average kids from "protected" middle class American homes. They know all the answers or think they do until they come face to face with the reality of the street scene. Their naivete quickly gives way to astonishment as pre-conceived opinion and ideas dissolve in the blatant glare of decadent society.

Hosted by the youth of the Church and community, programming was effected to give maximum exposure to every facet of the historical Village as well as the numerous sub-cultures being fed by countless runaways. The drug scene from the pushers to the addicts, in the courts from the bench to the cell, to the rehabilitation centers was hopefully an "eye-opening" experience. Exposure to the "gay world", the Bowery, the strippers and pornography, rock and jazz, all hopefully "preventive therapy." This program of preventing the cancer before it sets in has proven successful to the extent that last year 43 groups and 1,600 kids gained insight and knowledge. The visitors under the auspices of St. John's Youth were programmed from Friday through Sunday every available weekend. Eyes were opened literally as case histories of individual runaways were related, their involvements, their sadistic experiences, and all too often their tragic confrontation with death. As of this moment, groups are scheduled every weekend through June of 1972. On many weekends, two or three groups have been scheduled in order to accommodate requests and grant additional youth this preventive involvement.

The Fall of 1966 witnessed the first recovery of a runaway by St. John's young "agents." Numerous requests followed until currently the files are bulging with some three hundred runaways. Many have been recovered or encouraged to return to their homes for re-establishment of communication with parents, or rehabilitation through proper therapy. Requests from distraught parents, school teachers, law enforcement agencies, and clergymen continue to mount. The scope of the work as well as its many challenges seems endless. Each case history reveals heartache and often irreparable domestic damage. Each case is individually documented, continued communication with loved ones noted, then filed away only after final disposition. Each new case is different yet equally important as the previous.

A preposterous fantasy about the life in communal centers has grown up. TV and teen movies show relaxed, happy kids playing cops and robbers with stupid police and foolish parents, and invariably winning. No hint is ever given of the unbelievable filth, greed, violence, and endless hours of boredom awaiting most runaways. They pour into East Village and its counterparts in other parts of the country in search of the freedom which they think they were deprived of at home, and find an iron-fisted boss in every crash pad, and a rigid code to which they must conform if they are to survive. In the movies the crash boss is depicted as a sweetly reasonable father figure whose one concern is to help everyone to do exactly as they please.

It doesn't take them long to find out how things really are. Particularly the girls among them find that in the name of free love their most casual boy-girl attraction is expected to be consummated in a sexual experience, very often deviate and degrading, especially to youngsters with little or no experience with sex. From this to actual prostitution is a very short step. Both boys and girls learn quickly that experimentation with drugs, if not actual addiction, is necessary in order to become accepted as part of a "family", the name by which groups who live together in a common crash pad are called.

Newcomers must prove themselves by giving up whatever money they have to the boss of the crash they want to join. Furthermore, it is customary for them to become responsible for providing the food for everyone in the family until a newer victim comes along. They may have to get it by begging, stealing, or selling drugs, but get it they must or be turned out to make room for a more tractable candidate. The threat of being turned out without friends and with nowhere to go is a very serious one. They are free to leave and join another family if they want, but the Village is crowded, and it isn't that easy to make new connections, so they manage to meet the group's demands somehow.

The boss of every crash is privileged to make the rules for his own family. He also metes out punishment when he deems it necessary, and is free to expel anyone from the family for any reason at all, or none, if that is his pleasure.

It is the task of the young agents of "Operation Eye-Opener" to stake out communes, cruise the pizza parlors, poster shops, head shops, etc. to spot runaways who fit descriptions supplied by parents or police. Hopefully, the detection will be prior to physical harm. The search may be over in a few hours or it may take months, but there is no let-up in pursuit until final disposition of the case.

A reuniting of families is extremely rewarding through personal gratification to the young agents of "Operation Eye-Opener". The vast number of cases are all too often eclipsed by a tragic end as a result of an overdose of drugs, despondency or sudden death when the usefulness of the victim has been fully exploited by the calloused pimps, hustlers, or pushers. Unfortunately the limitation of adequate staff and physical facilities curtails the job that can and should be done in this field.

A third dire need of this program is to improve the counseling and referral program for proper therapy. This too has been handled by a small staff of volunteer help. The runaway has to tell his or her story of why they ran away. Often the home situation is so deplorable it is unwise to return them. If, on the other hand, the environment is conducive to reconciliation, then counseling with parents as well as youth is essential. Frequently, follow-up counseling and medical or spiritual therapy is necessary. If not properly referred, the young offender will run again.

Hopefully, funding through a Bill such as the one initiated by Senator Bayh will enlarge and improve our services to "Youth in Crisis". The prevention program can be escalated and the recovery and counseling programs improved to meet the demands of transition between runaway and home.

Senator BAYH. Our next witness this morning is Mr. John Wedemeyer, director of The Bridge at San Diego, Calif., accompanied by Cathie B. who either works with or has been in and associated with The Bridge.

Mr. Wedemeyer, we appreciate your coming.

**STATEMENT OF JOHN WEDEMEYER, DIRECTOR, THE BRIDGE,
SAN DIEGO, CALIF.; ACCOMPANIED BY CATHIE B., CLIENT OF
THE BRIDGE**

Mr. WEDEMEYER. Thank you, Chairman Bayh.

I am here to testify today on behalf of the many thousands of runaways in the United States and more specifically to offer information on the scope of the runaway problem in southern California.

This is, as you know, Cathie B.

To begin, I would like to offer you some information on The Bridge and San Diego Youth Services. When The Bridge opened in June of 1970, it was synonymous with San Diego Youth Services which is the name of our corporation. The 6 months of planning for The Bridge began in January 1970 when a graduate student from the San Diego State College School of Social Work convened a meeting of concerned community people to discuss the tremendous need in San Diego

for various youth housing facilities. A home for runaways was established as having top priority.

Today The Bridge is one of two programs administered and funded by San Diego Youth Services. The second program—the "It"—a drop-in center for youth from the immediate neighborhood, was begun in June 1971, by two former Bridge staff members. This "youth outreach" program serves well over 50 neighborhood (delinquent) teenagers between the ages of 10 and 20. I have that in parentheses because they are regarded by the local police as being kind of delinquent, but they really have many things that we do not see as being delinquent. We like them.

Both The Bridge and the It are located in Golden Hill, an ethnically mixed, "transitional," neighborhood which borders the center of the city of San Diego, Balboa Park, and the black, chicano, and white poverty areas. One of the two major freeway interchanges in San Diego is located approximately 10 blocks from The Bridge and the It. In addition, Golden Hill is one of the few areas in San Diego which is adequately served by the city busline. This is why we chose this area. Consequently, the location of both projects makes them easily accessible to most individuals who might need their services.

WHO RECEIVES SERVICE?

In its 18 months of operation, the staff of The Bridge has had face-to-face contact with over 650 runaways of various natures. Of this total, 519 were under the age of 18 and stayed 1 day or longer.

In addition, the staff of The Bridge has offered telephone counseling or information to over 400 individuals who had already run away, and to over 400 individuals who were thinking of running. Similar counseling and/or information was also supplied to over 600 parents of runaways. Nearly 2,000 other individuals received crisis counseling or information in regard to countless problems excluding that of runaway.

Since the initiation of their efforts 7 months ago, the staff of the It has made contact with approximately 100 neighborhood youths. Fifty of these youths have received consistent, ongoing service throughout the entire 7 months. The average youth served by the center spends from 15 to 25 hours a week there. He has been on at least one camping trip, ridden one horse, and visited Disneyland one time. In addition, his stealing, fighting, and drug use has dropped to about half of what it was in the spring. These guys were fighting a lot, and they still fight quite a lot. They are hardheaded.

Our entire program utilizes seven paid staff members and over 40 volunteer staff members. In total the entire program has served over 4,600 individuals in some capacity during the last 18 months. However, the major portion of staff effort, time, and money has gone toward serving the 600-plus runaways.

THE AVERAGE RUNAWAY

The average runaway in San Diego is a 14½-year-old girl. She is white and Protestant. Female runaways have consistently outnumbered male runaways in San Diego 2 to 1. The average male run-

away we serve is 15½, white, and Protestant. The average runaway home is located in San Diego County and the marriage of her natural parents is intact. Her father works either for some branch of the military, 17 percent, or in a blue-collar occupation—32 percent. And this also I thought I might throw in here. White collar is 18 percent, and professional 16 percent. Her mother's occupation is that of housewife and her family's annual income is under \$12,000. She has run away twice before coming to The Bridge.

Most of the runaways The Bridge has served—58 percent—found out about The Bridge from their friends. Thirteen percent were referred by either the county welfare or probation departments. Fourteen percent were referred by other social service agencies, 8 percent via the mass media, radio, and 3 percent by the city police department.

The majority of runaways—60 percent—return home to their parents following their stay at The Bridge. Eighteen percent go back on the streets and 7 percent are placed in foster homes. Only 19 of our total resident population have returned for a second stay. These 19 returned a lot.

Our estimates that over 50 percent of The Bridge residents have received family counseling; however, our documentation in this area is so poor we could only prove 30 percent.

SCOPE OF THE RUNAWAY PROBLEM

In San Diego runaways are a serious problem. If you look at page 1 of the San Diego Youth Services, Inc. program summary—

Senator BAYH. I might, if I could just interrupt, ask our reporter to include the entire report or study, entitled "The Bridge, a Home for Runaways in San Diego and Southern California, a Program Summary" at some appropriate place in our record.

Mr. WEDEMEYER. Thank you. What is on page 1 is some of the juvenile statistics published by the San Diego City Police Department. These indicate that there were approximately 3,200 runaways reported to the police department in 1970. The police came in direct contact with over 2,500 runaways. Over 700 runaways were detained in Juvenile Hall.

Juvenile Hall, however, served many more runaways than the 700 brought by the police. In both 1969 and 1970 Juvenile Hall housed more than 2,000 runaways. This was 2,000 each year.

I recently got the 1971 statistics and they housed about 3,100 runaways for 1971. In both of these years, runaways accounted for over 20 percent of the total population of the Hall. It is between 20 and 25 percent; it may be closer to 25 percent. Similarly, runaways accounted for 20 percent of the total juvenile arrests made by the San Diego Police Department.

It should be noted that a great many runaways are not reported to anyone. Some juvenile detectives in the San Diego Police Department estimate that only one out of 10 runaways is reported. Officials in the San Diego County Probation Department estimate that one out of three runaways is reported. Assuming that the probation department figure is more accurate we may assume that there are approximately 9,500 runaways in the area of San Diego City proper. This figure accounts for about 20 percent of the adolescent population in San Diego—1970 census shows a total of 47,748 individuals between the ages of 14 and

18. These figures come from the 1970 census, so it does not include runaways. I had to calculate that.

I think it is clearly apparent that runaways are a serious problem in our society today. Government at all levels needs to be involved constructively in dealing with this problem. Traditional law enforcement approaches are obviously not working.

Runaways are a social problem, not a law enforcement problem. It is both unreasonable and expensive for us to continue to require law enforcement agencies to handle youth problems of this nature. Police officers and probation officers do not have the skills to deal effectively with runaways. Neither do they have the time. The time they do spend is very expensive for the taxpayer. Should the Federal Government decide to support homes for runaways it would likely achieve much better results for its money than are currently being obtained through traditional law enforcement methods.

For example, the San Diego Police Department spend approximately \$350,000 a year to support its juvenile detective unit. Incidentally, this includes 25 juvenile officers and three supervisors, five secretaries. This is the unit that handles runaways, child abuse situations, family disputes and the like. The cost of this service averages \$22 for each youth arrested. That is just to arrest him. The cost for the 707 runaways arrested by the police and detained in the hall; including the average 8-day stay at the hall (\$144) and a half day of a probation officer's time—which is probably the minimum time it takes a probation officer to get each youth out again; totals approximately \$128,000:

Average cost per youth arrested by police juvenile unit.....	\$22
Total cost for 8-day average stay at juvenile hall (\$18 per day according to county figures).....	144
½ day of a probation officer's time.....	15
Total	¹\$127,967

¹ \$181 times 707 youths arrested and detained equals \$127,967 total.

Had the 400 youths served by The Bridge this past year gone through this same traditional law enforcement process, they would have cost the local San Diego government \$72,400. Remember, this cost includes only pickup, cold storage, and delivery. No counseling is provided, and court costs are not included.

At The Bridge we have found that most runaways leave home because they feel they need something they are not getting at home—communication, understanding, or just somebody to sound things off of. Most parents of runaways are for some reason not able to supply these essentials. You know, you do not know where the source of the problem is, but whatever it is is not happening at the time the kid is running away, whatever is needed. Our Government needs to be offering these people places where they can grow; where they can talk with other individuals and perhaps identify what it is that they are looking for. It is senseless as well as wasteful to punish these individuals for wanting to grow.

In brief, I strongly support the Runaway Youth Act. In my view it is the best legislation of this nature in Congress. Therefore, I urge you gentlemen and the rest of the Congress to enact this bill into law as soon as possible.

Thank you.

(San Diego Youth Services, Inc.; program summary referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 6," and is as follows:)

Exhibit No. 6

SAN DIEGO YOUTH SERVICES, INC.

THE BRIDGE, A HOME FOR RUNAWAYS IN SAN DIEGO, CALIF.—A PROGRAM SUMMARY

(By Kathleen Armogida, Assistant Director)

THE PROBLEM

General runaway statistics

There are no comprehensive local or national statistics on runaways. City Police keep records of their pick-up orders and runaway contacts, but these never get meshed with Sheriff's Department statistics. Further no one seems to know what percentage of the actual runaways these figures represent.

However, we do have some statistics from the *Annual Report of the Juvenile Unit of the Police Department San Diego, California* for 1970. These follow.

Total number of reported runaways.....	3, 181
Runaway girls having police contact.....	1, 447
Runaway boys having police contact.....	1, 102
Total number of police contacts with runaways.....	2, 549
Number of runaways released.....	1, 842
Number of runaways detained.....	707
Total number of juvenile arrests.....	16, 236
Percentage of arrests which were runaways.....	20

1971, July through September, San Diego Police Department Juvenile Unit

Total number of runaway contacts.....	928
San Diego County.....	704
California.....	108
Other States.....	115
Other Countries.....	1
Number of cases referred to Probation.....	521

Please remember that these figures represent only those runaways who had contact with the city police. They do not include those runaways having contact with the Sheriff's Department or those runaways who had no agency contact at all.

If these figures account for even 50% of the runaways in San Diego County, then one can assume that there were over 6,000 runaways in San Diego County alone in 1970. This estimate would be considered low by many people.

Moreover, the 3,181 runaways picked up constitute 20% of the total juvenile arrests, 16,236, in 1970.

The runaway and California law

In California, runaways come under court jurisdiction through sections 600 and 601 of the state Welfare and Institutions Code. Section 600 basically places abused and neglected children (under 21 years of age) within the court's jurisdiction. Relatively few runaways ever fall into this category since proof of child neglect or abuse is difficult, at best, to obtain.

The vast majority of runaways are charged under section 601 as semi- or pre-delinquent youths. That section reads as follows:

Any person under the age of 21 years who persistently or habitually refuses to obey the reasonable and proper orders or directions of his parents, guardian, custodian or school authorities, or who is beyond the control of such person, or any person who is a habitual truant from school within the meaning of any law of this State . . . is within the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court which may adjudge such person to be a ward of the court. (The portion omitted has been found unconstitutional.)

In reality the effects of this section are far reaching. Although both the police and probation departments recognize the runaway incident as a family problem,

it is the youngster who bears the brunt; at least through a juvenile police record; and at worst through detention in a 24-hour rehabilitation facility.

Presently, runaways are normally returned directly home after they are picked up by the police. There is no counseling and what was originally a crisis, at least for the teenager, is now an escalated, angry situation of hurt, fearful, frustrated parents, and a hurt, fearful, frustrated youngster.

Those youngsters detained and sent to Juvenile Hall still receive little or no counseling. Juvenile Hall identifies itself as a holding facility, and overloaded Probation Officers have about one hour per month with each case. This situation has eased a little with the establishment of neighborhood Youth Service Bureaus to which families are referred for counseling. However, the youths are basically sent back to face the same situation which made them run in the first place.

Correspondingly, it has become more and more difficult for youngsters to receive the court's help through turning themselves in to Juvenile Hall. Prior to the development of a home for runaways in San Diego, this was the only legal method a minor had to get outside help in a difficult home situation. We now find ourselves in the somewhat silly position of coaching teenagers in how to turn themselves in to the Hall because the intake procedure has become so difficult.

Without the court's help, the youngster with family problems could either stick it out, or run away. Now of course, he can come to The Bridge.

PHILOSOPHY

The Bridge opened in June of 1970 with the expressed goal of providing an alternative to Juvenile Hall for the runaway through a moderate cost, flexible, organic agency.

Working from an existential viewpoint, The Bridge sees every teenager who runs away as having exercised his decision-making power. In doing so he may be taking a step toward or away from self-awareness and responsibility. Regardless, once he is at The Bridge, the focus is placed on making the runaway aware of his responsibility for himself, his decisions and actions, and for the consequences of those decisions and actions. The process inevitably include identifying the options available to the teenager and his family as well as educating them in methods of implementing such options. At the same time, every attempt is made to improve family communications and present a graceful way home to all concerned.

LOCATION AND RESIDENCE

The Bridge is located for easy access from every area of San Diego County in an ethnically mixed, "transitional" neighborhood, Golden Hills. Golden Hills immediately borders the center city of San Diego, Balboa Park, and the Black, Chicano, and Anglo (white) poverty areas.

In addition, The Bridge is within a mile of three freeways, the bus lines, and major access roads to the city.

The house itself is a two story older residence furnished with second-hand "comfortable" contents. The residents don't seem to mind and feel free to "loungue" wherever they like.

In essence, the location and style of the home make it easily accessible to all populations of San Diego and easily livable to most teenagers.

SERVICES

Also well in line with our philosophy of remaining flexible to the needs of the youth population we serve are the many services we provide. The following is a list of those services.

Resident; walk-in, short term

1. Three- to five-day housing;
2. Food;
3. Individual Counseling;
4. Group Counseling;
5. Family Counseling;
6. Referral; for long term family counseling; psychiatric help, and other services as requested or indicated;
7. Cooperative work with probation officers, caseworkers, attorneys.

Resident; temporary placement interim to out of home placement, long term

1. Three to six week housing;
2. Food, allowance, other home provided services;
3. Individual Counseling;
4. Individual case counselor;
5. Group Counseling;
6. Family counseling if requested or indicated;
7. Co-casework with probation or welfare in finding an acceptable out of home placement.

Non-resident; walk-in or phone

1. Food, clothing, showers to youth on a walk-in basis;
2. Individual counseling for any problem;
3. Individual parent counseling;
4. Family counseling to any family with a runaway, on a walk-in basis;
5. Pre-runaway counseling, individual, parent, or family, on a walk-in basis;
6. 24 hour switchboard for referral, information and counseling.

THE BRIDGE PROGRAM

The implementation of these services looks fairly simple on paper. In reality, a person walking into The Bridge may not be sure that anything is happening. However, we do have structures, we just try to keep them minimal. What follows is a simplified version of the process at The Bridge.

Residency requirements

The Bridge will accept any teenager under the age of 18 regardless of race, area of origin, or juvenile record who is classified as a runaway or "punch-out". Teenagers may come and go as often as they wish for counseling without authorities being contacted.

The runaway who chooses to remain in residence must have parental permission for his stay, and must be willing to abide by the house rules.

House rules

There are four basic house rules: no drugs; no sex; no weapons or violence; and in by ten p.m. (the city curfew). Violations of these rules are handled on an individual basis. Although residents can be expelled for violation, we have actually asked only two people to leave.

The only real problem we have had was with the neighborhood boys who carry knives. They check them with the House Manager upon entering The Bridge.

A resident who comes in after 10 o'clock is likely to find that we have called his parents to say he has left The Bridge, and is no longer in residence. We assume this is the case if a youngster doesn't return promptly.

Variations on these rules do exist. Long term residents are allowed one mid-night permission per week, on discretion of the House Manager. Residents are expected to let the staff know when they are going out and when they will be back. In addition, all chores are handled by the residents.

Of course, there are also situational limits set as the need arises and later dropped.

Daily schedule

- 8:30 AM; House Manager up, coffee on, new House Manager in, staff briefing;
- 9:30; Breakfast, for those that want it;
- 10:30; Chores;
- 11:00 to 5:30; Free time, counseling, recreation;
- 1:00 PM; Lunch, for those who want it; followed by lunch clean-up;
- 3:00; staff change over; staff briefing;
- 5:30; Dinner for all;
- 6:00; General house clean-up and dinner clean-up;
- 7:00 to 10:00; Free time, visitors, counseling, recreation;
- 8:00; Staff change-over and staff briefing;
- 10:00; House closed to visitors, residents in, group rap session until 12:00 AM;
- 12:00 AM; general clean-up;
- 12:30; Kids in bed; staff discussion, statistics, case write-ups;
- Approximately 2:00 AM; Staff sleeps.

Overview of a Case

1. Youth arrives. A staff member sees to his immediate needs; food if he's hungry; sleep if he needs it and there is time. This time is taken to relax the youth, answer his questions about The Bridge, and find out what types of services are needed.

If the youth needs services other than residency, those arrangements are made. If the youth thinks he wants to be a resident, an appropriately trained staff member does an interview.¹

2. Interviews generally tell the youth's factual background and custody status; some idea of his attitudes and feelings; what he wants from us; and an idea of his general maturity level. We recognize that the incidents surrounding the immediate runaway episode are usually exaggerated, but they do give us a starting point.

3. The interviewer briefs the House Manager who then discusses options with the runaway, concentrating on the choice he made, and explaining what we can and cannot do. If the youth decides to leave, he can, and no one will be contacted. If he chooses to turn himself in to Juvenile Hall, the police are contacted and the House Manager follows through until the youth leaves. If he decides to stay, the House Manager talks about the parent call, helping the runaway express his fears and expectations.

4. Both the House Manager and the runaway are on the phone for the parent call. The runaway initiates the contact, the House Manager explains the Bridge, the runaway asks permission to stay. During the course of the conversation, the House Manager must ask the parents to cancel their pick-up order with the police. If indicated, the House Manager will also try to set a time when the parents can come in for family counseling.

If the call goes well, it will only take ten or fifteen minutes. Then the House Manager discusses the teens prior fears and expectations in respect to the actual call. Generally their fears are not realized.

Sometimes however, the parents refuse permission and either come themselves, or send the police. In either case, although we encourage the youth to stay and to deal with his problems toward a legal solution, he is free to leave, and sometimes does.

If the parents come, we try to get them in for some on the spot counseling. If the police come, we instruct the youth in his options and how he can work with the juvenile authorities for his own benefit.

5. Once permission is established (anywhere from two to ten hours after the initial contact) the House Manager goes over house rules and expectations. A volunteer assists with introductions and adjustments to the house.

6. The next few days leading to the family session are spent in a variety of ways. As well as the usual living requirements, the youth is exposed to many people and hopefully many activities. In interacting with the residents, staff give their reactions as to how the youth is behaving.

We have found that most runaways lack self-confidence, and self-awareness, as to their tone of voice, attention getting devices, and feelings. Simultaneously, they lack knowledge on how to get attention acceptably and ways of handling their feelings. Much time is spent on these and other areas.

Ancillary problems such as drug use, sexual responsibility and identity, stealing, and lying are dealt with. These are frequently problems expressed in relation to the family situation as a whole.

Overall, the staff is working toward the family session. They help the youth identify his feelings. He must identify the specific areas of change he wants at home, and what he is willing to do to secure those changes.

7. The family session and probable return home is one object of the counseling. The volunteer family counselor is a person skilled in counseling techniques. As a rule, he has an advanced degree (MSW, Masters in Counseling). He reads the folder, talks to the staff and to the youth before he sees the parents. Generally he'll take time separately with the parents, though not always.

Time with the parents is spent in alleviating their feelings of failure, and answering their questions about The Bridge. A primary function of this time is to explore with the parents their expectations for their child, their methods of limit setting, and how their child fits into the general growth tasks of his age

¹ See attachments "A", "B", "C-1" to "C-4": Intake folder materials.

group. Parent education in these areas is of key importance since unrealistic expectations and poor limit setting seem to be common in most runaway incidents. In the process, the parents also identify the problem areas they face with their child. Surprisingly, these are frequently the same areas the child has identified.

When the family is brought together, the counselor works to resolve the specific problem areas and to establish better communications. 60% of all residents return home.²

8. Exceptions occur when family sessions don't work. Any number of other options are available; marriage, informal emancipation, living with relatives, or foster home placement. The resident's stay is extended to encompass the time necessary to make alternative living arrangements and referrals are made to appropriate agencies.

9. The long term resident is one who has been placed with The Bridge through the Welfare Department or through a Juvenile Court order. The process for him varies a little.

In some cases the client has not been to the Bridge prior to placement, so that permission is actually obtained prior to the rest of the intake procedure. Permission for the stay is generally granted by some authority other than the parents.

Long term residents have a specific counselor who takes specific time and interest in that case. The focus of counseling is toward out of home placement as opposed to a return home, and family counseling is rarely included.

In this capacity, The Bridge finds and suggests most of the homes the residents are eventually placed in, and works closely with the other agencies involved to insure a speedy and appropriate placement. The maximum long term stay is set at six weeks, but has been extended to as much as four months when needed.

Program Evaluation

The Bridge staff is constantly re-evaluating the program and up-dating it, trying always to be responsive to the needs of the clients.

Some of the methods of evaluation have included: client and parent questionnaires, staff questionnaires; weekly and monthly staff discussions; and recently an outside team of researchers from San Diego State College School of Social Work. They are presently interviewing all facets of public contact with The Bridge including parents, clients, staff, police, ex-residents, and Board members. We expect their findings in the spring.³

STAFF

Staffing The Bridge involves both paid and volunteer positions. Paid positions are few, primarily supervisory, for the purpose of lending continuity to the program. A brief description of the various positions follows.

Director, San Diego Youth Services, Inc.:⁴ Paid: Responsible for the overall operation of all programs, program planning and program expansion.

Assistant Director, San Diego Youth Services, Inc.: Paid: Responsible for budget planning, fund-raising, public relations, public speaking, program coordination, records and research, miscellaneous other duties.

House Manager, The Bridge (three): Paid: Supervises direct service, volunteers, all house activities; trains volunteers; responsible for all that the former implies.

Neighborhood Youth Corp Placements (two): The Bridge: Paid: Maintenance man and fund-raiser.

Volunteer Co-ordinator, San Diego Youth Services, Inc.: Volunteer: responsible for all volunteer recruitment, setting volunteer screening, scheduling volunteers, counseling volunteers and handling their complaints, and working with the training co-ordinator to insure good training for all.

Training Co-ordinator, San Diego Youth Services, Inc.: Volunteer: Responsible for scheduling training for all staff, securing speakers, and disseminating information.

² See attachments "D", family counseling form.

³ See Attachments "E", "F", "G", "H"; Parent and Client questionnaires.

⁴ San Diego Youth Services, Inc. is the parent, non-profit corporation which runs The Bridge and one other program.

Other Volunteers (forty), The Bridge: Unpaid: fill various roles including: kitchen supervisor; cooks, family counselors; secretary; counselors; crafts; and volunteer house manager.

Consultants: Volunteer: Include: three physicians; one psychiatrist; one grant writer; and others as needed for training or other functions.

TRAINING

Staff training is extensive, averaging about five hours a week. We feel strongly that this is necessary and desirable to provide for the continued development of the staff and to create a common base of information and philosophy.

The paid staff receive training and consultation on a weekly basis by a qualified psychiatrist.

All staff are required to attend growth groups which are offered twice a week. Research has shown that when novices begin to counsel, their own problems often come to the surface. These groups should allow the staff to deal with personal problems, and inter-staff problems as well as to learn skills in leading groups.

Then once monthly, various outside authorities in different counseling modes and information areas are brought in to run weekend all-staff training sessions.

Finally there are weekly and/or bi-weekly meetings of all staff who work with a given house manager to discuss house problems and cases.

The quality of the training program is such that The Bridge takes up to 15 students a semester, both graduate and under-graduates, as field placements.

FUNDING

Although The Bridge receives county subsidies for most long term, intermediary placements, parents and walk-in clientele are not charged.

Core funding for The Bridge is provided through a \$30,000 one year contract for services with San Diego County. Under this contract The Bridge provides statistical information to the county on a monthly basis, and bills the county for \$2500. The county in no way controls the operation of The Bridge.

This money basically provides 40% of the budget. In addition, San Diego Youth Services, Inc. must raise \$1000 a month to provide for other expenses. Only \$30 a month is allotted to food. All other food, all furnishings, all linens, most cleaning supplies, and most household items are provided through donations.⁵

Sources of funds and donations include service clubs, contrib-clubs, wholesale outlets, private citizens, church groups, and small grants.

Specifically, our list of donors include: Christ Lutheran Church; County Employees Charitable Organization; The VFW; Convair Contrib-Club; San Diego Meat Company; Hap Harris Organic Food Store; Country Friends; and The American Freedom From Hunger Foundation, to mention just a very few. In short the program has an appeal which cuts across all segments of the population and draws support from them.

STATISTICS

Since it opened, The Bridge has served almost 600 runaways and their families. We have spent considerable time in gathering statistical information on this population and the results on the first 519 cases follow:⁶

Breakdown by sex.—Boys, 179 or 35%; girls, 337 or 65%.

Breakdown by age.—Over-all average age, 15.2; males, average age, 15.7; females, average age, 14.7.

Breakdown by race.—Caucasian, 416 or 80%; chicano, 28 or 5%; black, 28 or 5%; other or unknown, 47 or 10%.

Breakdown by religion.—Protestant, 166 or 32%; Roman Catholic, 141 or 27%; no preference, 123 or 24%; Jewish, 4 or 1%; other or unknown, 85 or 16%.

Point of origin.—San Diego City, 182 or 35%; San Diego County, 223 or 43%; California, 62 or 12%; out of State, 52 or 10%.

Referred to Bridge by.—Friend, 296 or 58%; service agency, 71 or 14%; probation, 47 or 9%; media, 40 or 8%; welfare, 17 or 4%; police, 16 or 3%.

Marriage of natural parents.—Intact, 231 or 45%; divorced, 178 or 34%; separated, 31 or 6%; other or unknown, 79 or 14%.

⁵ See attachment "I": Equivalency budget.

⁶ See attachments "K", "L", "M": Statistics forms.

Family income bracket.—Upper, \$35,000 and up, 6 or 1%; upper-mid, \$20,000 and up, 34 or 7%; mid, \$12,000 and up, 146 or 28%; low-mid, \$7,000 and up, 175 or 34%; lower, \$0 and up, 125 or 24%.

NOTE: 58% of the families of runaways have incomes of \$12,000 a year or below.

Father's occupation.—Professional, 70 or 16%; white collar, 83 or 18%; blue collar, 145 or 32%; military, 77 or 17%.

Mother's occupation.—Housewife, 269 or 55%; employed, 187 or 38%; other and unknown, 33 or 7%.

Length of stay.—Average time, 6 days; average number at one time, 6; total number of kid-days (number of kids x number of days in residence), 3,015 kid-days.

Previous runaways.—Average resident has run away twice before coming to The Bridge.

Return runaways to The Bridge.—In residence 19 of the 519 runaways we have served have runaway again to The Bridge. Half of the 19 (9) returned twice.

Family counseling provided.—House Managers and Directors estimate family counseling has been provided for 50% to 75% of all residents. We have documentation for only 28% (145 individuals) of the total residents. Average time spent in family counseling: 3½ hours.

Resident runaway dispositions (where they go).—Home; 311 or 60%, relative; 10 or 2%, foster home; 35 or 7% arranged through Bridge staff community; 95 or 18%, juvenile hall; 28 or 5%.

Runaways returning for counseling after initial residence.—52 or 10% receiving 1-5 hours additional counseling; 16 or 3%, receiving 6-10 hours additional counseling; 10 or 2%, receiving 11-15 hours additional counseling; 1, receiving 16-20 hours additional counseling; 5 or 1%, receiving 20 plus hours additional counseling; 20 or 4%.

Runaways referred by The Bridge to other agencies.—Total referrals; 124 or 24%, to probation department; 93 or 18%, to welfare department; 31 or 7%.

INTAKE PROCEDURE

Interviewer

1. Complete interview and form
2. Fill out heading on case history form

Interviewer and house manager

1. Discuss case details
2. Hold secondary interview with client if needed for clarification
3. Discuss interview process and recording for future improvement

House manager

1. Hold pre-phone call discussion (client's options, decision making, structure and goals of phone call, etc.).

2. Explain rules and policies of the house:

NO SEX

NO DRUGS ON PREMISES (INCLUDES POT)

NO WEAPONS OR VIOLENCE

CHORES FROM 10:00-12:00 AM AND AFTER MEALS

CURFEW AT 10:00 PM

Policies:

No bust-confidential

Residents and staff only upstairs

Meal hours posted in kitchen—meals only at posted times

Nightly rap group for all residents at 10:00 PM

3. Make home call—Note: ask parents to remove pick-up order.
4. Fill out client ID-card and client rolodex file card
5. Get client situated with a bed, linens, and towel
6. Arrange family counselling session and post; post client entry on residence board.

Additional information for long term residents only

1. Allowed one night each week out until midnight—House Manager permission prior to leaving is required.

2. At the end of the first week here a counselor will be assigned to work with long-term resident for the remainder of his/her stay here.

3. Maximum stay for long-term residents is either 3 or 6 weeks, depending on the resident's circumstances. This maximum is extendable only in very special situations.

"A"

CASE HISTORY

INTAKE

Client Number_____

Intake: Date:_____ Time:_____ Interviewer:_____

Other Agencies at Present, DPW or Probation Worker_____

Office_____

Parental Call:

Made by:_____ To (Mother, Father, Other_____) Time:_____

Call outcome: No Consent_____ Consent Until:_____

Family Session: Family Counselor:_____ Time:_____ Date:_____

FOLLOW-THROUGH

Counselor Contacts: Name _____ Date: _____ Time: _____

Case Entries: Date _____ Item _____

Proposed Departure: Entry date:_____ To:_____ Dep. date:_____

DISPOSITION

Services Provided:

Referral to:_____

Departure: To_____ Time_____ Date_____ With_____

Departure Call: By_____ Date_____ Time_____ To_____

Continued Contact Plans:

FOLLOW-UP

1 Week date_____ Letter sent _____ Donation card sent _____

Response _____

Client _____

Parent: _____

Other: _____

"B"

THE BRIDGE

CLIENT INTERVIEW

(Answers should be in words of client. Interviewer's comments should be in parentheses.)

Client No_____ Sex_____ Birthdate_____ Age_____

Race _____ Religion_____ Place of Birth_____

Interviewer _____ Current Date_____

1. Where do you live? City_____ State_____

(probe) Who lives with you? Parents_____ Others (relatives, friends)_____

Be sure to record address—city and state on disposition.

(P) Is the marriage of your natural parents intact? Yes_____ No_____

Explain if no.

(P) If marriage is not intact who has legal custody?_____

2. What is your father's occupation?-----
 Mother's occupation? Housewife----- Other-----
 (If not reared by parents, note occupation and relationship of parental surrogates.)
3. What are the ages of your brothers and sisters? (Living home or not)
 How many siblings live at home----- Your position in family?
 Oldest----- Middle----- Youngest-----
4. How did you happen to come to the Bridge rather than some other place?
 (P) Who told you about us?----- Who brought you?-----
 (P) Did you come alone?----- If not with whom?-----
 (P) Did you run away alone?----- If with other, whom?-----
 (P) How long have you been away from home?-----
 (P) Where have you been staying since you left home?-----

"C-1"

5. Why did you come to this area or San Diego?
 (P) How long have you been in the area?-----
 (P) What did you hope to find in San Diego?-----
6. What made you feel like leaving home? (Be sure to get immediate precipitating event, if any)
 Have you ever run away before?----- If yes, explain-----
 Did it solve anything?-----
7. How do you feel about your mother?-----
 (P) What do you like most about her?
 (P) What do you like least about her?
 How do you feel about your father?-----
 What do you like most about him?
 What do you like least about him?
 How do you think your friends compare to your parents?
 (P) Do you feel you have been a disappointment to your mother—father?
 (P) How do you feel about your (brothers), (sisters), or (others)? (Underline the one being discussed?)

"C-2"

8. How do you feel about school?
 (P) Do you see yourself finishing school?
 (P) What grade are you in? (School, name and type)
 (P) What are your favorite subjects? Like most and least?
9. How do you get along with your friends?
 (P) How do your parents feel about your friends?
 (P) Do you have close friends of both sexes?
 (P) If not, how do you feel about not having any friends?
10. Have you ever been arrested? Yes-----No-----If yes, probe for when, where, charges, disposition.
 (P) Do you have a P.O.? (name)
 (P) Have you ever been to "Juvie"?
 (P) Have you ever seen a Psychiatrist or Psychologist?
11. What are your plans after you leave The Bridge?
 (P) Immediate plans? (e.g. go home, return to community, etc.)
 (P) For the coming year?
 (P) Where do you see yourself in 5 or 10 years?

"C-3"

12. What help would you like from us? (e.g. counseling, medical, legal, housing, food, money)
 Please complete the *entire interview*. This is necessary so that others can help this teenager, and so that we can evaluate the service offered by The Bridge. If you are unable to complete the entire interview, please state reason under "Comments" section. If unable to complete answers in space allocated, use the back of the sheet.
Interviewer's Comments.—(Add any information regarding *your* impressions and recommendations for helping this teenager. Include information not covered in the interview form. Please remember that others may need this information when working with this teenager.)

"C-4"

FAMILY COUNSELING FORM

Time session began:-----, ended:----- Kid's first name:-----

Date of session:-----/-----/----- Family counselor:-----Number of this family session: 1 2 3 4 5 (circle)1. How successful was this family session? Poor.---- 1 2 3 4 5
(circle) 6 7 8 9 ---- Excellent
(circle)

2. Is the kid home now? Yes No

2A If Yes answer below:

a. Is he going happily? yes no

b. Why or why not?
(explain briefly)

2B. If No what is the plan?

 plan for kid to return
home: / / Kid needs foster home Kid needs group home other ----- 2nd 3rd 4th (circle) family
session

3. Elaborate the plan (in the case of either 2A or 2B)

A. Is there a contract? Yes No

B. What is it? (enumerate points)

1. -----
2. -----
3. -----
4. -----
5. -----
6. -----

4. Why do you think the kid ran away? (brief, does not have to be kid's reason)

5. How is the situation at home? Very poor.---- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Excellent

List the Three Major Problems if any:

1. -----
2. -----
3. -----

6. Do you recommend Ongoing Professional Help? Yes No

A. What kind?-----

B. Where?-----

C. For whom? Mother Father Kid All (circle)

D. For how long? weeks months years

"D"

FAMILY COUNSELOR FORM

Notes on Family Members:

Describe where the kid is at.—Note his personality traits, his present behavior patterns, his strengths and weaknesses. To what degree is he responsible for his problems? To what degree is his age responsible for his problems?*Describe where mother is at.*—Note personality traits, present behavior patterns, strengths and weaknesses. To what degree is *she* responsible for the kid's problems? What problems does *she* have in addition to having a runaway kid? (physical and emotional)*Describe where father is at.*—Note personality traits, present behavior patterns, strengths and weaknesses. To what degree is *he* responsible for the kid's problems? What problems does *he* have in addition to having a runaway kid?*Describe any other family members and their problems.*—Please comment on their significance.

THE BRIDGE, A HOME FOR RUNAWAYS,

San Diego, Calif.

DEAR: We haven't heard from you in awhile and we're wondering how you're doing. So we're attaching a questionnaire we'd like you to fill out and return as soon as possible. Your experience is important and might help us help others.

Please fill it out and please, *please* return it. Thanks and keep in touch. Call and let us know how you are once in awhile.

For the staff,

KATHY ARMOGIDA.

"E"

CLIENT FOLLOW-UP

Date:-----

Questionnaire to Client—No. 1

Case No.-----

1. Where are you living now? (Please circle one)
 Home With Relatives Foster Home Other (Explain)
2. Did The Bridge assist in these arrangements? Yes----- No-----
 If not who made them?
3. Is there anything we can do to help you now?
4. We'd like to know how things at home have changed since your stay at The Bridge. Please X the column you think best describes how each item on the list has changed.

	Much worse	A little worse	The same	A little better	Much better
Feelings about your mother.....					
Feelings about your father.....					
Communication with your mom.....					
Communication with your dad.....					
How you feel about school.....					
How are you doing in school.....					
Your regulations at home (dating, hours, etc.).....					

5. Have you run away again since you were at The Bridges? Yes----- No-----
 If you ran—Why did you run? (Please circle appropriate reasons)
 Smoking rules Dating rules Fights with brothers/sisters Hours
 Being hit Fights with mom Fights with dad Drugs
 Kicks School Problems Other (Explain) Use back of page if necessary.
- Were other agencies involved? Yes----- No-----
6. Do you think you'll run again? Yes----- No-----
 Why or why not?
7. If you run again, would you come to The Bridge? Yes----- No-----
 Why or why not?
8. Do you think The Bridge helped you? How?
9. What did you like most about the Bridge?
10. What did you like least about the Bridge?
11. What could we have done to be of more help to you?

"F"

12. What was your family counselor's name? (First and/or last)-----
13. Do you feel the counselor was helpful? (circle one)
 Not at all Very Little Average Above Average Very Much
 Do you feel the counselor understood kids?
 Not at all Very Little Average Above Average Very Much
 Do you feel the counselor understood parents?
 Not at all Very Little Average Above Average Very Much
 Please explain the above answers.
14. What do you think the family counselor could have done to be of more help?
15. How do you feel The Bridge compares to other agencies you have visited or used? (Please circle one)
 Much Worse A Little Worse The Same A Little Better Much Better
 Please give any additional comments in the space provided below.

THE BRIDGE, A HOME FOR RUNAWAYS,
 San Diego, Calif.

DEAR MR. & MRS.: Enclosed is a questionnaire designed to help us evaluate and improve services to both parents and teens. Please don't be put-off by the length of the form, just answer those questions you wish to.

We believe your experience is important and can help us help other families. So please return the form as soon as possible.

Remember we're here for you as well as your children. Feel free to call on us at any time.

Yours truly,

(Miss) KATHLEEN ARMOGIDA,
 Assistant Director.

"G"

CLIENT FOLLOW-UP

Date: ----- Case No. -----

Questionnaire to Parents—No. 2

1. Where is your child living now? Home ----- With relatives ----- Foster Home ----- Other ----- (Explain)
 2. Did the Bridge assist in those arrangements? Yes ----- No ----- If not who made them?
 3. Have things improved since your child came to The Bridge? (Circle one)
Much Worse A Little Worse The Same Some Better Much Better
Explain if you wish
 4. Is communication with your son/daughter any better? (Circle one)
Much Worse A Little Worse The Same Some Better Much Better
 5. Do you feel the Bridge helped you? Yes ----- No -----
No Help Very Little Help Moderate Help Much Help
 6. Do you feel the Bridge helped your youngster? Yes ----- No -----
How?
 7. Has your son/daughter run away since his/her stay at The Bridge? Yes -----
No -----
 8. Do you foresee another runaway? Yes ----- No -----
 9. Is there anything we can do to assist you now? Yes ----- No ----- What -----
 10. What could we have done to be of more help?
a.
b.
c.
d.
e.
 11. What would you suggest we do in the future to be more helpful to parents?
a.
b.
c.
d.
e.
 12. What would you suggest we do in the future to be more helpful to kids?
a.
b.
c.
d.
e.
 13. Please give the name of your family counselor (first and/or last), if you can remember. -----
"H"
 14. Do you feel that the counseling was a help? (Circle one)
No help Very Little Help Moderate Help Much Help
Explain if you wish:
 15. Did you gain any new insights? Yes ----- No -----
 16. Do you feel you gave the counselor new insight? Yes ----- No -----
 17. Do you feel the counselor understood kids? (Circle One).
Not at All Very Little Average Above Average Very Much
 18. Do you feel that the counselor understood parents? (Circle One)
Not at All Very Little Average Above Average Very Much
 19. What do you think the family counselor could have done to be of more help?
 20. Have you sought any additional counseling? Yes ----- No -----
 21. If so, was this agency referred by The Bridge? Yes ----- No -----
 22. How do you feel The Bridge compares to other agencies you have visited?
Much Worse A Little Worse The Same A Little Better
Much Better
- (Please circle one)
23. Would you be interested in talking to a counselor again.
Yes No Uncertain
 24. Would you be interested in a parents discussion group. Yes No Uncertain

**SAN
DIEGO
YOUTH
SERVICES
INC.**


2525 a street san diego, california 92102 / telephone 234-2154

THE BRIDGE

 Service Statistics
for the month of

_____, 19__

Residential Services

Total no. served in residence	_____ youths
San Diego County residents	_____ youths
California residents(non-S.D. Co.)	_____ youths
Non-California residents	_____ youths
S.D. Co. Welfare or Probation	_____ youths
Dept. placements or detentions	_____ youths
Total no. days of residential service	_____ days
Ave. length of stay per resident	_____ days
Total no. of residents and their families	_____ families
receiving family counselling	_____ families
Total no. hours of family counselling	_____ hours
Ave. length of family session	_____ hours
No. of residents returning home	_____ youths
No. of residents placed in foster homes	_____ youths
No. of residents going elsewhere	_____ youths
No. of previous residents returning to The Bridge for residency	_____ youths

Telephone Counselling Services

	No. of Calls	Tot. Coun. Time (hrs)	Ave. Coun Time(hrs)
Runaway counselling	—	—	—
Pre-runaway counselling	—	—	—
Parent counselling	—	—	—
Probation or Welfare	—	—	—
Dept. Consultation	—	—	—
Other contacts (includes adult and youth gen counselling; calls from other agency staff)	—	—	—
Total telephone counselling Statistics	—	—	—

Walk-in Counselling Services (non-resident)

	No. of Contacts	Tot. Coun. Time(hrs)	Ave. Coun Time(hrs)
Individual counselling (includes walk-in runaways and pre- runaways)	—	—	—
Family Counselling	—	—	—

Item	Monthly		Yearly		Monthly		Yearly	
	Cash	Inkind	Cash	Inkind	Cost to county	Private donations	Cost to county (cash only)	Private donations (cash only)
PROGRAM								
Consulting psychologist.....		\$100		\$1,200				
Family counselors (5).....		600		7,200				
Group facilitators (parents and kids).....		240	\$720	2,880		\$60		\$720
Staff training consultant.....		60		720		60		720
Recreation materials.....		10		120		10		120
Undergraduate field instructor.....				1,200				
Graduate field instructor.....		100		1,200				
Grant consultant.....		30		360		20		360
Research consultant.....		-50		600		50		600
Subtotal.....	210	1,400	2,520	16,800		210		2,520
Total.....	1,610		19,320				\$2,520	
PROGRAM EXPANSION								
Parent group facilitator.....		240	720	2,880		60		720
Recreation center.....				4,800				
Volunteer staff (5).....		400		1,200		100		1,200
Director.....		30		360		30		360
Rent.....		10		120		10		120
Maintenance.....		15		180		15		180
Supplies.....								
Subtotal.....	215	695	2,580	8,340		215		2,580
Total.....	910		10,920			\$215		2,580
Grand subtotal.....	3,940	5,353	47,280	64,222	2,950	775	35,400	9,300
Grand total.....	9,293		111,512		3,725		44,700	

"N"

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, Mr. Wedemeyer. I sensed a snicker—in fact, I felt a smile on my own face when you talked about cold storage. That is a rather hard and insensitive way to describe maintaining young people, but I feel that it is descriptive of what we are really doing to apprehended runaways. It is sort of cold storage, like a side of meat or something.

Mr. WEDEMEYER. This is kind of what the process looks like to me.

Senator BAYH. What would be the cost in your structure? Do you feel—looking at some of the statistics here, what would be the cost of providing the kind of additional counseling services that you feel would be needed in your efforts so you could provide more than cold storage?

Mr. WEDEMEYER. I was not talking about us there, I was talking about the probation department.

Senator BAYH. All right.

Mr. WEDEMEYER. The Bridge offers an average of 10 hours of counseling for each kid.

Senator BAYH. For each child?

Mr. WEDEMEYER. Yes, during a 3-day stay. I would say frequently it is double that, and also the other kinds of discussions. Kids counsel kids. There is a lot that they can do just by having a place to get together where they are not afraid of what they are going to say.

Senator BAYH. You mentioned, you listed in some of the statistics you have here that it costs about \$35,000 to operate The Bridge for a year. Looking at the costs of all these other services which are provided to you on a volunteered basis—what do you suppose it really would cost you to operate The Bridge if you had to pay for all those services?

Mr. WEDEMEYER. I did a comparative cost estimate and to pay for everything would cost a minimum of \$111,000 a year. We do a lot of more innovative things.

Senator BAYH. Are you operating The Bridge as an independent entity out here, or are you cooperating with other agencies, utilizing other services that are available in the community?

Mr. WEDEMEYER. Well, we certainly utilize other services. The county helps us. They give us, of course, a subsidy in terms of—this is on a contract basis—and they, after that, left us largely alone. We cooperate with the probation department and the welfare department and the police department. They are kind of eager to have us there, because I think they feel like they are heavily overworked and if they could have 20 percent of their caseload dispensed to some other social service agency, they would probably be thrilled to death.

Senator BAYH. I think this is important. In other words, the general attitude on the part of the police and the other agencies of government toward the Bridge is what?

Mr. WEDEMEYER. It is pretty positive, I think.

Senator BAYH. You do not have any conflict where they feel you are encroaching on their authority? They feel you are providing a positive contribution to what it is all about, what they are trying to do as well as what you are trying to do?

Mr. WEDEMEYER. Right, we have had contact with the lieutenant in charge of the juvenile section and the police-community relations section, a kind of—in an ongoing way, ever since the beginning, because we speculated that there might be some confusion or some

miscommunication if we did not, you know, talk to them every time we had some kind of a hassle and work it out. We have had—well, early in the history of The Bridge, we had some incidents that were not understood completely by the police department. After we explained them, they were pretty understanding.

This does not relate in the area of confidentiality, for example. We do not give anybody any names or anything of this nature. It relates to situational problems, like some of the neighborhood kids may get together in a large group out in front of the house and somebody might complain that there is a large group in front of their house and they will give us a call—somebody will give the police a call and they will call us back and say, "Hey, why don't you do something about the group of kids in front of your house?" and we will get them to move on.

Senator BAYH. How did you get involved in this business?

Mr. WEDEMEYER. I am a social worker. I worked for the San Diego County Welfare Department for a year and a half and I was a child placement and protective services worker. This is the unit in the welfare department that handles child-abuse situations and foster-home placement and things of this nature. I was really aware of the lacks in San Diego specifically of this type of facility.

Senator BAYH. Give us a comparison, if you will, please, and I want to talk to Cathie in a minute and get some of her thoughts. But let's take a girl who runs away from home or a boy who runs away from home and is treated or is subjected to the services that are available within the system as it exists without The Bridge and then compare how that same child would be received with The Bridge in the picture.

Mr. WEDEMEYER. Okay. The usual process for a runaway before the Bridge was there was, first of all, there was no place they could really find out what to do if they were runaways. So one of the common things, I imagine, was to go to a friend, a young friend, or take off for Los Angeles or San Francisco. If the runaway was identified on the streets—oh, they also spend much time in the beach area. There are a lot of, you know, young people there, you know, under 30. They would hide out. For instance, my foster son at one time, when he ran away—this is one other way I got interested, also. This was before The Bridge started. He would go to Ocean Beach and stay in a place—it was like a 8 by 6 redwood fort that one of the kids had built when they were 10 or something like that, and it was left over in somebody's backyard. You know, everybody would crash there, however many could fit in, and they would have wall-to-wall people.

Senator BAYH. Eight by ten would not take very many people to do wall to wall.

Mr. WEDEMEYER. Well, that is right. And it had a kind of dog-run door that you would crawl in with one entrance. I imagine that if they were drinking and smoking in there, it would be a considerable fire hazard as well as hard to breathe. So that was one of the facilities that they stayed in.

If they were identified on the streets, which was the usual way they were picked up, they would be taken to police headquarters and the parents would be called frequently and the parents would then be encouraged to come pick them up and take them home. There was nothing done, then, to really counsel with the parents. The police approached

counseling from more like a lecture approach, shame on you for being the parent of a runaway and shame on you for being a runaway and, you know, you had better shape up and not do this anymore. Many times I have talked to parents who were referred by the police department for counseling and they were scared when they came. This was not kids who stayed at The Bridge but just kids who visited for counseling. They were scared because sometimes the police led them to believe that really bad things were going to happen and both of them were scared. It did not really help with identifying any of the problem areas between the parents and the kids. It just made them more uptight than they were to start with.

So one of our first things in counseling is to try to give them a clear picture of some of the threats that had been laid on them.

A kid whose parents are angry at him or whose parents can't be contacted will go to the hall, or a kid who is a little bit insulted by being picked up, if he is too mouthy, he will go to the hall.

At the hall, they put them in cells that are—oh, you might be able to describe that better, Cathie, the cells in the hall. They have one or two people in each cell and they have a good recreational program in terms that they have required recreation. They have substantial meals there. But outside of that, they are usually pretty much confined into a small area and do not ever get much chance to talk.

The average probation officer spends maybe an hour with a kid while he is spending his 8 days at the hall. Probation officers have caseloads that run, say, 50 to 80, in that range, and it is pretty hard for them to—

Senator BAYH. Even if a probation officer wanted to, it would be humanly impossible for them to spend much time with them?

Mr. WEDEMEYER. Right. They have plenty to keep them busy. That is why most of them spend their time in getting them out.

Senator BAYH. What has been your success or failure? What is the track record rate as far as the boys and girls that you have talked with, parents that you have counseled with?

Mr. WEDEMEYER. OK. That is the hardest part to identify because they go back, you know, and you lose track of them. We did send out a parent—

Senator BAYH. I suppose recidivism being what it is, the fact that you do lose track of them, that might be a good sign.

Mr. WEDEMEYER. Well, this is what we were hoping. I do not know. We did send out a parent questionnaire and a kid questionnaire when we first started to find out what their feelings were, and we did not get a magnificent response. Some people would just rather forget the fact that the kid ran away. And also, the kids sometimes want to forget it. But the response was essentially most of the—well, most of the kids had not run away again since they had returned home. Both the parents and the kids verified this. Most of them, in terms of what their feelings about our service was—this questionnaire was sent to the first hundred kids and parents.

Senator BAYH. Could we just put a copy of that questionnaire into the record?

Mr. WEDEMEYER. I have just the rough statistics.

Senator BAYH. Do you a copy of the questionnaire?

Mr. WEDEMEYER. Yes, I do.

Senator BAYH. Why not put it into the record? We do not need to discuss that in detail now, but if we could have a copy of it for the record, as well as a compilation of the statistics there, so we get an idea for our study as to what the results are.

Mr. WEDEMEYER. All right.

(Refer to exhibit No. 6, appendixes F, G, and H.)

Senator BAYH. Have you had a good deal of success generating volunteer help to supplement your funds from the county?

Mr. WEDEMEYER. Yes, we have. It is amazing the number of people who want to be involved. In San Diego, it is not always easy to be a volunteer in an agency that wants volunteers to do something. So we screen new volunteers in every month, and we only take about half of them that apply. We also fire volunteers if they are not doing their job. We also require, in addition to their 5-hour shift, we require about 4 hours' training a week. This includes counseling—well, growth groups we call them, which is training in group techniques, how to lead groups, and also being in a group yourself, and also things, just general information in terms of theory and things like this.

Senator BAYH. One point which I would like to reemphasize—one of our reasons for holding these hearings—is that it seems to us that the Runaway Youth Act is the best way to focus in on one aspect of the delinquency prevention problem—the problem of runaways.

Now, the administration officials from HEW yesterday suggested that this approach was not a good one because it would not permit a comprehensive enough attack on the problems. They thought that there would be difficulties with cooperation and coordination between various existing services et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

Now, given the magnitude of the runaway problem in San Diego, and given your experience with runaways, and also given your experience working with or not being able to work with other existing agencies and other existing services, is it your judgment that this type of bill, designed specifically to deal with the runaway problem and to help those who are dealing with it, can work? Can facilities developed under this bill utilize the other services and be part of a comprehensive program if one presently exists or should one be developed?

Mr. WEDEMEYER. Oh, yes. As a matter of fact, we have been working to make services more comprehensive in the city of San Diego. There has been a comprehensive planning board that has been in existence for 2 years in San Diego. It has taken essentially 2 years to find out what it was supposed to coordinate, let alone actually coordinate. That has cost, you know, quite a bit of money. We could have run a couple of Bridges on just the money for coordinating itself. Finally, we got tired of waiting, so we started to coordinate things on our own.

For instance, in San Diego, The Bridge is involved with mostly other street agencies—there are about 30—and churches and places like the YWCA, and, oh, the county adoption people are represented. We are trying to coordinate services for the National Republican Convention, which is going to be held there, for the large numbers of people who are going to be coming—

Senator BAYH. Off the record.

(Off-the-record discussion.)

Mr. WEDEMAYER. We expect to have a large number of young people come into the city for various reasons. Currently, there are no preparations being made by the city or the county to, you know, handle housing, communications, rumor control, things of this nature. So the Community Congress is involved in this.

Senator BAYH. Your judgment is that it is possible to coordinate the various services and with additional assistance, to provide additional services, additional care and concern, for runaways without having some Federal bureaucratic scheme, all in a neat little package?

Mr. WEDEMAYER. Right.

Senator BAYH. You need it now?

Mr. WEDEMAYER. Right. I think one of San Diego's problems is we need more services, and it is hard to coordinate what you do not have.

Senator BAYH. That is just one of the remarks that I could not resist offering Mr. Rutledge yesterday, from HEW. Of course, he has worked in the District, and he is very compassionate and very concerned, and I have a sneaking suspicion that there are those to whom he must respond that are not too much in favor of the type of approach our bill takes. They would rather spend money locking up kids than keeping them from being locked up. That may be a very hard analysis, but I think if we look at the way our LEAA funds are being expended—

Mr. WEDEMAYER. The thing that—I find that hard to believe, though, because it is much more economical to do it the way we do it.

Senator BAYH. You are absolutely right. I find it hard to believe that others do believe it, but believe me, they do.

Mr. WEDEMAYER. OK.

Senator BAYH. As we look at the way funds are being expended by HEW's own admission, the services that are now available and the authority that they testified yesterday to having since 1968, in almost 4 years, how many different programs have you instituted? Four.

Mr. WEDEMAYER. I heard that.

Senator BAYH. So apparently, somebody, someplace, believes that preventative services are not very important, that locking young people up is the way to solve the problem.

Cathie, you have been very patient here while we have discussed this. Why don't you and I rap a bit here?

Tell me a little bit about yourself. How old are you now?

Miss B. Fourteen.

Senator BAYH. You are 14? When did you first run away?

Miss B. When I was 13.

Senator BAYH. How many times have you run away?

Miss B. Four times.

Senator BAYH. Four times? How many times did you run away before you found out about The Bridge?

Miss B. Three times.

Senator BAYH. How did you find out about it?

Miss B. Through court.

Senator BAYH. Through the court?

Tell us a little bit about your experience, will you? You do not need to be nervous any more than I am, because you know a lot more about what you are going to say than I do. That is why I would like to hear about it.

Why would a young lady like yourself, pretty and personable, why would you want to run away?

Miss B. Because I do not get along with my stepfather.

Senator BAYH. What was wrong with your relationship with your stepfather?

Miss B. He is an ex-drunk.

Senator BAYH. He is an ex-drunk?

Miss B. Yes, and my mom, you know, asked him to stop drinking, so he did. But he sneaks drinks when he is out of the house, but when he is around home, he is nervous and upset because he isn't.

Senator BAYH. Was he drinking when you first ran away?

Miss B. No.

Senator BAYH. The process of not drinking makes him nervous and he is looking for someone to take it out on, is that it?

Miss B. Yes.

Senator BAYH. Did you ever sit down and talk with him?

Miss B. Yes, but he would never listen. We would always end up fighting and he would say either shut up or get out of the house.

Senator BAYH. Did he ever beat you or whip you?

Miss B. Yes, I came home an hour late one day and walked in the house with a friend, and he was going to hit my friend, but my mom got her out of the house before he could. He started hitting me with a belt buckle and asking me what happened, why was I late?

At first I lied to him and then he kept saying I was lying, so I decided to tell him the truth and he still said I was lying. And at the same time, he is hitting me.

Then he said he took it out on my mom because I wasn't around because I was late and he didn't have anybody else to take it out on. He said he didn't care about me, he cared about my mother.

I said he didn't care if I was dead, so he went in the kitchen and got two long butcher knives and he was going to stab me. My mom had to wrestle with him for about 5 minutes.

Senator BAYH. He tried to stab you?

Miss B. Yes.

Senator BAYH. How old were you?

Miss B. Thirteen.

Senator BAYH. How big is he?

Miss B. Pretty big. He is an ironworker.

Senator BAYH. Did he really try to stab you?

Miss B. Yes, but my mom was arguing with him, wrestling with him trying to get them out of his hands. Finally he calmed down and he dropped the knives. Then he threw shoes at me.

Finally I called my brother-in-law, who is the only person who can really talk to him, he says because they are both good liars.

Senator BAYH. Your brother-in-law is your sister's husband?

Miss B. Yes.

Senator BAYH. How old is your sister?

Miss B. Twenty-six. I used to live with them before my mom got married, because she always worked and she didn't want me at the house by myself all the time.

Senator BAYH. How long a period of time was it that you lived with your brother-in-law and your sister?

Miss B. Well, I lived with them off and on. First I lived with them—I didn't exactly live with them, but sort of, because I would go

to their house after school and I would stay the night, but when my mom was off work, I would stay with her, so it was just like living with them.

Senator BAYH. Can you talk to your mom?

Miss B. Uh-huh.

Senator BAYH. Could you communicate with her?

Miss B. Uh-huh. We got along really well. We used to, you know, have a real good relationship. But then my stepfather came along and she hasn't had a man in a long time, like ever since I was 6 weeks old, so she gives all her attention to him, you know, and I never get any. She is always talking to him and never talking to me anymore. That is when I lived at home.

But now, even him and her take me shopping and stuff.

Senator BAYH. Things are better now?

Miss B. Yes.

Senator BAYH. How did they get better? You ran away, now, and you say that you found out about The Bridge from the court. When you ran away, where did you go the first time?

Miss B. Old Town in San Diego and I stay with six friends in this little house in the Village. The whole house was just one room.

Senator BAYH. There were seven of you there.

Miss B. Yes. No, there were eight. Another chick ran away with me.

Senator BAYH. How old were they? Were they all about 13 or 14?

Miss B. No, they were all around 18 or 19. The chick I ran away with was my brother's sister's sister—no, my brother's wife's sister. She is 15 and we stayed with some guys.

Senator BAYH. This was sort of a commune, was it, there in Old Town?

Miss B. Uh-huh, it was like apartments, except they were separate houses.

Senator BAYH. And you were all living there in one room, though.

Miss B. Uh-huh.

Senator BAYH. How long did you stay there?

Miss B. Two and a half weeks.

Senator BAYH. Did your mother or father find you there or did you just go home voluntarily?

Miss B. No, I turned myself in to the police station.

See, the friends left me, I was like there by myself and I didn't know what to do. There was this one guy that lived in a different house there and he talked me into going home, so I went home.

Senator BAYH. Then you ran away a second time. Where did you go that time?

Miss B. I stayed with some friends at Ocean Beach.

Senator BAYH. How long did you stay there?

Miss B. About 3 days.

Senator BAYH. Was that in a home, or room, or what?

Miss B. It was in a home. This guy's parents lived there, too, and he said that we were on vacation. I ran away with another chick, too. He said, "My mom went on vacation, and the people I was supposed to stay with left, and I can give you a place to stay." So I stayed there.

Senator BAYH. Tell me a little bit more about that 2½-week stay. Did you get enough to eat then?

Miss B. Yes, in the Village, there was a—like there was a chick and a guy that lived there, too, and they had run way from Ohio and they lived there, too, and they were staying with one guy. And there was all this welfare food, you know, and they were all donated to us, so that is how we ate.

And the guys we lived with always stole stuff. Like they stole some kegs and sold them for \$20 each.

Senator BAYH. They stole some what?

Miss B. Kegs; you know, beer kegs.

Senator BAYH. Oh, kegs.

Miss B. And they stole a cigarette machine and got all the money out of that and just stole—you know, everything that we had was ripped off.

Senator BAYH. Let's go on to the third time. Where did you go the third time?

Miss B. I was sent to Phoenix because me and my stepfather got in an argument because I ate a piece of bacon in my room and he walked out of the house.

Senator BAYH. You ate bacon in your room?

Miss B. Yes, and he walked out of the house. We had just got the house and it was a new rug and stuff.

So he walked out and me and my mom talked about it and I asked her, maybe it would be better if I went to live with my sister again—she had moved to Phoenix—until they got things settled. She said, "No, I wouldn't do that to you." But a half-hour later, she said, "Maybe it would be better if you did go and stay with her."

I go, "How long, a week?"

She goes, "No, about a year."

I went to Phoenix and I went to enroll in school about 2 days later and it cost me \$1,300 to get in school. My mom had wrote me a letter that day and she said if she could have, she would have gotten me off the bus, you know, and if any chance came up, she wanted to get me home, because she was sorry she sent me away. So I thought if it cost \$1,300, that is a bigger chance, she wanted me home. So when I called up, she said maybe my stepfather could call up somebody and get me in school. That really hurt me.

We tried to talk to somebody and we couldn't. They were going to pay it—\$1,300; they must have wanted me gone pretty bad. So I ran away again.

Senator BAYH. You were in Phoenix this time?

Miss B. Yes.

Senator BAYH. Where did you go this time?

Miss B. The last time?

Senator BAYH. This was the third time. Where did you go when you ran away in Phoenix?

Miss B. I stayed about five houses down the street with this other chick and two guys. But they lived with their parents and we would sleep in the car every night and when their parents went to work and their little sister and brother went to school, we would sneak in the house and go to sleep.

Senator BAYH. In that period of time, during that 2½ weeks you were in Old Town, were you ever fearful, did you ever fear someone was going to hurt you physically?

Miss B. The guys I stayed with were Satanical believers.

Senator BAYH. They were what?

Miss B. They believed in Satan. They wore the upside down cross and all that kind of stuff. And like a lot of scary stuff happened, you know, and a lot of weird things.

Senator BAYH. I don't want to ask you any embarrassing questions, things that happened the kind of things you want to tell us about so we might know the kinds of things they got into? If you don't want to, you don't have to.

Miss B. All right, I want to.

They would worship the Devil, you know, and do all these weird things and they would have seances and stuff and they would call Mandas (?) in the room, you know, and a bunch of scary things like that.

Senator BAYH. Did they ever order you to do things or make you do things that you didn't want to do?

Miss B. No.

Senator BAYH. Or felt you had to do?

Miss B. They would try to talk me into it, but they wouldn't make me do it.

Senator BAYH. Were they using drugs? Have you ever had any experience with the drug scene?

Miss B. Uh-huh. I used to take speed a lot, because their religion was speed, you know, so I always used to take speed. I dropped acid once in awhile, and I smoked dope. I smoked dope all the time.

I got drunk a lot.

Senator BAYH. Now, tell us about the fourth time you ran away. You apparently were arrested then and the police finally got you and put you in the Juvenile Hall?

Miss B. Yes.

Senator BAYH. And then the court?

Miss B. I went to court and they placed me at The Bridge.

Senator BAYH. Tell us a little bit about that experience, how does it feel to be arrested, under what circumstances were you arrested?

Miss B. I stayed in Ocean Beach again. We went back to my house. You know, I lived in a trailer park. We went back there to see some friends and that was really stupid. We went to this chick's house and this other chick that lived in the trailer park had run away with me, too. So there was two of us. The other chick's mother saw her come in the trailer park, so she came up to the house and walked in the door. She knew I had ran away with her daughter, you know, and she walked in and saw me sitting by the telephone. But her daughter was in the bathroom and she was asking where Laurie was, you know, and I went, I don't know, I don't know. She left, called us a bunch of liars and she left and she came back. And she tried to get in the bathroom, because that is where we were, we were hiding from her.

So Laurie was in the shower and I pulled the curtains and flushed the toilet and pretended like I was going to the bathroom and I walked out, so she didn't look in the bathroom.

We were trying to get away and her mother was following us everywhere we went, so we had to sneak Laurie over to the gas station. Her mother was following us, so we started hitchhiking and we were going to come back after her.

Me and this guy were hitchhiking, and the mother came back and said she wanted to pick us up. I go, no, you will take me home. She goes, no, I won't take you home.

So we were hitchhiking in front of the gas station, and there was a highway patrol in front and she backed up and told them I was a runaway and the highway patrol came over and picked us up. They called my mother and stepfather and asked her if they wanted us taken home or to the hall. My stepfather said the hall and my mom just agreed. So I got taken to the hall and got checked over and stuff.

Senator BAYH. What is it like to be at the hall?

Miss B. Awful.

Senator BAYH. Pardon?

Miss B. Awful.

Senator BAYH. Could you pull that mike just a little closer?

Miss B. It is awful, because, like, you run away for help and you get locked up, you know. They treat you like you are a criminal. They treat you like you did something really wrong, you know. They never counsel you, they don't talk to you, they just—well, you can't talk at all unless you are eating or you are not playing in the gym or something. You can't talk on the way to school, can't talk in the halls, can't talk in the showers or anything.

Senator BAYH. You were committed to the Juvenile Hall, to the police authorities by your mother and your stepfather. Anything you can remember specifically about the day on which you were—

Miss B. It was my birthday.

Senator BAYH. That was quite a birthday present, wasn't it?

Miss B. Yes.

Senator BAYH. What type of girls were you associating with in juvenile hall? You had run away. That is the only thing wrong you have done, right?

Miss B. Yes.

Senator BAYH. What had some of the other girls done at the hall that you were incarcerated with?

Miss B. The chick I was sharing the room with was an escapee from Las Galenas. She took acid everyday and she got busted with a bunch of it. She was going to get sent up to YA—the Youth Authority—and stay there, I think for 6 months to a year.

Senator BAYH. Some of the girls you lived with everyday and associated with and ate with and rapped with at juvenile hall had committed rather serious crimes compared to your running away?

Miss B. Yes, most of them.

Senator BAYH. Most of them had.

All right, tell us, the court sent you to The Bridge. How did that all happen?

Miss B. I was in the hall for 2 days and then I was going to go to my detention hearing and I just went in and they said that I could be detained at the Bridge until I went into a foster home—well, for 6 weeks—and if I don't have a foster home then, then I have to go to the hall again and wait for one. But 6 weeks came up and I still hadn't had a foster home, so the Bridge made an exemption for me to stay there until I find a foster home. I have been there 3 months now.

Senator BAYH. You are still staying at The Bridge?

Miss B. Yes.

Senator BAYH. Have they tried to talk to your mother and your stepfather to see if things could work out there at all?

Miss B. Yes, I wanted a family session with my stepfather and my mother. My stepfather wouldn't do it, because he said anything happens, I will just split again, because he thought I was running away because it is fun. So my mother had a family session. We got a little straightened out.

We were going to try to talk my stepfather into it still. He said no. Like he would get mad at my mother if she talked to me on the telephone or came to see me. He didn't want her to go to the family session. She had to sneak out of the house. And every time he found out about it, he would get really mad at her and yell at her.

One time he got so mad at her for going to see me and my older brother and sister-in-law came over to the house and everything just built up between him and me and my sister-in-law, because she would give us some of the attention and he didn't get it all. He got mad and got in a big hassle with her and hit her and she has asthma and she had an asthma attack and had to be rushed to the hospital.

Senator BAYH. Do you feel that there are those at the Bridge who understand, that there are people you trust there?

Miss B. Yes, they understand a lot, a lot better than parents do.

Senator BAYH. Where do you suppose you would be now, where do you suppose you might be a year from now if you hadn't found out about the Bridge?

Miss B. If I hadn't found out about it? Juvenile Hall.

Senator BAYH. Where are the girls in Juvenile Hall headed?

Miss B. Huh?

Senator BAYH. Where were most of the girls in Juvenile Hall that you got to know, where do you think most of them would end up?

Miss B. At the hall? Maybe Oz.

Mr. WEDEMAYER. There are some other places.

Senator BAYH. I was just wondering if maybe Cathie thought Juvenile Hall might lead to another tougher institution.

Miss B. Yes, Las Galenas, YA.

Senator BAYH. Well, you think the Bridge is a pretty great place, then. At least they understand you.

Are you in school now?

Miss B. Yes. I don't like it.

Senator BAYH. What grade are you in?

Miss B. Ninth.

Senator BAYH. Well, hang in there, will you?

Thanks a lot, Cathie, and thanks a lot, Mr. Wedemeyer. We appreciate very much getting your experience as well as what you are doing in the San Diego community. I am hopeful we will be successful with this bill so we can provide more help.

(Mr. Wedemeyer's prepared statement is as follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN WEDEMAYER, DIRECTOR OF THE BRIDGE, A HOME FOR RUNAWAYS

Chairman Bayh and Distinguished Members of the Senate: I am here today to testify on behalf of the many thousands of runaways in the United States and more specifically to offer information on the scope of the runaway problem in Southern California.

To begin, I would like to offer you some information on the Bridge and San Diego Youth Services. When the Bridge opened in June of 1970, it was synonymous with San Diego Youth Services which is the name of our corporation. The six months of planning for the Bridge began in January 1970 when a graduate student from the San Diego State College School of Social Work convened a meeting of concerned community people to discuss the tremendous need in San Diego for various youth housing facilities. A home for runaways was established as having top priority.

Today the Bridge is one of two programs administered and funded by San Diego Youth Services. The second program (the "It"), a drop-in center for youth from the immediate neighborhood, was begun in June 1971 by two former Bridge staff members. This "youth outreach" program serves well over 50 neighborhood (delinquent) teenagers between the ages of 10 and 20.

Both the Bridge and the It are located in Golden Hill, an ethnically mixed, "transitional," neighborhood which borders the center city of San Diego, Balboa Park, and the Black, Chicano and white poverty areas. One of the two major freeway interchanges in San Diego is located approximately ten blocks from the Bridge and the It. In addition, Golden Hill is one of the few areas in San Diego which is adequately served by the city bus line. Consequently, the location of both projects makes them easily accessible to most individuals who might need their services.

WHO RECEIVES SERVICE

In its eighteen months of operation, the staff of the Bridge has had face to face contact with over 650 runaways of various natures. Of this total, 519 were under the age of 18 and stayed one day or longer. 47 individuals were over the age of 18 and stayed one day or longer.

In addition, the staff of the Bridge has offered telephone counseling or information to over 400 individuals who had already run away, and to over 400 individuals who were thinking of running. Similar counseling and/or information was also supplied to over 600 parents of runaways. Nearly 2000 other individuals received crisis counseling or information in regard to countless problems excluding that of runaway.

Since that initiation of their efforts seven months ago, the staff of the Bridge has made contact with approximately 100 neighborhood youths. 50 of these youths have received consistent, ongoing service throughout the entire seven months. The average youth served by the center spends from 15 to 25 hours a week there. He has been on at least one camping trip, ridden one horse, and visited Disneyland one time. In addition, his stealing, fighting, and drug use has dropped to about half of what it was in the spring.

Our entire program utilizes seven paid staff members and over 40 volunteer staff members. In total the entire program has served over 4,600 individuals in some capacity during the last 18 months. However, the major portion of staff effort, time and money has gone toward serving the 600 plus runaways.

THE "AVERAGE" RUNAWAY

The average runaway in San Diego is a fourteen and a half-year-old girl. She is white and Protestant. (Female runaways have consistently outnumbered male runaways two to one. The average male runaway we serve is fifteen and a half, white and Protestant.) Her home is located in San Diego County and the marriage of her natural parents is intact. Her father works either for some branch of the military (17%) or in a "blue collar" occupation (32%). Her mother's occupation is that of housewife (55%). Her family's annual income is under \$12,000. She has runaway twice before coming to the Bridge.

Most of the runaways the Bridge has served (58%) found out about the Bridge from their friends, 13% were referred by either the County Welfare or Probation departments, 14% were referred by other social service agencies, 8% via the mass media (radio), and 3% by the City Police Department.

The majority of runaways (60%) return home to their parents following their stay at the Bridge, 18% go back on the streets and 7% are placed in foster homes. Only 19 of our total resident population have returned for a second stay.

Our staff estimates that over 50% of the Bridge residents have received family counseling; however, our documentation in this area is so poor this would be difficult to prove. There are recorded family sessions for about 30% of our residents.

SCOPE OF THE RUNAWAY PROBLEM

In San Diego runaways are a serious problem. If you look at page one of the San Diego Youth Services, Inc. Program Summary, you can review some of the juvenile statistics published by the San Diego City Police Department. As you can see, there were approximately 3,200 runaways reported to the police department. The police came in direct contact with over 2,500 runaways. Over 700 runaways were detained at Juvenile Hall.

Juvenile Hall, however, served many more runaways than the 700 brought by the police. In both 1969 and 1970 Juvenile Hall housed more than 2,000 runaways. In both of these years, runaways accounted for over 20% of the total population of the Hall. Similarly, runaways accounted for 20% of the total juvenile arrests made by the San Diego Police Department.

It should be noted that a great many runaways are not reported to anyone. Some juvenile detectives in the San Diego Police Department estimate that only one out of ten runaways is reported. Officials in the San Diego County Probation Department estimate that one out of three runaways is reported. Assuming that the Probation Department figure is more accurate we may assume that there are approximately 9,500 runaways in the area of San Diego City proper. This figure accounts for about 20% of the adolescent population in San Diego. (1970 Census shows a total of 47,748 individuals between the ages of 14 and 18.)

I think it is clearly apparent that runaways are a serious problem in our society today. Government at all levels needs to be involved *constructively* in dealing with this problem. Traditional law-enforcement approaches are obviously not working.

Runaways are a social problem, not a law enforcement problem. It is both unreasonable and expensive for us to continue to require law enforcement agencies to handle youth problems of this nature. Police officers and probation officers do not have the skills to deal effectively with runaways. Neither do they have the time. The time they do spend is very expensive for the taxpayer. Should the federal government decide to support homes for runaways it would likely achieve much better results for its money than are currently being obtained through traditional law enforcement methods.

For example, the San Diego Police Department spends approximately \$350,000 a year to support its juvenile detective unit. This is the unit that handles runaways, child abuse situations, family disputes and the like. The cost of this service averages \$22 for each youth arrested. The cost for the 707 runaways arrested by the police and detained in the hall; including the average 8-day stay at the Hall (\$144) and a half day of a probation officer's time (minimum) to get each you out again; totals approximately \$128,000.

Average cost per youth arrested by police juvenile unit.....	\$22.00
Total cost for 8-day average stay at Juvenile Hall (\$18 per day according to county figures).....	144.00
One half-day of a probation officer's time.....	15.00

Total \$181.00 × 707 youths arrested and detained..... 127,967

Had the 400 youths served by the Bridge this past year gone through this same traditional law enforcement process, they would have cost the local San Diego government \$72,400. Remember, this cost includes only pick-up, cold storage and delivery. No counseling is provided, and court costs are not included.

At the Bridge we have found that most runaways leave home because they feel they need something they are not getting at home. Our government needs to be offering these people places where they can grow; where they can talk with other individuals and perhaps identify what it is that they are looking for. It is senseless as well as wasteful to punish these individuals for wanting to grow.

In brief, I strongly support the Runaway Youth Act. In my view it is the best legislation of this nature in Congress. Therefore, I urge you gentlemen and the rest of the Congress to enact this bill into law with all due speed.

Thank you.

Our next witness is Hon. Warren W. Martin, Jr., judge, superior court, Clark County, Jeffersonville, Ind., accompanied by Mr. C. B. Barthold, chief probation officer, superior court, Clark County; president, Indiana Corrections Association.

I might say while the Honorable Judge and Mrs. Barthold are coming to the witness table that Judge Martin is a longtime friend and associate of mine.

I will not say for the record, Judge, how long ago it was that I first met you when you were a leader in the Indiana State Senate, but it has been a privilege to know you all these years and we are happy to have the benefit of your testimony—both of you, here—before this committee.

STATEMENT OF WARREN W. MARTIN, JR., JUDGE, SUPERIOR COURT, CLARK COUNTY, JEFFERSONVILLE, IND.; ACCOMPANIED BY MRS. C. B. BARTHOLD, CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER, SUPERIOR COURT, CLARK COUNTY; PRESIDENT, INDIANA CORRECTIONS ASSOCIATION

Judge MARTIN. I might say, Senator, it is a privilege to be asked to be here. Of course, you also were holding a position of leadership at the same time that I was, I believe, and we were fighting the battles on different grounds.

Senator BAYH. The same battles, different branches.

Judge MARTIN. Well, we were saving the country, as we used to say, so I suppose that is what we are still involved in.

We have a statement that we want to put in and I am going to ask my chief probation officer to read it. She reads better than I do.

Senator BAYH. Fine. Well, I tell you, you both feel free to handle your testimony any way you want. I have not had a chance to read the whole statement. We will ask that it be put in the record in toto and you may read it or summarize it or discuss it or other aspects that may not be in the record.

Judge MARTIN. I thought she might read it, and then I might have some other statements to make.

Mrs. BARTHOLD. The following is a joint statement made by Judge Warren W. Martin, Jr., judge of the Superior Court of Clark County, Ind., and by Mrs. C. B. Barthold, the chief probation officer of the Superior Court of Clark County, Ind. This statement is made in support of S. 2829—a bill cited as the Runaway Youth Act, which was introduced under the sponsorship of Senator Birch Bayh of the State of Indiana and Senator Marlow W. Cook of the State of Kentucky. We have reviewed the detailed provisions of this bill, and find that they come closer to answering to real needs of the runaway children of this country than any other piece of legislation that has been proposed up to this time.

In our opinion, there are two critical and crucial periods of a child's life when juvenile delinquency tendencies can be detected—by this, we mean "acting out" in various ways to gain attention—but really "seeking help" for his problems—in school; and more importantly, when the child becomes a runaway. It is at this time that everything that can be done to try to cope with the child's problems should be done.

From our experience, we have found that at these points, if the causes—whatever they may be—can be dealt with and adequately resolved, his pattern of behavior can be redirected and he can be helped to become a good citizen. If the causes are ignored or not adequately taken care of, this same child will be involved again in delinquent behavior; not once, but possibly several times. As the child returns

and repeats, the offenses committed become greater and greater; and, ultimately, he may go on to become an adult criminal.

Again, in our opinion, this bill as proposed would create a progressive and forward-looking program and define the method whereby any community, or any group of people who are sincerely interested in the welfare of the youth of their community, would be able to deal with the specific problems of the runaway children and the factors that cause them to run away—and the bill would work toward the solution to those problems.

If you would indulge us at this point, I would like to give you some facts and figures—and some programs that we have used in Clark County, which, in our opinion, have proven very helpful in dealing with the runaway problem.

The Superior Court of Clark County, Ind., is in a community of 75,000 people, directly across the river from Louisville, Ky., which is a metropolitan area that had a population in 1970 of 826,553. To give you an idea of the size of our problem, we have in the past 6 years handled a total of 6,453 juveniles. Of this total, 692 were runaways—or, slightly over 10 percent of the total caseload. Realizing your concern with the interstate problem, we can only say that our records show that 20 percent of our total caseload is from out of State; and that there is nothing that we see in our figures or records that would indicate that the proportion of runaways would be any different. However, the basic problem, be it interstate or intrastate, is exactly the same; and, therefore, the programs that must be developed to deal with these problems and the methods of handling these young people and relieving the factors that have caused them to run away must be basic—must be meaningful—and must utilize all of the resources of the community to be successful.

Briefly, the following are some examples of our methods and programs that have been found to be very helpful in stabilizing the runaway child:

Individual counseling by the probation officer in order to try to find the cause and to try to do something about the cause;

Group counseling, and this could involve both the child and his parents;

Referral to the mental health and guidance clinic, along with his parents, to try to relieve the problem;

Assignment to a tutoring program—many times we find that a child lacks basic reading skills and cannot perform in school. This causes feeling of anger and frustration, and he may run away;

Information about the juvenile law and how it affects him, and other general information about the law and the consequences of a juvenile record;

Volunteer services of responsible people from our community; and

Detention, which is sometimes indicated and used, particularly when there is danger that the child will run away again before his problem is alleviated.

We have two specific new programs of alternatives to incarceration which this court and the probation office have been fortunate to have the services of, and which have been developed within the last year or so and funded through the Criminal Justice Agency:

The intensive supervision probation program. This program utilizes the services of a qualified probation officer with a limited caseload—not more than 15 or 20—dealing with the hard core cases who, but for this program, might have been incarcerated in one of our State correctional institutions.

The Clark-Floyd Youth Opportunity Center—the foster home program—which was developed for children who, for various reasons, become involved in delinquent behavior because of factors in their homes and in their environment. They needed to be removed from this damaging home situation, but most certainly should not be sent to the State correctional institution. Many of the children placed in this foster home program were runaways; and this program deals with the problems that caused them to run away.

We, of course, realize that in all probability the runaway problem in the more densely populated areas is a graver problem than it is in our area. However, the percentage of the problem is possibly about the same when you stop to analyze the issue. The answers to these problems are the same.

In closing, we would like to say that this bill addresses itself to one of the fundamental causes, and one of the real critical issues of the juvenile delinquency problem. We feel that if any runaway can be properly and completely treated, counseled and redirected, and the anxieties and problems of the child alleviated, there is no reason that this child should not go on to become a law-abiding citizen—able to take his place in society. If this is not done, he may go on to become a more serious delinquent.

We would sincerely request and hope that this committee, and the Congress of the United States, would enact this legislation so that we would have one of the answers to a most serious problem for many of the youth of this country.

Along with the foregoing statements, and to verify our conclusions, we are submitting:

- Personal letters from parents of runaway children;
- Personal letters from the runaway children themselves;
- Excerpts from essays written by runaway children; and
- A copy of a local newspaper article regarding runaways.

We thank you.

Senator BAYH. I have read those letters you mention. I ask unanimous consent that they be incorporated in the record immediately following Mrs. Barthold's statement. I believe they are graphic examples of the effectiveness of this program.

Mrs. BARTHOLD. They were all unsolicited and we were quite surprised and pleased to receive them.

(The letters referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 7," and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT 7

Mrs. Thomas H. Morrissey
48 Cherry Street
Arden, North Carolina 28704



Mrs C B Barthold
Chief Deputy Officer
Clack County Court House
Jeffersonville Ind.

Mrs. Thomas H. Morrissey

Re. Letter from a
Parent of a
Runaway boy

April 2, 1970

Dear Mrs Barthold,

We cannot express our gratitude for the warmth and understanding John and I received in Jeffersonville. Would that every troubled child could find himself in the hands of a person of your depth of knowledge and compassion for his situation.

There were no problems upon returning home. It was a very happy father-son reunion at the airport and we now realize that each of us needs to take a bit more time with one another in our daily lives.

We might again be troubled and need you but I rather believe that one day you might

hear of some fine and wonderful thing John has done as an adult. He is a sensible, intelligent person and very capable of putting his talents to good use.

Again our thanks for being there when we needed you.

Sincerely,

Mary Lyn Morrissey

Raymond L Harrington
RFD # 2
Fairfax, Vermont 05454



*Re: Letter from
Parents of a
Runaway*

Clark County Juvenile Court
Court House

Mrs C. B. Barthold
Clark County Probation Officer
Court House
Jeffersonville, Indiana

Raymond L Harrington
RFD # 2
Fairfax, Vermont 05454

February 2, 1966
RE: Larry W. Sheddick

Dear Mrs Barthold:

In accord with my earlier agree-
ment to reimburse the ones financial-
ly responsible for my step sons return
to Burlington, Vermont (Larry Sheddick),
I am enclosing my check for \$39.00,
payable to Lawrence Cephal Post 35,
American Legion. I feel that send-
ing the money to you through your office,
you will see that it reaches the proper
people.

This entire situation was something
new to me, and I now consider myself
fortunate to have dealt with it, and
indirectly with Mr. Hoffman. Although
I hope this will never repeat, but I
Larry and I learned something as
a result, and my faith in my fellow
mankind was renewed.

Larry has resigned himself to
finding a job in this area, without

2.
 Jobs for a boy his age are rather hard to come by at this season of the year. I sense that his experience in Indiana has taken some of the "itch" out of his feet. Perhaps now he is prepared to settle down and make something worthwhile of his life.

His mother and I have gone to great lengths to show understanding and help him through this restless phase of his life, and our efforts seem to finally be showing fruits for our labors.

I wish to thank you very much for the part you played in helping to return Larry to his home. I am aware that it was in the line of your job, but I also feel that you went above and beyond in the "call of duty", and its for this that I especially thank you.

Yours very truly,

Raymond A. Houghton

January 11, 1966

*Re: Letter of
thanks for
help to a
Runaway boy*

American Legion
Lawrence Capehart Post 35
217 W. Court Avenue
Jeffersonville, Indiana

Attention: Mr. Robert Hoffman, Chairman
Charity Committee

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

On behalf of the Clark County Juvenile Court, may I extend our heartfelt appreciation to you and your organization for your help in buying the bus ticket for the runaway boy from Vermont.

We particularly appreciate the promptness of your cooperation and feel that this is a sign of your confidence in the work of the Juvenile Court.

In discussing this case with you, I talked about the possibility of your being reimbursed by the father. I will send him your name, and a copy of the receipt, which was furnished to you and hope that he will be good enough to send the money back to you. In speaking with him on the telephone, he seemed like a sincere father who wanted to do the right thing by his boy.

Thank you again for your kindness and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. C. B. Barthold
Clark County Probation Officer

CEB:eb

January 14, 1966

*Re. final Letter
from Probation
Office regarding
Runaway Boy*

American Legion,
Lawrence Capehart Post 35
217 W. Court Avenue
Jeffersonville, Indiana

Attention: Mr. Robert Hoffman, Chairman
Charity Committee

RE: LARRY SHEDRICK,
Runaway from Vermont

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

I know that you will be happy to hear that Larry Shedrick had arrived in Burlington, Vermont, and was met there at the bus station by his father and uncle. From Burlington, he was taken to his home at Fairfax by his father and uncle.

I spoke with Mr. Harrington, Larry's stepfather, today and he again extended his thanks and appreciation to this office and to you and your organization for your help in his son's return home.

Mr. Harrington stated that he would most certainly reimburse your organization for the cost of the bus ticket and expenses, which you had furnished for Larry and will send the money after he receives his check at the end of this month. He feels that it should arrive in Jeffersonville around the 4th or 5th of next month.

I know you are somewhat relieved to know that the boy did reach his destination as we were when we spoke with his father. We never know when we try to help a boy or girl whether we have "reached" them. I have found in dealing with many, many young people that most of them can be trusted and that runaways, in particular, are basically good boys and girls who, for one reason or another, are "mixed up" and emotionally upset. Perhaps our gesture of kindness, or our "extending a helping hand" at a crucial time in their lives is all that is needed to get them back on the right road.

May I extend my thanks to you again for your help on this case.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. C. B. Barthold
Clark County Probation Officer

CBB:eb
CC: Mr. John Way
U.S. Post Office
Jeffersonville, Indiana

July 16, 1967.

Dear Mrs. Barthold: May
 we, as parents express
 our sincere appreciation
 to you, the Judge and
 Instructor, the past
 three weeks for a new
 understanding of our
 problems. If, at any time,
 you feel we should come
 down on a Sat. 9-11 am.
 we will be very happy,
 to come and cooperate in
 every way, possible, to
 help Donna. May the good
 Lord bless you in your
 work with the youth that
 we will grow into fine men.
 Thank you Sincerely Mr. E. D. Marshall



Mrs. C. B. Barthold,
 Clark Co. Juvenile Court,
 Jeffersonville
 Indiana.

Re: Letter from
 Parent of a
 Runaway

From:
 E. D. Marshall's.
 Lexington, Ind.
 E.D.M. Box 253
 - 11/138 -

814 Holden Blvd.
Lakeland, Florida
33903



IGHT TB
AND OTHER
-RESPIRATORY DISEASES



M. R. B. Hold

January 15, 1966

Dear Mrs. Barthold,

I arrived home safely with no problems Tuesday morning about 8:30. I have had very few problems since returning home. Mom and Dad took my license away for a while, but that is all they have done, except to tell me how lucky I was and I should thank God that I arrived home safely. I guess they're right.

School is all right except that I missed three tests while I was gone and that drops my grade to a "B" in those classes. I guess most people wouldn't complain about that, though.

Tell all the police at Clarksville "Hi" for me. If I'm ever in Indiana, I'll come see you all.

Yours truly,
Florence Hood

Re: Runways from
Florida
(Thanks to
Police Officers)

Re: Remembrance
from
Florence

Mrs. Barthold,

I want to thank you for your patience and understanding with Florence and myself. Although you saw us at our worst, I think you can see what we really are like. We were just going through another part of growing up. (Although we went the wrong way.)

For myself, I learned much from my 3 day venture and am thankful in a way that I had that opportunity. I had a glimpse of the other life and this challenges me to make something of myself in an even greater way.

Thank you for everything,

Letty Ludolph

1040 Lake Shore Dr.
Lakeland, Florida
33501



Mrs. C. S. Barthold
Clair County Juvenile Ct.
Court House
Jeffersonville, Indiana

With people under eighteen the result of a crime is not quite the same. They are called juvenile delinquents. Every state has a juvenile court. Its purpose is to keep young offenders from becoming adult criminals. Many times juvenile courts are more strict than an adult court would be, because they want to stop the young person from continuing his life of crime and if they are very strict at first this many times helps. But one thing different is that no child who is brought before the juvenile court has an official criminal record.

because of the criminal record. The armed forces will not give a commission to anyone who has been convicted of a crime. A person convicted of a crime cannot become a lawyer. Worst of all, anyone convicted of a felony loses his rights as a citizen and cannot vote unless the governor restores his rights. This is why the juvenile court was set up. The juvenile court wants to help young people who have gone wrong somewhere. If you get into trouble, the juvenile court judge and his probation officers can help you if you are willing to be helped. The court also helps kids from broken homes. A single act of recklessness can spoil a young person's whole life unless he is able to show that he can learn from experience. The juvenile court helps young people to do this, but only if they are willing to be helped and want to try and help themselves.

Laws are made for the good of us all. Respect for and obedience to these laws enable us to live together safely and peacefully. We want our rights protected, so we must protect the rights of others.

Florence Hood
314 Golden Rule Drive
Lakeland, Florida
33803

Rosanne Hallin
1700 West Ave
Manitowoc, Wis



Runway
from
Wisconsin

Dear

I have read the two books I was given carefully. I can truthfully say I understand what they say. I also think the books and the information they hold will help me a lot in the near future and distant future.

You may not believe it but I think the little site seeing tour has done me more good than harm. It has opened my eyes, and will make me think a little bit more before I try anything else. I also have grown closer to my parent, I think they understand me, and I know I understand them a lot more than I ever did. So I guess everything has turned out the best for me.

About the book, I don't see where it has anything to do with the site seeing tour, but even so I read it carefully and will try to follow what it says.

Thanks a lot for your help.

Rosanne Hallin

Re: Runaway from
 Indianapolis who had
 had a very bad
 attitude in the
 affair

Mr. ~~and~~ Mrs. Clifford McKay
 3155 Christopher Lane
 Indianapolis, Indiana
 46224



1-1-V-1
 TO THE



Mrs. C. B. Barthold
 Court House,
 Jeffersonville, Indiana

Dear Mrs. Barthold

I would like to apologize for the childish way I acted. I was put in a juvenile home and I've learned alot. My probation officer has solved my ~~probles~~ problems for me and I hope to go home soon. I learned how good home is I don't want to run away again in my life or get in any trouble.

After being in the juvenile center for twelve days anyone learns their lesson. I know you was trying to help me but I just didn't understand. I guess I was thinking you were trying to harm me. Now I've found out not everyone trying to harm me but to help me. No one told me to apologize to you I did it because I wanted to. Thank you for what you tried to do to me.

Sincerely yours,

Ronald McKay

Senator BAYH. I note one of the letters related to a young lad named Larry from Vermont.

Mrs. BARTHOLD. Yes.

Senator BAYH. What provokes a lad from Vermont to run to Jeffersonville, Ind.? I know, once he is there, he will be happy to stay.

[Laughter.]

Judge MARTIN. It is the fine Democratic air. [Laughter.]

Senator BAYH. It is the warm hospitality, I am sure. But what is in the back of the mind of a lad like that? How does he get from Vermont to southern Indiana?

Mrs. BARTHOLD. Actually, this boy was on his way, I think, to California, and he was apprehended in Clark County. I think he was trying to cross the bridge to Louisville, Ky., on his way to his final destination. He was hitchhiking, which is against the law, so he was arrested by a local police agency and referred to the probation department.

Of course, in investigating his case, we found that he was a runaway from the State of Vermont. We contacted his parents and immediately set about the task of trying to find out why he had run away, what we could do to help him to realize his problem, what we could do to solve it. His father could not send the money for his bus ticket home—this was after several telephone calls from our department to the family. We enlisted the aid of a local service agency that contributed the money for the bus ticket, and we were very pleased that sometime, quite a time after the boy was returned to his home, the parents did return the money to this agency through our department and sent this very grateful letter. They told us that they had resolved the problem of their son and both had really benefited from this experience, which happens if a case is handled properly.

Senator BAYH. Judge Martin, what is the legal status of a juvenile who runs away from home in the State?

Judge MARTIN. He is subject to arrest.

Senator BAYH. What is the normal procedure—take the child out of the Jeffersonville situation where you are familiar with it. What are some of the things that can happen?

Judge MARTIN. Of course, this is the unfortunate part, of course, that the juvenile programs all over the country vary so much. As you know, we have 92 counties in Indiana, and I would venture to say that the children in Indiana are handled 92 different ways. For it is different under each court's jurisdiction. The juvenile courts in Indiana have the sole jurisdiction of administering and taking care of the juvenile problems within the provisions of the law. However, the provisions of the law are very broad and give a lot of discretion to the courts.

Now, on the runaway problem specifically, all a parent has to do is report the child as a runaway to the police and the law gives them the right to apprehend him, hold him, so that he is subject to the order of the court. Now, they cannot take him and lock him up unless a court has authorized it. But most courts do. In some courts, as I have heard the story here today about the 8 days that they are held in detention in California, we have these situations in Indiana also. If we authorize—and I say "we" for I have delegated the authority to the chief probation officer to handle these, for I do have a few other things to do but to sit on top of each individual case. But when she

does authorize one to be held and the parents can't be reached—in other words, they are away from their homes—why, then, she will take care of him or the staff will take care of him the next morning. Runaways are not in detention more than overnight and we attempt to do what is necessary.

Senator BAYH. But there are some courts in Indiana who would just lock them up during that period?

Judge MARTIN. Well, there are courts in Indiana that have such a volume that they have a standing policy and a procedure that calls for detention and the staff gets to them as they can. It means that a runaway could be locked up in detention for 8 days, 10 days, without any attention, no question about that.

Senator BAYH. You mentioned in the statement, as I recall, that about 20 percent of the runaways that you have in Clark County are from out of State. Is that accurate?

Mrs. BARTHOLD. Yes, overall.

Judge MARTIN. This is a prediction and the application of the fact that our statistics show that 20 percent of our total caseload is out of State, and applying this, because we do not keep a separate record on the number of runaways from out of State.

Senator BAYH. One of the friendly differences I had with Mr. Rutledge and the other officials of HEW yesterday was over the application of the program which is provided under title IV of the Social Security Act. Has Clark County ever received any moneys under title IV of the Social Security Act to deal with the juvenile problem?

Judge MARTIN. Well, to display my ignorance, I do not know what you are talking about.

Senator BAYH. Titles (A) and IV(B) according to the witnesses from HEW could be used to finance programs for runaways. I was wondering if you received any money from title IV or if you knew of anyone who has.

Judge MARTIN. Well, the answer would be no, because I have not even heard of the title of the act.

Senator BAYH. Let me briefly summarize the law for you and both of you can give me your judgment as to whether the kind of program it would provide is beneficial.

Title IV(B) of the Social Security Act, first of all, is limited to interstate runaways. Second, it is limited to providing services necessary to return to the home; third, title IV(A) is limited to children that either are or are subject to becoming welfare recipients.

Now, is that the kind of program that is going to really solve the problems that we have?

Judge MARTIN. That law is, Senator, on the basis that all of the runaway problem is poverty stricken or about to be, and that is not true. The runaway problem has no barrier as far as to the class of society that it touches. It touches all people—good families, bad, rich and poor. It is children that are being that have problems and, yes, poverty might have something to do with it.

No, that would not be even a partial answer. Getting that child back home could be the worse thing that could be done.

Senator BAYH. Plus, at least for title IV(B), we are only talking about, as far as Clark County is concerned, 20 percent of the kids anyhow.

Judge MARTIN. That is right.

Senator BAYH. I appreciate your emphasis on that previous statement, where you suggested that just returning the child home, without providing any counseling or guidance or this type of thing to deal with the problem that precipitated the runaway in the first place, might be the worst thing possible.

Judge MARTIN. I might say this, Senator, that I am aware, first, of the battle between Health, Education, and Welfare and the Justice Department over who gets money and who spends it and where. I happen also to be on the Criminal Justice Commission in the State of Indiana, the one that is spending all this money wrong.

Senator BAYH. Is what?

Judge MARTIN. The one that spends all this money wrong, some people say, you see.

Unfortunately, we have a situation where we seem to have no trouble getting police to ask for hardware under all of the programs, but we do have difficulty getting courts, as you said in a statement in August to the juvenile judges, to get off their benches and go to work, roll up their sleeves and go to work. You said those words, you know. So this is what has to be done.

There are a lot of people that have to get off their benches and roll up their sleeves and go to work. And I think the legislation that you have proposed here is a piece of legislation that not only can concerned people in the community operate with it and do good, but in a community of our size, the court with his facilities can also take advantage of it and programs can be funded through it.

I have been reaching almost the same thing by using LEAA funds, which I have used in the intensive probation program and in the foster home program and by utilizing through volunteer services of the people in my community for counseling by imposing upon a Ph. D. from the University of Louisville to give me assistance in counseling, and by being able to hire a qualified counselor as a director of my foster home program, and by utilizing the guidance clinic in our community, which was built by Hill-Burton funds, if you please. So all through this picture and all through what I have been able to do has been in conjunction and in partnership with the Federal Government.

I want to say at this point that the State of Indiana as such does not have one single penny in any program that I have. And this is where the danger lies in the legislation that we have on the books right now on the LEAA funds and on the ties that Congress seems to be placing on things, that the legislatures have to provide a certain amount, local communities certain amounts, and the Federal Government certain amounts. Because our legislators are not like we were when we were there. They are not facing up to their responsibility.

Senator BAYH. Well, sometimes I wish we had done a better job. But we tried.

I think there is something significant I would like to emphasize in the record because of what you have just said and your very presence here. All of us tend to fall afoul of various stereotypes. We have pretty well destroyed the stereotype of the traditional runaway within the last day or two for those who saw the typical runaway as being a poor black kid from a broken home, from Harlem or Watts. That is not the average runaway. There are those children in that condition

that run away, but there are others also. You are destroying another part of that stereotype. You, sir, are here as a local county judge from a relatively small community, in a comparatively sparsely populated part of our State. I have been to Jeffersonville, Clark County. You know how many friends I have there and the warm feeling I have for that community because it is not a big, impersonal city. That is an adequate description of Clark County compared to some of the so-called centers, real centers of crime—the large cities, the megalopolis complexes. However, you are here to testify that in a relatively small community, in a relatively rural part of our State, you do have a problem with runaways.

And I gather from your testimony that you suggest, contrary to testimony from some of the administration witnesses yesterday, that the Runaway Youth Act would help you to deal with the problems of runaways. That the funds for guidance and counseling in the Youth Runaway Act would be worth while, and that you could use it now. Would that be a fair summary of what you said?

Judge MARTIN. That is exactly right. I have another point to make, Senator.

I, 4 years ago, attended the National College of Trial Judges out at Reno, which, at that time and still, is being funded by the Kellogg Foundation, which no doubt you are familiar with. This past summer, I attended the juvenile court judges course back out at Reno, the university there, and have taken an active part in all of our probation and juvenile programs in Indiana and with the judicial system in Indiana. I find this not only true in Indiana but throughout the country, that we do have a difference of philosophy that we are fighting as far as the courts. It is a conflict; it is not a fight. It is a conflict; there is a conflict of philosophy of courts as to what their responsibility really is and should be.

I think the role of, possibly, a juvenile court judge or any judge in a larger community, possibly is different than in a smaller community. We have one school of thought that believes that a court should do nothing but put on his robe and sit on a bench and adjudicate cases and touch nothing. Then we have those who feel that the court's responsibility, especially in the juvenile field, goes much further than this. And most certainly, under the law of Indiana, the responsibility that is placed upon the juvenile courts is such, in my opinion, that it most certainly mandates that the court go much further than this. And he has to do exactly what has been said, he has to come off that bench and roll up his sleeves and go out in the community and serve and give the leadership to the community in order to answer the problems of the youth of the community. He is the only one, really, that can do it.

Of the programs provided here in this bill, for example, if I do not furnish the leadership to facilitate and to bring about into reality the things provided in this bill, nobody in my community will, for they do not know exactly what the problem is. We are the ones that are sitting on it. And it is with the cooperation and the help of all of these other people that we are all getting together and getting along on it. We help them and they help us.

I might say this, that at the time that I was appointed judge by our dear friend, Governor Branigan, in 1967, the probation office in my

county consisted of the young lady sitting next to me, my chief probation officer. There are now four probation officers. There are now four secretaries, and I have a total staff, including myself, now—I include myself—of 19 people in all my programs.

Senator BAYH. I must say I am very, very grateful to you for taking the time to come and letting us have your personal experience. I cannot help but think that it is more than provincial pride that would suggest that anybody who reads the record can see that you and your staff in Clark County have put together a very comprehensive program in which you are trying to individualize the treatment, individualize the care and attention, given to each child. Thus, I would imagine that the return on the investment of what funds you do spend is significantly greater than in other communities, and that your batting average is pretty good.

Judge MARTIN. I might say that with the intensive probation care program, to give you some idea of the immediate effect and what you said the immediate needs are, the intensive probation program that we have put in started on January 1. Our foster home program started the same date. In the year 1969, I committed 24 boys and girls to the State institutions. In 1970, I committed the same number. In 1971, I committed six, with a much larger caseload.

Senator BAYH. That was last year—1970?

Judge MARTIN. 1971.

Senator BAYH. Well, it may be a little early, but looking at some of the boys and girls that came before you early in the year, is it fair to ask you what sort of results you are getting, what sort of behavior is being achieved, under the law from those you have treated at home rather than sending to one of our institutions?

Judge MARTIN. I might refer to Mrs. Barthold and let her answer this to you, because she is the one who has seen that.

Mrs. BARTHOLD. I suppose our rate of recidivism would probably be telling here, which is about 40 percent, as compared to the national average of 70 or 75. But by treating them in your home community with these alternative programs and your runaway, to be able to provide an alternative program to incarceration, you have an opportunity to deal with the child where the problem started; you have an opportunity to deal with his family, where the problem goes back to; you have an opportunity to utilize the community resources which should be used. Because this is a child that is part of the community and will come back to that community if he were sent to a State institution.

So psychologically and public-relations-wise, and for many, many reasons, it is just tremendous to be able to have programs in the community. That is where young people should be dealt with.

Senator BAYH. You say a 40 percent recidivism. Is that an overall rate?

Mrs. BARTHOLD. Yes.

Senator BAYH. It is too early now, but I wish you would tell us a year from now, if you could, and do not go to a lot of trouble, but I imagine you keep a pretty good watch on this anyhow. If you could just inform us, or inform me, I would like to have a look at what happened to those who prior to last year would have been sent to

Plainfield or Pendleton or someplace like that. I would bet that you will have even greater success next year.

Judge MARTIN. Let me say this and I would not want to be held to this type of performance, nor do I expect it. But after having 48 young people in the intensive probation program and the foster home program, we have lost one out of each program up to this date.

Senator BAYH. Over how long a period of time?

Judge MARTIN. From its beginning, 1 year.

Senator BAYH. One year, one lost—

Judge MARTIN. One out of each program. That is two of them out of 48 that have been assigned.

Senator BAYH. That is a fantastic percentage.

Judge MARTIN. I am afraid to say it.

Senator BAYH. Well, it may not hold up, but even if it increases significantly, you are still going to be way below that national average and the State average.

Mrs. BARTHOLD. Well, it points out the necessity of trying to look behind the actual act of delinquency and find the cause and then try to deal with that cause.

Judge MARTIN. Senator, in addition to the reports that we have submitted, I have copies of our annual reports that we have prepared each year for the past 6 years and an evaluation of our foster home program, a statement on our intensive probation program that was not part of the matters which we had submitted before. I would like to submit a copy of this.

Senator BAYH. Fine. We will include those in our committee files.

Again, my special thanks to both of you and I would appreciate it if we could keep in touch, because the success that you have had I would like to record for others to see, both in Indiana and elsewhere throughout the country. What you and others like you are proving is that it takes people. With all the money and all that we can spend, it depends on people who have the compassion and the intelligence to deal with the problems of our youth. I salute you. Thank you very much.

Mrs. BARTHOLD. Thank you.

(Judge Martin's prepared statement is as follows:)

CURRICULUM VITA—WARREN W. MARTIN, JR., JUDGE

WARREN W. MARTIN, JR., JUDGE OF THE SUPERIOR COURT OF CLARK COUNTY, IND.,
A NATIVE OF CLARKSVILLE, CLARK COUNTY, IND.

Graduate of Indiana Law School 1938. Admitted to practice law before the Supreme Court of Indiana 1939. Admitted to practice law before the Supreme Court of the United States 1949.

Served as Clark County Deputy Prosecutor for 9½ years.

Served as State Senator from Clark, Jefferson, Switzerland and Ohio Counties 1951-1959.

In 1953 served as Caucus Chairman of the Democratic Party in the Senate.

Served as Floor Leader of the Democratic Party in Senate in 1955.

Appointed as Judge of the Superior Court Clark County on March 16, 1967, and re-elected to this position on November 5, 1968.

In the summer of 1969, completed the Ninth Session of study with the National College of Trial Judges at the University of Nevada.

Completed the full course of study with the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges on August 20, 1971.

Presently a member of the Governor's Criminal Justice Commission in the State of Indiana.

AWARDS AND RECOGNITION

Received the Man of the Year Award for the year 1971, presented by WHAS Radio & Television News of Louisville, Kentucky.

Received the Outstanding Citizen Award presented by the Jeffersonville Jaycees for the year 1967.

Annual Good Government Award presented by the Jeffersonville Jaycees for the year 1967.

Distinguished Service Award presented by the Indiana Correctional Association for the year 1969.

Outstanding Community Service Award presented by the Jeffersonville Social Concerns Civic League for the year 1969.

Outstanding Service Award for the County, given by the Local Chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. for the year 1971.

Past-President of the Clark County Bar Association, 1967.

Participated in and conducted many training sessions over the past four years for Probation Officers, and participated in several seminars in conjunction with the Judicial Conference of the State.

RÉSUMÉ

Name: Clementine B. Barthold (Mrs. C. B. Barthold).

Position: Chief Probation Officer, Clark County Superior Court.

Business address: City-County Building, Jeffersonville, Ind.

Home address: 948 E. 7th St., Jeffersonville, Ind.

Family:

Husband: Edward B. Barthold, Civil Engineer, U.S. Army Corp. of Engineers, Louisville, Ky.

Daughter: Judith Ann DeSimone. Date of birth: October 21, 1944. 1965 Graduate of Sweet Briar College in Virginia. Married to Frank DeSimone.

Son: John Edward Barthold. Date of birth: November 12, 1948. 1970 Graduate of St. Joseph College, Rensselaer, Ind. Presently in Marine Corps.

Grandson: Frank Edward DeSimone. Date of birth: January 12, 1970.

Personal history:

Born January 11, 1921 near Odessa, Russia.

Immigrated to the United States in March of 1925.

Resided in Aberdeen, South Dakota from 1925 until 1941.

Traveled throughout the United States from 1941 until 1955. (Husband's employment required constant travel)

Resided in Jeffersonville, Indiana from 1955 to the present time.

Education:

1927-1935 St. Marys Parochial School, Aberdeen, S. Dak.

1935-1939 Central High School, Aberdeen, S. Dak.

1939-1940 Aberdeen Business College, Aberdeen, S. Dak.

Professional qualifications:

Employed in the Clark County Probation Department from 1960-1964 as Secretary and Assistant to the Probation Officer.

Was certified as a Probation Officer for the State of Indiana in May of 1964, after having passed the test that was administered by the State Director of Probation.

Was appointed Probation Officer for Clark County in June of 1964, by Judge Clifford H. Maschmeyer of the Clark Circuit Court.

Was appointed Chief Probation Officer in 1965.

Was retained as Chief Probation Officer in 1967, by Judge Warren W. Martin, Jr., when the Juvenile Jurisdiction was placed in the newly created Superior Court of Clark County; also, holds the position of Adult Probation Officer for the Clark Circuit Court.

(The Clark County Probation Department has expanded from a single worker to 4 full-time Probation Officers and 3 full-time secretaries, and has been under the jurisdiction of 3 Judges since 1960).

Attended a Probationer's Officers Training School in Indianapolis, under the direction of the Department of Correction, in December of 1962.

Attended the First Institute of Corrections at Indiana State University, Terre Haute in July, 1964.

Attended the Probation Management Institute in Cincinnati, Ohio in April, 1969.

Arranged for two Training Programs for Probation and Parole Officers which were held at Indiana University in Jeffersonville during 1968.

Attended the Conference on Crime Prevention at Indiana University in January, 1968.

Attended the State of Affairs Conference on Criminal Justice in Indianapolis in November, 1968.

Attended the Governor's Anti-Crime Conference in Indianapolis, in January, 1969.

Arranged for numerous meetings and workshops for Probation and Parole Officers of the Southeastern District of the Indiana Correctional Association, a 17-county area.

Attended the Central States Conference in Indianapolis in 1967.

Attended the 15th National Institute on Crime and Delinquency at Dallas, Texas in 1968.

Attended the Ohio State Probation and Parole Association Meeting at the University of Toledo in 1968.

Attended the Annual Conferences of the Indiana Correctional Association since 1963, and hosted the 1969 Conference held in the Jeffersonville-New Albany area.

Developed a Group Counseling Program for probationers (1967-1968) under the Sponsorship of the Juvenile Court.

Developed a Tutoring Program for probationers who have basic reading problems in 1969, under the Sponsorship of the Juvenile Court.

Developed various programs of prevention and rehabilitation for juveniles, under the Sponsorship of the Clark County Juvenile Court:

Developed a Foster-Home Program which was funded in October of 1970 by the Criminal Justice Planning Agency.

Developed an Intensive Probation Supervision Program which was funded in the fall of 1970 by the Criminal Justice Planning Agency.

Developed a brochure used in Drug-education Program which was funded in the fall of 1970 by the Criminal Justice Planning Agency.

Receive Federal probation.

Honors:

1961—"Certificate of Appreciation," presented by the Department of the Navy.

1965—"Certificate of Appreciation," presented by the Department of Correction and Director of the Youth Rehabilitation Facilities of the State of Indiana, for support of the Henryville Youth Camp.

1965—"Outstanding Citizens Award," presented by the Jeffersonville Jaycees.

1966—"Outstanding Community Award," presented by the Jeffersonville Social Concerns Civic League.

1966—"Good Government Award," presented by the Jeffersonville Jaycees.

1967—"Distinguished Service Award," presented by the Indiana Correctional Association, in recognition of outstanding service in the field of corrections in Indiana.

1969—"Outstanding Service Award," presented by the Clarksville Police Department, F.O.P. 144.

—"Certificates of Appreciation," from Kiwanis Clubs, Rotary Clubs, Optimist Clubs, and other Civic and Service Clubs, for appearing before them to speak about the problems of our youth.

Activities:

President of the St. Augustine's Womans Club (1958) and present member. Census Chairman of St. Augustine's Church (1955-1966).

Chairman of the Clark County Citizens Advisory Committee of the Governor's Youth Council (1962-1969).

President of the Ladies Division, Clark County Chamber of Commerce for two years (1962-1964).

Member of the Board of Directors and 2nd Vice-President of the Clark County Chamber of Commerce (1964-1965).

Member of the Clark County Red Cross Disaster Advisory Committee (1964) and a member of the Board of Directors of the Red Cross (1964-1966).

Established the Jeffersonville Chapter of the American Field Service (1963) and served on the Board of Directors (1963-1964-1965).

Member of the Board of Directors and Secretary of the Clark County Community Action Committee for Economic Opportunity (1965-1966).

Participant of regular seminars and advanced seminars of the Council on Religion and International Affairs (1963-1964-1965-1966-1970).

Member of the Board of Directors of the Clark-Floyd Youth, Inc. (a community facility to serve the needs of the youth of the 2 counties.)

Member of the Mayor's Sub-Committee on Youth, Citizens Advisory Committee.

Member of the Clark County Association of Arts and Crafts.

Member of the Jeffersonville Social Concerns Civic League.

Member of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

Member of the Central States Corrections Association.

Member of the American Correctional Association.

Member of the Indiana Correctional Association :

(Editor of Newsletter in 1968)

(Vice-President of Southeastern District in 1965 and 1968)

(Secretary-Treasurer—1970)

(President of Association—1971)

Ninth District Representative of the Indiana Youth Council (16 Counties)
(Appointed by Gov. Whitcomb in 1969—re-appointed for a 4-year term in 1971)

(Elected to the Executive Committee of the Council and subsequently elected Secretary in August of 1971)

Elected President of the Indiana Correctional Association (1970).

Attended the White House Conference on Children in Washington, D.C., as Delegate from Indiana, by invitation from the President of the United States (1970).

Participated in the Great Lakes Regional White House Conference and served as a Recorder for one of the workshop sessions, held in Indianapolis in Feb. 28-March 1 of 1971.

Attended a 2-day Juvenile Conference held in Phoenix, Arizona in March of 1971.

Participated as a Speaker at the National Institute of Crime & Delinquency, held in Philadelphia in June of 1971.

JOINT STATEMENT OF WARREN W. MARTIN, JR., JUDGE, SUPERIOR COURT, CLARK COUNTY, AND (MRS.) C. B. BARTHOLD, CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER, SUPERIOR COURT CLARK COUNTY

The following is a joint statement, made by Judge Warren W. Martin, Jr., Judge of the Superior Court of Clark County, Indiana, and by Mrs. C. B. Barthold, the Chief Probation Officer of the Superior Court of Clark County, Indiana. This statement is made in support of S. 2829 . . . a Bill cited as the Runaway Youth Act, which was introduced under the sponsorship of Senator Birch Bayh of the State of Indiana and Senator Marlow W. Cook of the State of Kentucky. We have reviewed the detailed provisions of this Bill, and find that they come closer to answering to real needs of the runaway children of this country than any other piece of legislation that has been proposed up to this time.

In our opinion, there are two critical and crucial periods of a child's life when juvenile delinquency tendencies can be detected (by this, we mean "acting out" in various ways to gain attention . . . but really "seeking help" for his problems) : in school (and this can be detected) ; and (more importantly) when the child becomes a runaway. It is at this time that everything that can be done to try to cope with the child's problems should be done.

From our experience, we have found that at these points, if the causes (whatever they may be) can be dealt with and adequately resolved, his pattern of behavior can be re-directed and he can be helped to become a good citizen. If the causes are ignored or not adequately taken care of, this same child will be involved again in delinquent behavior; not once, but possibly several times. As the child returns and repeats; the offenses committed become greater and greater; and, ultimately, he may go on to become an adult criminal.

Again, in our opinion, this Bill as proposed would create a progressive and forward-looking program and define the method whereby any community, or any group of people who are sincerely interested in the welfare of the youth of their

community, would be able to deal with the specific problems of the runaway children and the factors that cause them to run away . . . and the Bill would work towards the solution to those problems.

If you would indulge us at this point, I would like to give you some facts and figures . . . and some programs that we have used in Clark County, which, in our opinion, have proven very helpful in dealing with the runaway problem.

The Superior Court of Clark County, Indiana, is in a community of 75,000 people, directly across the river from Louisville, Kentucky, . . . which is a metropolitan area that had a population in 1970 of 826,553. To give you an idea of the size of our problem, we have in the past six years handled a total of 6,453 juveniles. Of this total, 692 were runaways—or, slightly over 10 per cent of the total caseload. Realizing your concern with the interstate problem, we can only say that our records show that 20 per cent of our total caseload is from out-of-state; and that there is nothing that we see in our figures or records that would indicate that the proportion of runaways would be any different. However, the basic problem, be it interstate or intrastate, is exactly the same; and, therefore, the programs that must be developed to deal with these problems and the methods of handling these young people and relieving the factors that have caused them to run away must be basic . . . must be meaningful . . . and must utilize all of the resources of the community to be successful.

Briefly, the following are some examples of our methods and programs that have been found to be very helpful in stabilizing the runaway child:

Individual counseling by the Probation Officer in order to try to find the cause and to try to do something about the cause;

Group counseling, and this could involve both the child and his parents;

Referral to the Mental Health and Guidance Clinic, along with his parents, to try to relieve the problem;

Assignment to a tutoring program (many times, a child lacks basic reading skills and cannot perform in school. This causes feelings of anger and frustration, and he may run away.)

Information about the juvenile law and how it affects him, and other general information about the law and the consequences of a juvenile record;

Volunteer services of responsible people from our community; and

Detention, which is sometimes indicated and used, particularly when there is danger that the child will run away again before his problem is alleviated.

We have two specific new programs of *alternatives to incarceration* which this Court and the Probation Office have been fortunate to have the services of, and which have been developed within the last year or so and funded through the Criminal Justice Agency:

The intensive supervision probation program. (This program utilizes the services of a Probation Officer with a limited caseload . . . not more than 15 or 20 . . . dealing with the hard core cases who, but for this program, might have been incarcerated in one of our State Correctional Institutions.)

The Clark-Floyd Youth Opportunity Center (the foster-home program), which was developed for children who, for various reasons, became involved in delinquent behavior because of factors in their homes and in their environment. They needed to be removed from this damaging home situation, but should not be sent to the State Correctional Institution. Many of the children placed in this Foster Home Program were runaways; and this program deals with the problems that caused them to run away.

We, of course, realize that in all probability the runaway problem in the more densely populated areas is a graver problem than it is in our area. However, the percentage of the problem is possibly about the same when you stop to analyze the issue. The answers to these problems are the same.

In closing, we would like to say that this Bill addresses itself to one of the fundamental causes, and one of the real critical issues of the juvenile delinquency problem. If any runaway can be properly and completely treated, counseled and re-directed, and the anxieties and problems of the child alleviated, there is no reason that this child should not go on to become a law abiding citizen. . . . able to take his place in society. If this is not done, he may go on to become a more serious delinquent.

We would sincerely request and hope that this committee, and the Congress of the United States, would enact this legislation so that we would have one of the answers to a most serious problem for many of the youth of this country.

Along with the foregoing statements, and to verify our conclusions, we are submitting:

- Personal letters from parents of runaway children ;
- Personal letters from the runaway children themselves ;
- Excerpts from essays written by runaway children ; and
- A copy of a local newspaper article regarding runaways.

We thank you.

Senator BAYH. Our next witness is Rhetta M. Arter, consultant on government programs, national board, Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A., New York, N.Y.

Thank you for being with us, Dr. Arter. Would you care to identify your companion?

STATEMENT OF RHETTA ARTER, PH. D., CONSULTANT ON GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS, NATIONAL BOARD, YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A., NEW YORK, N.Y.; ACCOMPANIED BY MRS. CORIENNE MORROW

Dr. ARTER. This is Mrs. Corienne Morrow, who is here to help me answer any questions that may be raised which apply to our extensive material.

Senator BAYH. I notice the statement you have is a rather lengthy one. You might want to let me just put it all in the record and you may summarize the thrust of your statement, if you care to.

Dr. ARTER. I had no intention of reading the entire statement.

Senator BAYH. I am doing no more than suggesting that that might be an easier way for you to handle it. But I really appreciate your being here, so please proceed.

Dr. ARTER. Thank you.

As you have indicated, my name is Rhetta Arter, and I am here in my capacity as chief consultant on government programs to the national board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A., and present this statement on behalf of the national board. The YWCA is one of the largest U.S. organizations of women and girls; has some 22 percent of its 2½ million members and participants concentrated in the 12- to 17-year-old age bracket. Our extensive experience with this group of some 280,000 younger teens has highlighted the extent to which this age group in our population now provides many current runaways. Because of our concern, we welcome the opportunity to appear before this committee.

Senator Bayh, in your introduction of the Runaway Youth Act to the Senate of the United States on November 9, 1971, you touched upon many of the same concerns about these youth which are shared by the national board and its affiliates across the country. A considerable part of this concern derives from the firsthand experience of numbers of these local YWCA's with runaways of both sexes, but most especially with young females who have left their homes without parental permission or prior knowledge. A high proportion of these have been found to be young girls whose families live in nearby areas—the same city or its suburbs, but many do travel great distances and some of them try to keep on the move in order to escape the notice which becomes near-inevitable when they stay "too long" in any one place.

Knowing this, the YWCA therefore is especially interested in commending the legislative acknowledgement of the interstate nature of the runaway problem. Without recognition of the fact that runaways comprise a mobile exploring group which does not adhere to any restrictions of State or local geographic boundaries, it is not possible to establish a service which will have any real impact on the problem.

The national board of the YWCA of the U.S.A. is especially pleased that this legislation seeks to build on the experience of private organizations in working with troubled youth and that it makes explicit provision for the participation of this national resource—

Senator BAYH. If I might just interrupt, I do not know of any organization that has done more and comes before our committee with a greater degree of expertise therefore than the YWCA in dealing with the problems of young women and holding out the hand of help in times of need. I cannot overemphasize the importance that your testimony has.

Dr. ARTER. Thank you, we are very grateful, but feel very inadequate to meet the challenge of needed work in the area of the runaway.

We have to say that we know the problem is on the increase. We are feeling the impact of that increase. We wanted especially to say that the inclusion in this legislation of parents as recipients of the proposed service can make the "milestone" difference in impact on the problem and in making possible the kind of approaches and methods that are capable of lasting, constructive results. We feel that this part of the service has an important potential for dealing not only with the youth who has left home already, but also can lay a groundwork for preventing the same type of behavior by that youth's siblings and close associates. Let me say here it is a typical experience that a young woman with whom we are working will tell us that she knows her young sister is about to do the same thing and will we do something to help her.

This service to parents and youth, of course, must rest heavily on the counseling which is provided within this proposed legislation and which is the essential backbone of any effective runaway program. The fact that this counseling must serve a twofold need—that of the family as well as that of the youth—has not always been recognized by all of those who have sought in various ways to come to grips with the problem.

The proposed legislation deals with another important requirement for meaningful service in its provision for training of the personnel who are to work with these youth and their families. This has been recognized as an important need by the YWCA. At the present time, the national board of the YWCA is carrying out the third year of a program of training in juvenile delinquency prevention. This training is funded—inadequately, but funded—under title II of the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968. A major focus of the training is work in relation to female runaways. I happen to carry as part of my own experience the directorship of that training program and it was our own feeling that in order to be more effective than we had been in the first 2 years, we would have to focus on this particular problem.

The YWCA training for new, currently relevant programs and services for runaways and their families is being developed in response to need and pressure for services. However, it has been planned and conducted in a disturbing, frustrating overall situation: funds for the establishment and conduct of the needed programs have not been readily available. YWCA's, and other organizations with which they cooperate, typically try to compete for the limited funds which are available for such programs under the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act. There simply is not enough money under this legislation to meet the need. It may interest you to know that we still have 16 programs which were approved the first year of that legislation but which have not been funded, we are told for the lack of funds.

In a few places, programs have been funded through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, but the competition for these moneys is so powerful that sparse successes represent a near infinitesimal trickle when measured against the need. YWCA commendation for this proposed Runaway Youth Act, therefore, springs from its very real appreciation of the need for Federal funding for this type of service.

As you have stated, Senator Bayh, in the street, away from parental supervision and direction, these children are vulnerable. The potency of this statement seems to be enhanced when upon work with young females who all too often find themselves in the middle of new, unknown types of street culture where human predators move about in friendly guise. It is not unusual for such a young girl to present herself to a YWCA in search of food and shelter. Usually this represents a last resort. She may have tried, or, indeed, found herself without the courage to explore, the informal "pad" which is available to her without money requirements but also without any of the protections which she needs. An equally familiar YWCA experience is that of having a sensitive "caring" police or juvenile justice officer appear with a young runaway in request for at least overnight shelter for the girl. Usually what is wanted and needed is a longer, though temporary, resource which may be utilized until a constructive plan can be worked out and put into action. This is not always a fast or easy process.

In such instances, the officer feels, and the YWCA agrees, that a community resource such as that offered by the YWCA or its counterparts is an imperative alternative to the only other choice—incarceration in some part of the law enforcement structure. This feeling comes from awareness and experience which have demonstrated that the girl will not be helped; in fact she may be damaged permanently, by even a short-term experience in such a facility.

At the present time, a number of local YWCA's are reporting increasing indications of the need for planned services for these runaways. Their responses to requests all too often must be sporadic, unplanned, and not completely satisfying. They are troubled also by the fact that for each youth who comes to their attention, there are an x number of others who are missed. The response to the unplanned, occasional request typically entails placement of the runaway in a YWCA residence. This may be all right when there is such a resi-

dence and when it is not filled and maintaining a waiting list. And even when the shelter itself is available the question remains as to the additional service which should accompany the housing resource. This increasing need seems to accompany a real rise in the incidence of runaways in this country.

Senator BAYH. Excuse me. In other words, Doctor, just having a place to put someone is a first step; it is better than on the street or in one of those crash pads that were described earlier. But just having a roof over the head of a young runaway does not necessarily deal with the problem as far as what that child may need and what may keep that child from continuing to run away.

Dr. ARTER. Of course not. I know of no instance where we actually stop, where we would or could stop with just giving her a room. I think any YWCA would feel derelict with this. So what happens, of course, is that you have an unplanned demand for service to which you may wish to contribute, but for which you may not be adequately prepared.

I wanted to say to you, it is very interesting to us that in the past 3 weeks, we have had evidence of this need all the way from Hawaii to Vermont. At this time last week, we were discussing runaways and other youth in trouble at a meeting in New England, and I was impressed by the correction officer from Vermont who drove through 20-below-zero weather to attend.

Although it is difficult to document—since, at the present time, the statistical case rests all too heavily on missing person reports, arrests, and other types of contact with an official agency which will record the incident—it is common knowledge among those who work with youth and their parents that the number of young people who are leaving their homes without parental consent or prior knowledge is on the increase. It is apparent also that increasing proportions of these youth are female, and that a significant number of them are quite young. We find in our experience that the peak age is 15 if everybody is telling us the truth, though we have some places where we feel that the girls may be younger than they are admitting.

Senator BAYH. Why do you think there are so many more young girls than young boys?

Dr. ARTER. We do not know. We had hoped some of your research would tell us. Part of it, we know, is the whole unrest and the whole feeling of new-found freedom. The other piece of it, I think, relates to the communication that is so easy and also, I am afraid, to some of the difficulties in some of our rather privileged communities, where the youth are not quite as satisfied as some of their elders with what is happening.

The emphasis of the national board, in summary, are:

(1) The importance of resources which make possible the establishment of planned services for these endangered youths and their families. This means not only physical shelters, it calls for trained staff and volunteers who will be responsive and prepared to undertake the not-easy tasks associated with reuniting the girl with her family under conditions which may be favorable to her remaining there.

(2) The essential requirements for resources which will operate as a network, thus making provision for both ends of the vocational problem—the place to which and from which the youth runs—and also including resources for reestablishing contacts with those youth

who decide to run from the point of their first contact as a runaway to another or possibly still others.

(3) The imperative nature of resources which will permit outreach from the to-be-established runaway houses to the places where the youths may be located. This requires flexibility and mobility of personnel—to go where the youth are—and to work with them to the point where they will be willing to take advantage of this new resource. This in turn requires resources for this movement—in some instances, mobile units may seem to be the best instruments for such service.

(4) The importance of official recognition of the problem and its growing endangerment power through the type of government supported resources which are potential through this proposed legislation.

And of course, when you are talking about girls, you are talking about a tremendous range. With another Federal agency, Senator, we discussed recently the need for a study of just the question that you raised. You said you had some hunches which you did not like to rest on. We have been asking the girls themselves in many places, trying to find out why—not just why there are more girls than boys, but why so many more girls now. I am cautious, so I am reluctant to give answers which seem to be raising their heads.

The National board of the YWCA believes that it shares with other voluntary organizations the desire to take part in the program which the Runaway Youth Act could make possible. It expects such participation to entail the use of some of its existing resources, the creation of newly sponsored resources where such may be necessary, and most importantly the utilization of the volunteer and professional resources, representing millions of American women and girls, in the effort to confront those conditions which are contributing to these increasingly needed services to runaway children and youth and their families. It is the hope of the YWCA that this legislation will pass speedily and promptly.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much. The YWCA does operate programs for runaways. And I understand that you feel that the program you do operate, the program of volunteers around the country, you would be assisted by the funding and programing provided under the Runaway Youth Act?

Dr. ARTER. Actually, it is our feeling that without some kind of resource, we are going to continue the patchwork kind of approach that has been necessary. The judge who testified before me talked about the variance in the State of Indiana. We are looking at 50 States and the District of Columbia. We think our best resources can be utilized if we are able to have a network, a systematic network. Our usual pattern is that one YWCA gets the girl, another may get the parent. And the initiative may come anywhere along the line. It is not unusual for one YWCA to call another YWCA to say, "Tell her mother she is here." You may or may not have the girl's permission to say exactly where she is, but we usually are successful in extracting at least agreement that the other YWCA can say that she is still alive and well. Then it takes time to get her to the point where she will agree to having her exact whereabouts known.

But the other piece of this is, and this sometimes bothers me as we talk about the runaway, that they are not stationary once they get to a place. So frequently, they will move on while they are in the middle

of the counseling service. With a network, we would be able to follow them.

Senator BAYH. But I understand from what you said earlier that even with the efforts that the YWCA is making, it does not have sufficient access to a counseling service to deal with the child, to deal with the problems that may have caused the runaway in the first place.

Dr. ARTER. Right, and as I said, we have no resource for dealing with the other end, except through the good will, unplanned, voluntary response to need.

But you take the situation right now, Senator, where the beach cultures that have been refererred to are attracting young people. The YWCA—I give you the example of Galveston, Tex.—right now is working with State law enforcement, the crime people, for funding for a program which will give them a mobile unit to go out to the beach, to reach out and to try to work with those young people out there. There are a series of steps: You first make your contact there, you get them familiar with that unit and you start working back, back, back, back.

We were told about Florida yesterday, that they were going to have to take the same kind of approach. Because, you see, you cannot sit in a YWCA and wait for a runaway to come in and say, "I am a runaway; will you please return me home?" So we are finding it necessary more and more to do more unusual things than we have done and to rely on all of the other organizations with which we work.

We are in a favorable position as other agencies think of us, because we do represent a residential resource in so many places.

Senator BAYH. I gather from your testimony that you feel that the research program which will be established under the Runaway Youth Act will be beneficial in helping you as well as everyone else to have a better understanding of the problem.

Dr. ARTER. If we do not limit ourselves to counting, if we really do get at some of the answers to some of the kinds of questions you have raised here. I think we are still dealing with the top of the iceberg. I think we do not know enough about the causes or the real nature of the problem. I myself am very uncomfortable and I may say to you I began my professional career as a probation officer in a juvenile court. I am wondering, why are the runaways so much younger? I can understand the mobility, I can understand how they can move further. What is it that we do or do not do that will cut back the recidivism?

Now, we have one problem in relation to this. We recognize that not all homes are the kinds of homes to which girls should be returned. We understand the youth's reluctance to go. How do we strike the fine balance between giving her the understanding, all of the support she needs, without competing with her home ourselves? And we have had girls come back to us saying, "we like it here and we would like to stay." So we have to work with this. And indeed, there have been cases where the family has asked us to maintain her in the YWCA.

But I could not sit here now and give you any real battery of answers that I would feel comfortable with about the whys of many of these things. So I think the research aspect of this is very important, provided it gives us more than a statistical count of the number who leave. I think it has to get at some of the hard questions.

It may interest you to know that we have been pursuing the possibility for Federal funding of such studies for several months and we are feeling rather grim about our lack of results. Everybody says it is an interesting problem.

Senator BAYH. You are not alone. Yet there are those who, I think, are very well intentioned, and I am not saying this to cast blame, who feel that the present authority is adequate. You apparently feel that funds that are available, either under the Social Security Act, title IV, or the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act are not getting into the pipeline as far as you are concerned.

Dr. ARTER. We have a few programs that are funded. Where they are, they are good. But as we look at a map of the United States and girls and women as we know them, of course and see that we are not touching them.

Senator BAYH. Can you think of any better place we can expend our resources if we are talking about affecting the lives of young people from the compassionate standpoint of restoring lost lives than investing some resources to try to restore the normal home balance between a child who has run away and his or her parents?

Dr. ARTER. No; I cannot. And I think that again, I would like to restate that it seems to me that certainly, your intent and ours can only be served as we use whatever resources are made available to deal not only with the youth who has already run away, but again to interpret what we learned and what we do to prevent not only the reoccurrence of the runaway on the part of a youth, but other youths who may be reacting to the same conditions.

I would like you to understand that we do feel depressed by the present situation and we do think that if such legislation is passed, it will provide more than funding; it will give the kind of status to dealing with the problem that comes when the Federal Government recognizes a major problem and says, this is sufficiently serious for the Senate of the United States to give its attention.

We have, for example, a very, we think, fine proposal that comes out of the YWCA in Los Angeles. It has the endorsement of everybody you can name—judges, police, other agencies, mental health, the works. They have been working for months. We have not been able to get that program funded.

And it is not just the big cities. I was interested in Indiana, for example, it was Elkhart who gave us the S O S. The problem is so serious there.

I am fascinated. One of the things I would like to know is how the young people get to Hawaii. They get there. They are stranded after they get there. And I suppose you might say it is an intelligent place to go if you plan to be stranded. But there they are overwhelmed by the pressure.

This is true up and down this country. They are seasonal flows, but in every State of the Union, we have YWCA's who are trying to respond to it.

So I cannot think of any more important use of resources, no. I would hope, however, that they would be so administered that we can make the best use of them.

Senator BAYH. I think the best use of them is that we will just have to take advantage of all the volunteer services and human compassion that is there in significant amounts in places like the YWCA.

I really appreciate, Dr. Arter, your taking the time to be with us.

Mrs. MORROW, you have been very patient. Have you anything to add to this?

Mrs. MORROW. I am just here to make available any of the materials that I have here to Dr. Arter if you should call for them.

Senator BAYH. Of course, anything you feel that would be helpful, we will be glad to have for the record and for the files. If you care to submit something.

Mrs. MORROW. We will be glad to.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much. We will keep in touch with you.

(Dr. Arter's prepared statement is as follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RHETTA M. ARTER, PH. D., CONSULTANT ON
GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS, NATIONAL BOARD, YWCA

My name is Rhetta M. Arter. I appear at this Hearing in my capacity as Chief Consultant on Government programs to the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A., and present this Statement on behalf of the National Board. The YWCA as one of the largest U.S. organizations of women and girls has some 22% of its 2½ million members and participants concentrated in the 12-17 year old age bracket. Our extensive experience with this group of some 280,000 younger teens has highlighted the extent to which this age group in our population now provides many current runaways. Because of our concern, we welcome the opportunity to appear before this committee.

Senator Bayh, in your introduction of the Runaway Youth Act to the Senate of the United States on November 9, 1971, you touched upon many of the same concerns about these youth which are shared by the National Board and its affiliates across the country. A considerable part of this concern derives from the first-hand experience of numbers of these local YWCAs with runaways of both sexes, but most especially with young females who have left their homes without parental permission or prior knowledge. A high proportion of these have been found to be young girls whose families live in nearby areas—the same city or its suburbs, but many do travel great distances and some of them try to keep on the move in order to escape the notice which becomes near-inevitable when they stay "too long" in any one place.

Knowing this, the YWCA, therefore, is especially interested in commending the legislative acknowledgment of the interstate nature of the runaway problem. Without recognition of the fact that runaways comprise a mobile exploring group which does not adhere to any restrictions of state or local geographic boundaries, it is not possible to establish a service which will have any real impact on the problem.

The National Board of the YWCA of the U.S.A. is especially pleased that this legislation seeks to build on the experience of private organizations in working with troubled youth and that it makes explicit provision for the participation of this national resource—the experienced, voluntary organizations—in the establishment and operation of this proposed federally-funded service for runaway youth and their parents. And here may we say that the inclusion of parents as recipients of the proposed service can make the "milestone" difference in impact on the problem and in making possible the kind of approaches and methods that are capable of lasting, constructive results. This part of the service has an important potential for dealing not only with the youth who has left home already, but also can lay a groundwork for preventing the same type of behavior by that youth's siblings and close associates.

This service to parents and youth, of course, must rest heavily on the counseling which is provided within this proposed legislation and which is the essential backbone of any effective runaway program. The fact that this counseling must serve a two-fold need—that of the family as well as that of the youth—has not always been recognized by all of those who have sought in various ways to come to grips with the problem.

In some other instances, there has been recognition without resources for meeting the two-part need. All too often, this has resulted in heavy pressure on services to youth which in turn has produced a temporary amelioration of the situation through their return home to a situation which has not been helped to receive or understand them, followed by a predictable repetition of the runaway behavior. The service to both the family and the alienated youth gives promise of more lasting positive results.

The proposed legislation deals with another important requirement for meaningful service in its provision for training of the personnel who are to work with these youth and their families. This has been recognized as an important need by the YWCA. At the present time, the National Board of the YWCA is carrying out the third year of a program of Training in Juvenile Delinquency Prevention. This training is funded—inadequately, but funded—under Title II of the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968. A major focus of the training is work in relation to female runaways.

As stated in the YWCA's application for this grant :

"It has been determined, in the training programs during the first two years of this project that work with runaways is an area of training which requires concentration and the development of special approaches and techniques: it cannot be built effectively into training for service to all delinquent and endangered youth. For this reason, a more specialized approach is now deemed desirable. Resources which will permit the needed concentration on this problem appear of growing importance. This is especially significant to the requirement that the newly-developed YWCA services (for runaways) compete effectively not just with the formal jail and other hazards of the established systems, but with the mushrooming "pads" and other informal, not-always-desirable, resources which are becoming more numerous in many parts of the country."

This YWCA training for new, currently relevant programs and services for runaways and their families is being developed in response to need and pressure for services. However, it has been planned and conducted in a disturbing, frustrating overall situation: funds for the establishment and conduct of the needed programs have not been readily available. YWCA's, and other organizations with which they cooperate, typically try to compete for the limited funds which are available for such programs under the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act. There simply is not enough money under this legislation to meet the need. In a few places, programs have been funded through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, but the competition for these moneys is so powerful that sparse successes represent a near-infinitesimal trickle when measured against the need. YWCA commendation for this proposed Runaway Youth Act, therefore, springs from its very real appreciation of the need for federal funding for this type of service.

As has been stated by Senator Bayh, "in the street, away from parental supervision and direction, these children are vulnerable." The potency of this statement seems to be enhanced when it is applied to young, female youths who all-too-often find themselves in the middle of new, unknown types of Street Culture where human predators move about in friendly guise. It is not unusual for such a young girl to present herself to a YWCA in search of food and shelter. Usually this represents a last resort. She may have tried, or, indeed, found herself without the courage to explore the informal "pad" which is available to her without money requirements but also without any of the protections which she needs.

An equally familiar YWCA experience is that of having a sensitive "caring" police or juvenile justice officer appear with a young runaway in request for at least overnight shelter for the girl. Usually what is wanted and needed is a longer, though temporary, resource which may be utilized until a constructive plan can be worked out and put into action. This is not always a fast or easy process. In such instances, the officer feels, and the YWCA agrees, that a community resource such as that offered by the YWCA or its counterpart is an imperative alternative to the only other choice—incarceration in some part of the law enforcement structure. This feeling comes from awareness and experience which is demonstrated that the girl will not be helped, in fact she may be damaged permanently by even a short-term experience in such a facility.

At the present time, a number of local YWCAs are reporting increasing indications of the need for *planned* services for these runaways. Their responses to requests all too often must be sporadic, unplanned, and not completely satisfying. They are troubled also by the fact that for each youth who comes to their attention, there are an X number of others who are missed. The

response to the unplanned, occasional request typically entails placement of the runaway in a YWCA residence. This may be all right when there is such a residence and when it is not filled and maintaining a waiting list. And even when the shelter itself is available the question remains as to the additional service which should accompany the housing resource. This increasing need seems to accompany a real rise in the incidence of runaways in this country.

Although it is difficult to document—since at the present time the statistical case rests all-too heavily on missing person reports, arrests, and other types of contact with an official agency which will record the incident—it is common knowledge among those who work with youth and their parents that the number of young people who are leaving their homes without parental consent or prior knowledge is on the increase. It is apparent also that increasing proportions of these youth are female, and that a significant number of them are quite young—15 is now regarded as the “peak age.”

In arriving at its commendation of this proposed Runaway Youth Act, the National Board of the YWCA of the U.S.A. has had to rest on certain assumptions. It has been necessary to assume that:

1. “Runaway House” as it is employed in the pending bill, is subject to broad interpretation: that this will be applicable to all or part of existing community-based residential resources such as YWCA residences and comparable facilities operated by other agencies, as well as those which are established for exclusive runaway house purposes. This means that the legislation will make possible the utilization of some existing facilities—with or without alteration—for runaway house purposes.

2. The counseling to be made available may be provided not only through employed personnel of the facility but may draw upon the talents, interests and concern of the large reservoir of volunteers—some of whom are eager to contribute to the success of such services. This particular mode of work is built into the experience of the YWCA which has a long tradition as a “partnership of staff and volunteers.”

3. In consonance with 2 (above) the training to be authorized under the provisions of the proposed Act will be available to volunteers, paraprofessionals, and some of the youth and parents who are so strategic to the effectiveness of the proposed services.

The National Board of the YWCA of the U.S.A. approaches this situation with strong hopes also. These include the desire that the proposed legislation may be construed, or modified if necessary, to make provision for the funding of national networks of runaway services to be organized and sponsored by national organizations such as the YWCA, in such manner as to make possible the utilization of its own nation-wide resources in response to runaway service needs. The YWCA serves as an example of an agency in strategic position to serve these young people and their families through such a process because it represents an already-established network of resources. Thus, it can be equipped readily to deal with both locational ends of a runaway problem, i.e., the place to which and the place from which she has run, for whatever her reasons. An experienced YWCA Executive may report not only the above-cited experiences regarding demonstrated need for services to runaways in the place which her Association serves, but she may tell also of having been on the receiving end of a telephone call from a “sister Association” asking her to make contact with the runaway’s parents, to assure them of her physical well-being and her present whereabouts, and to undertake the kind of help which will result in their understanding. It is hoped that this understanding will make possible the kind of family reunion which holds some promise of preventing a recurrence of the same runaway behavior on the part of the subject girl and her siblings.

This network approach seems imperative because of the absence of “neat patterns” of runaway behavior, with reference to where and how far they may run. A YWCA serving runaways at any given time usually will report that these youth come from many different places. Thus, the staff of the serving agency may find face-to-face contact with the family prohibitive from the point of view of distance: it is helpful and efficient to have a plan that opens the door to a cooperating committed resource wherever that may be needed.

These experiences, assumptions and hopes have many ramifications, not all of which can be detailed in a statement of this nature, but which may be defined to include:

1. The importance of resources which make possible the establishment of planned services for these endangered youths and their families. This means

not only physical shelters, it calls for trained staff and volunteers who will be responsive and prepared to undertake the not-easy tasks associated with reuniting the girl with her family under conditions which may be favorable to her remaining there.

The services which are referred to here include but are not limited to physical shelter. Indeed, the youth's acceptance of that shelter usually is dependent upon the nature of the supportive services which accompany it. It takes time, and patience, and caring to persuade a runaway to stop running—from her home or indeed from a correctional institution or some other place which she may have left. Counseling is the BIG requirement and this—in turn—needs the fortification of other related services, food, clothing, transportation, communication, referral to other needed services such as medical and mental health.

2. The essential requirement for resources which will operate as a network, thus making provision for the "two-end locational" service referred to above, and also including resources for reestablishing contacts with those youth who decide to run from the point of their first contact as a runaway to another or possibly still others. It is not unusual for a young runaway to decide—in the middle of reconstructive planning—to move out again, to interrupt the process and to require a new set of contacts in still other new settings before she is convinced of the desirability of returning to her family or to some other place which offers constructive potentials.

3. The imperative nature of resources which will permit *outreach* from the to-be-established runaway houses to the places where the youths may be located. This requires flexibility and mobility of personnel—to go where the youth are—and to work with them to the point where they will be willing to take advantage of this new resource. This in turn requires resources for this movement—in some instances, mobile units may seem to be the best instruments for such service. The example may be cited here of Galveston, Texas, where there are seasonal influxes of youths who take up residence on the beach and where the YWCA is moving—through funding by the Texas Criminal Justice Council—to use a mobile unit for initial contact and continuing work with both male and female runaways. In other locations YWCAs have found it most effective to establish new outreach centers which are non-institutional in appearance, which may be located where the youth tend to congregate, and which are designed and decorated by youth themselves to meet their own needs and to compete with and counter less-constructive offerings for youth who are "on the loose."

4. The importance of official recognition of the problem and its growing endangerment power through the type of government-supported resources which are potential through this proposed legislation. Such resources may not only provide the needed sheltering and related services, but they can give credence to awareness of the need and the significance of the problem of runaways. Such resources may serve to stabilize the halfway house operations, to assure the opportunity to provide the kind of service which is needed, and to remove them from the shadowland of precarious—sometimes dubious—sponsorship and objectives. It is hoped that they will serve as channels for the much-needed community interpretation of the problem of runaways in the U.S.

Certainly the pressure to study the problem, to determine its magnitude, to learn more about the nature of its incidence cannot be minimized. At the present time, much that is said about the runaway comes through projection of findings of studies which of necessity have been limited. At worst, some of the conclusions are mere conjectures based on occasional contact or observation. Little is really known about who runs away from where. Even less is really known about the reasons for the movement. There seems to be some danger of over-simplifying these casual factors: it is "in" to say that the situation from which the youth departs is "not tolerable" for her. This may be the case; but if so more needs to be known about the conditions which make the varying situations intolerable and why these are intolerable to only some of the youth affected by them. It seems equally clear that the problem of running away cannot be isolated from other societal conditions—especially unrest, the quest for more meaning and greater relevance.

The involvement of increasing numbers of young females suggests to some that there may be interrelationship between this phenomena—running away—and the pressure for female "equality." These, and other hypotheses are certainly subject to study and test. It seems more than desirable that some of the funds that may be made available through this legislation be devoted to just such study.

It is highly desirable that the use of research funds not be limited to statistical surveys defining the major characteristics of the runaway youth population and related countable elements, but that this be construed as applicable to some studies probing the reasons behind the behavior itself and some of the effective means of preventing and otherwise dealing with it. For these purposes it is essential also that voluntary organizations—experienced in, knowledgeable about, and participating in services to these runaway youths—be eligible for participation in the needed study which this legislation will make possible.

The National Board of the YWCA regards the Runaway Youth Act as a splendid vehicle for providing still another channel for the utilization of voluntary organization experience, namely through the participation of representatives of some of these voluntary organizations in the preparation of the Guidelines for Administration of the Act. This may help to ensure the practicality, the feasibility, and the reality of the conditions and the procedures under which the intent of this legislation may be realized.

The National Board of the YWCA believes that it shares with other voluntary organizations the desire to take part in the program which the Runaway Youth Act could make possible. It expects such participation to entail the use of some of its existing resources, the creation of new sponsored resources where such may be necessary, and most importantly the utilization of the volunteer and professional resources, representing millions of American women and girls, in the effort to confront those conditions which are contributing to the increasingly needed services to runaway children and youth and their families. It is the hope of the YWCA that this legislation will pass speedily and promptly.

Our last witness is Miss Catherine Hiatt, executive director, Travelers Aid Society of Washington, D.C., Travelers Aid Association of America.

Miss Hiatt, we appreciate your coming. Of course, the Travelers Aid Society is one of those volunteer agencies that also possesses a tremendous amount of expertise and does provide an important service and we appreciate very much your taking the time to give us the opinion not only of yourself but of the association that you represent.

**STATEMENT OF CATHERINE C. HIATT, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
TRAVELERS AID SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D.C., TRAVELERS
AID ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA**

Miss HIATT. Thank you, sir. I would like to say at the outset that I very much appreciate your making the opportunity available to us and to others to give additional buttressing to the kind of thing you are working toward. You are right; we in Travelers Aid have been dealing with runaways for a long time.

Senator BAYH. You certainly have.

Miss HIATT. If you do not mind, I am going to speak extemporaneously with you rather than read my written testimony, if I may.

Senator BAYH. Fine.

Miss HIATT. I would like to do it this way because I have had some additional thoughts as I have been sitting here this morning, and because I am aware that the material which I have submitted is entirely geared to hoped-for modifications in the proposed legislation itself, rather than presenting experiential material as others have done to reinforce the need for such legislation.

My reason for focusing on the substance of the bill, sir, is because something in this area is so desperately needed that I would like to see it "perfect" and I think there are certain areas in the specific legislation, S. 2829, that need to be strengthened or amended before passage.

Senator BAYH. Fine, we will be glad to have your suggestions.

MISS HIATT. I endorse most heartily the need for some additional legislation or added provisions and upgrading of priorities for service to runaways in existing legislation, even though I acknowledge as others have said, that one could get programing across the country under existing legislation. As a matter of fact, I know of two or three of my colleague TA's that have such programing under HEW funding. A new one that has just been funded is Atlanta—I do not have much material about this at this moment, but since I take it you are interested in programs that are operating around the country, I can get to you or through Mr. Nemeroff information where to get some very substantive material about special programs that are now being carried on by various Travelers Aids. Atlanta TA is one of them, San Francisco is another; Los Angeles is another. There is also one in San Diego which community you were discussing this morning. But that is primarily for the next older age group.

The San Diego program focusing on the next older age group raises a point that I want to either reaffirm with you or to comment on—that is, that the legislation as written may be stronger because it does not give an age limit. Maybe that was deliberate on your part. If so, I think that is very positive. There are different problems with those who are technically minors in different States and minoriness varies from State to State. Additionally in our experience, the next age group above—that is, the 24-year-olds and below—are of equal urgency and many of them could be classified in the naive or rebellious runaway group, in terms of potential jeopardy and need for supportive services.

The minister this morning mentioned a 36-year-old woman who is "running away." That is not at all unusual. We in Travelers Aid see persons of all ages up until 80 or beyond who are "running away"—as you can imagine, many of them mentally ill. We see 2,000 of them a year here in Washington alone. We see fewer here of the under-18's because, as was mentioned earlier, there is the problem of legal restrictions on planning for overnight housing for those who are under 18 except through a licensed child placement agency unless we can get parental permission. Sometimes, if the young people are 16 years old or above and seem mature enough to handle themselves independently, we take a chance and house them at the Y and carry them in our care until we can help them and their families get back together, or failing this some other responsible plan can be made for and with the young person for not going home.

SENATOR BAYH. Why don't I ask the reporter to record your whole statement in the record and excerpt parts of it and particularly if you make constructive criticisms as to how we can strengthen the bill, and why not concentrate on that aspect? That would be very helpful to us.

MISS HIATT. Very good.

(Miss Hiatt's prepared statement is as follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF TRAVELERS AID SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D.C. BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, JANUARY 14, 1972

I am Catherine C. Hiatt, Executive Director of the Travelers Aid Society of Washington, D.C. I am speaking not only for my own agency, but also in behalf of the Travelers Aid Association of America.

As members of this Committee undoubtedly know, Travelers Aid Societies across the United States have for some fifty years been in the forefront of community agencies dealing with the problems of runaways of all ages—but especially including runaway youth. I welcome this opportunity to respond to the provisions proposed for The Runaway Youth Act in S. 2829. I apologize at the outset for the length and detail of the following material. I only trust that as the single organization with probably the longest and most intensive experience with this problem of any public or private organization in the United States I will be forgiven for this intrusion on your attention and your time.

First I salute Senator Bayh and Senator Cook for singling out this long-standing social and community problem for priority attention. Despite the fact that as noted in Senator Bayh's introductory remarks, many children and their families have over the years been deeply affected and in many instances their whole lives disrupted or destroyed by this phenomenon. Very little, if any, organized attention has been given to this problem—how large it is, what causes it, how serious it can be, or what can best be done about it—for the individuals involved or for society as a whole. Witness the fact that, while, as others have probably already asserted during these hearings, existing legislation could undoubtedly cover all the provisions of this bill. In point of fact the needs for study and service for runaways tend to be low-man-on-the-totem-pole for funding consideration elsewhere unless they are intertwined with other, more popularly identified as serious, problems of juvenile delinquency or delinquency prevention.

Either existing legislation needs to be amended and titles added to lift the problems of runaways to greater visibility and priority in the pecking order for concerted action and service or separate legislation such as is now before is required.

Thus, we in Travelers Aid support the purposes of the present bill, though we do have a number of questions about specific provisions in it:

Number One—I personally, seriously question the wisdom or the right of this proposal to be entitled "*THE* Runaway Youth Act." First, there exists other legislation which includes this subject. I cannot cite other federal legislation on this matter, but at the State level "The Interstate Compact on Juveniles" specifically and exclusively deals with runaways, including non-delinquent as well as delinquent youth. Second, and most importantly, this proposal, while having important provisions is by no means inclusive. There are components of the problem and of needed service which are essentially omitted from this bill. And it is certain of these omissions which most seriously concern me. Third, neither in Senator Bayh's introductory remarks nor in the bill itself does there appear to be recognition that Runaway Youth are not a single sort of entity. They have many differing characteristics, the etiology of behavior differs, the family and individual dynamics can differ, the handling must differ, and the resolution will differ for different children and different groups of children.

I raise this third point because in Senator Bayh's Introduction he singles out Runaway House in Washington as, he implied, a model and prototype for this proposal. It is true that availability of funds for programs are not to be restricted in this particular type of resource. Nonetheless, it is imperative to stress that, while I greatly respect the vision, dedication, and usefulness of Runaway House in Washington for many children, and we refer some children there, we in Travelers Aid see other children who literally could not take this setting and we must find other means for their care. For some, a more formal group setting is essential; for these the annual operating costs I am certain are well above the \$50,000 per annum which Senator Bayh refers to. For some youngsters the preferred answer would be a temporary home or foster family care—a type of resource which is conspicuous by its non-availability in Washington—a resource which I would regretfully infer is precluded from the provisions of this bill.

Number Two—Under "Findings and Declaration of Policy" Section 2, Paragraph 4, states that the anxieties and fears of parents can best be alleviated by interstate reporting and early contact with their children. This statement is true for the majority but it oversimplifies reality. First, we need to recognize that there are families who literally don't want their kids back at all—which poses a wholly separate societal dilemma. Second, and more germane to this proposal, except for the relatively fewer instances where the child is off on a simple Tom Sawyer adventure, the cause for the child's running is parent-child relationship difficulty initially rooted in the parents. Guilt, confusion, personal

jeopardy—are also emotions triggered by the child's act. Fear and anxiety are only part of the story. Thus reporting and early contact are only the beginning of resolution. I will return to this point again in a moment—because in the long haul I believe it to be crucial if we are not simply to be proposing to put adhesive tape on an uncleaned wound.

Section 2, Paragraph 5, I believe, is also open to question. While happily many runaway children can and should be cared for and helped to return home independently of official intervention, this is not true even of all non-delinquent runaways. I would refer members of this Committee to the wording and the substance of the Interstate Compact on Juveniles for clarification and greater precision on this point.

Number Three—Title I—the heart of this bill. Travelers Aid affirms its support of the objectives of these provisions; i.e., to provide adequate and more temporary facilities for housing, care, and rehabilitation of runaway youths at quote arrival points unquote while they are away from home. Again, however, we question certain specific inclusions and exclusions in these provisions.

Section 102(b) re qualifications for submission, which incorporates by inference program goals and design. My single deepest quarrel is with Paragraph 5 of this Section and the companion material in Senator Bayh's Introduction which elaborates on this point: I cannot conceive of any justification for limiting the mandate for follow-up counseling for runaway children and their families to a twenty-five mile radius of the temporary care facility. Either plans for follow-up counseling and related services are important for *all* runaway children and their families, regardless of distance, or they are not relevant to this type of program at all. And from the experience of my own agency and of other Travelers Aid's across the United States, I can assure you that the key to avoiding or reducing recidivism among runaway youth is a substantial change in the climate and parent-child relationships in the home on *both* sides, not just counseling for the child while he is away.

I am equally concerned that *nowhere* in this bill is there *any* guideline of standards for living arrangements or house programming for the children under care, or for personnel in charge of the children in the runaway facility. In fact, under Section 104 there is a specific prohibition for HEW to set standards for staff or child management in the house. The last sentence of Section 104 ends with the phrase that "the staffs of such facilities must meet standards under this title" and I have been assured by a member of Senator Bayh's staff that by placing the funding responsibility for this program under HEW it was presupposed that HEW could and would set basic standard requirements for any facility to be considered for funding. Nonetheless, the language of this bill does not so authorize except in relation to the nine points specified under Section 102, and again, under Section 104 explicitly excludes the imposition of any standards or judgment re personnel. I submit from heartbreaking experience in the field of day care in the 1940's and 1950's that competence and capability of staff, especially in an announced treatment-focused program, is of overriding significance. Please understand, I am not talking about educational degrees as necessary prerequisites, I am talking about motivation, maturity—tested capacity to safeguard kids and to help Runaway House in D.C. has corralled a remarkably dedicated group of young people to carry on their program. Without standards or controls other than local stipulations, children in other settings could be subject to serious abuse, and certainly there would be no assurance that house staff could effectively provide needed counseling for youth in the house. I further am sorry that I do *not* buy even now the concept of house staff providing follow-up counseling in the home within twenty-five miles or otherwise as described in Senator Bayh's Introduction.

The alternate to the above and the way to achieve follow-up services in the home community, wherever it is, is what we in Travelers Aid have been doing for years as an inherent ingredient of our service to runaway youth. That is to find and refer the family, including both parents and youth, to a responsible existing resource in the home community. It may be a family agency, a clinic, a clergyman, the family doctor—someone in the community who will accept responsibility for sustained relationship and help not for the moment but for this and other problems of adjustment which may arise in the future, preferably some recognized resource or individual whom the child or his family already know or know about and have their own reasons to trust.

Without provision for follow-up, the time, effort, and cost of services proposed in this bill can have little permanent utility or meaning for the majority

of youth served and for their families. The purposes of this bill would fall short of the stated goal communicated in Paragraph 4, Section 105.

Number Four—Beyond the potential for expanding direct services to runaway youths and their families, the prime focus of this bill, we welcome the emphasis placed on gathering of much needed statistical and profile information about runaways, as provided in Paragraph (6), Section 102, and the whole of Title II. Adequate comprehensive documentation of the nature and volume of runaway youth in this country is long *over due*. We would hope that Departments of Police might be persuaded to join in this effort by tallying and reporting on the runaways that come to their attention as well, not continuing to lump all juveniles in a single undifferentiated mass, except for delinquents and the offenses they commit.

Finally, in Title II we note that the items for fact gathering are not to be limited to those listed. We would hope that HEW would find a way to include as universally as possible some data on what triggered the youth to run, along with the other items identified. To know the onset of the behavior as well as the before and after, will contribute to our understanding and our capacity as a society to cope with and to prevent unhealthy mobility on the part of America's youth.

Thank you for taking the lead in this important social issue, and for offering those of us involved this opportunity to speak.

Except for the specific questions noted above which we urge you to consider before final legislation is enacted, we once more support the objectives of this bill and affirm with you that expanded facilities for runaway youth are greatly needed in this country. We wish you well. Again, thank you.

Miss Hlatt. Fine. Let me move then to some of the points I have made on the bill. I do affirm that we have no studies, no information, that tells us really how large the problem is, what causes it, how serious it can be, and what can best be done about it. Therefore, one of the elements of the bill that we support vigorously is the inclusion of a provision for gathering data in an organized and comprehensive kind of way; also encouraging research but not tying program services to the infinitely detailed and time-consuming kind of research that is inevitable in pure research. I tried in 1964 to get a program in this area under the Children's Bureau, particularly around counseling for the children and their parents, but because it was an operational program rather than a research program tied to a university, I never could get the funding for it.

Let me move now to some of the specific questions I have about the legislation itself. Perhaps it is presumptuous of me to be a little concerned that this legislation is entitled "The Runaway Youth Act," because it strikes me that there are many components of the problem and of program services that are beyond the provisions of this proposal. "A" Runaway Youth Act, yes, but not "The" Runaway Youth Act. It seems to me there is other legislation such as the Interstate Compact on Juveniles that at least at the State level deals with runaways. I do not know about other Federal legislation that is specifically geared to runaways, but certainly there is at the State level. I think we can destroy or downgrade the significance of what you are proposing if it gets caught in the tangle of being presumed to be inclusive.

Senator BAYH. I certainly would not argue about the presence of a "the" or an "a" myself, but I would make the comment that an interstate compact deals only with the State.

Miss Hlatt. That is true, but the Interstate Compact on Juveniles, of which all but two States are members, encompasses nondelinquents as well as delinquents, sir, as you know. It is not limited to delinquents.

We are finding, interestingly enough, that referrals of "compact children" are being made from the courts to Travelers Aid here in Washington.

Senator BAYH. One of the whole purposes of the act was—I do not recall the wording, but certainly if that is there, we want to take it out. But one of the whole purposes of our act was to avoid this business of delinquent and not delinquent.

Miss HIATT. Exactly.

Senator BAYH. Because, of course, once you get runaways categorized as "delinquents" they are in that trench from whence a lot of them do not escape.

Excuse me.

Miss HIATT. You are so right, sir, but I raise this question because I heard the news media yesterday referring to this bill as the comprehensive legislation in the field of runaway youth. It is important and very important, but I do not think it is the comprehensive or definitive legislation in this field.

Next I am pleased from this morning's presentations and from your response to other testimony that one of the things I read into the bill earlier is not intended. That is a sense that runaway youth are not a massive undifferentiated group, but rather are indeed varied, complex, differing groups of young people from all varieties of backgrounds; that there are all varieties of patterns of running away, of behavior, of cause, and of solution. Your own introductory remarks which mentioned the Runaway House in Washington perhaps raised in my mind a sense of a less broadly gaged proposal than I thought was needed and I am delighted to sense this morning that it is not intended to be primarily geared to that particular type of resource, but is much broader based than that, because I think it must be. We in Travelers Aid of Washington refer some children to the Runaway House in Washington, but we know and see many other children who could not take that setting. I am sure you have been there and seen the facility and realize that there are children who could not use that resource. Some of the youngsters actually need foster home care, temporary foster home care. I cannot tell from the writing of the bill whether there would be any capacity for that type of service to be included in the provisions of the bill by intent. If so, I would think that would be very helpful.

Another part of the bill that concerns me a little bit is under section 2, paragraph 4, of the "Findings and Declaration of Policy." Reference is made primarily to the easing of anxieties and fears of the parents. Obviously, except for the Tom Sawyer kind of thing, most of the original causes of the problems of the runaway are in parent-child relationship and much of this starts from the parents. Therefore, guilt, confusion, personal jeopardy, are also emotions triggered by the child's act. Thus reporting and early contact are only the beginning of the resolution.

I do find my greatest concern, or maybe it is confusion, in the writing of the bill as I hear you speak this morning in relation to intent versus the provisions for followup. From comments and testimony

this morning I get the impression that followup family counseling is seen as significant in general, yet, as I read the bill, the inference is that family counseling in the home should be assured primarily or only for those that are within a 25-mile radius of the temporary facility. From our own experience in Travelers Aid, all parents, wherever the child and family are, however far separated, need to be involved in plans for followup counseling of a responsible nature. As a matter of fact, it is possible—and we have had little experience in this—counseling with the parents by a responsible agency, organization, or minister or individual in the home community can be instituted even while the child is away and receiving counseling in the facility itself. The latter, I think, is one of the really exciting things that is happening in these new facilities.

Again, concurrent counseling for parents and for the runaway while they are still apart is possible and can be very helpful. We have done it. We have used this as a pattern for ourselves. Then follow this with thoroughly planned counseling back in the home community, not just in relation to this specific runaway incident, but as a resource that the family and the young person can come to trust and turn to the next time something comes up. Because if "it" happens once, there is going to be this or another problem coming up again later. Recidivism is going to be avoided only if there is sustained and recurrent availability to supporting help of a preventive nature.

Another thing that concerns me here is the question of standards in the bill. As I read the bill, there is a statement that "staffs of facility must meet standards under this title." But I do not find any standards under this title. As I was talking with Mr. Nemeroff the day before yesterday, I understood there was the expectation that HEW, as it approved proposals for funding, would be in a position to establish guidelines and standards for facilities. But, again, as I read the document, HEW is limited to setting standards relative to the nine point specified under section 102, and there is an explicit prohibition against HEW or anyone else to be concerned about standards of the staffing and of the personnel in the facility. To me, this is hazardous beyond words.

Senator BAYH. Let me tell you what our concern is. Needless to say, we need to have standards.

Miss HIATT. Yes, particularly for personnel.

Senator BAYH. But I think everything I have learned and everything I know, which may not be nearly as much as you know because I have not been dealing with this problem for that long, but, often times, the well-intentioned bureaucrat sitting in Washington establishing standards looks at the academic qualifications and years of experience of an individual and feels that any program to be successful has to have a Ph. D. who has had 12 years of experience, and that Ph. D. might not be able to talk at all with a 13-year-old girl who has run away. That is our concern.

Miss HIATT. Yes, I know; and obviously I am not talking about academic standards.

Senator BAYH. I am sure we understand each other.

Miss HIATT. I recognize the possible hazard of having standards placed in Washington, because you are right, they can become very en-

trenched, standardized standards, which do not get at the problem. These new programs prove to us that it takes something else and something different to reach many of the children. I do not know how to phrase the legislation, but I do know safeguards must be in there. I am too conscious of other programs, where they were not and I am thinking of day care back in the 1940's and 1950's, where there were no criteria and as a result kids were exploited and abused with no protections. Maybe it is not standards, maybe it is criteria, but there must be some controls, some guidelines for personnel.

Senator BAYH. I do not want to go as far as one of our witnesses yesterday who suggested that our whole system of government aid was created to perpetuate the professionals. I think there is a great need for professional care and professional experience, but I think we have to realize that the experience has to be meaningful and, if we are dealing with runaway kids, the professional is useless unless he is interested in and can relate to the young people he must deal with. Too often professionals chosen to run programs by professionals here in Washington cannot do this.

Miss HIATT. You are so right, sir. You are so right. Maybe what I am getting at is criteria rather than standards. I think your objective of flexibility is good. Certainly we know now that pieces of paper can often be the worst credential for working with kids rather than the best. I say that, having one of those pieces of paper, and I could not do it, I know very well. So I completely support what you are going after, but how to put something in there to avoid the hazard of abuse of kids such as we saw in day care in the 1940's and 1950's, this is what worries me. I assure you that providing for totally local setups with no constraints on the caliber of personnel opens the door to potential serious abuse, neglect, or even exploitation of children.

I believe it is imperative that you find some way to avoid this. I do not know how to do it. But I think what we have to do is to incorporate some kind of safeguards that are not in the bill as it is now written.

Those, I think, are the primary things—the question of broadly insured provision for followup with the families across the country, wherever the kids are, and the question of some criteria for staff that can safeguard kids from abuse. These are the things that I see primarily not in the bill as it is written. I earnestly wish there could be some modification that would get these in there.

Other than that, certainly in principle, we support what you are driving at. Something comparable to this—either new sections of existing legislation or new legislation such as you have had the courage to submit, this is very much needed in this area for expanding both knowledge and service for the runaway child and we in Travelers Aid support you fully in this objective.

Thank you very much for having the courage and vision to promote such legislation and for giving us a chance to comment and to back you at this point and to work with you in the future.

Senator BAYH. I appreciate your thoughtful comments. Indeed, the Travelers Aid Society can be very helpful in not only providing expertise as to how we can make this legislation closer to the mark, but you can also help us with informing the public across the country and developing the support necessary to overcome some of the hurdles

that seem to exist in passing a new program such as this. I hope you will feel free to discuss with Mr. Nemeroff, Miss Falco and others on the staff, to discuss whatever ideas you may have, standards, criteria, because I feel from what you are trying to say that we are trying to accomplish the same things, and it is difficult to say it all during the formal hearings.

Miss HIATT. I know. It is hard to cover it all here. Somehow, one has to put some check reins someplace. But how to put it in, I do not know.

One other thing I would like to share with Mr. Nemeroff is information about specific TA programs that I know about which you might wish to pursue specifically in terms of what they are and where they are located because there are several. I will leave with you our latest national newsletter, which pinpoints two or three particular programs that you might find helpful to pursue as you seek to expand your file of current experience or have questions for the future.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, Miss Hiatt. I appreciate that.

Miss HIATT. Thank you very much.

(Miss Hiatt's prepared statement is as follows:)

Senator BAYH. We will recess the hearings pending the call of the Chair and the availability of other witnesses or information which might add to our record.

(Whereupon, at 1:15 p.m., the hearing was adjourned pending the call of the Chair.)

APPENDIX

(Additional reports submitted for the record)

CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBURBAN ADOLESCENT RUNAWAYS

(By Helm Stierlin, M.D., Ph. D., Family Studies Section, Adult Psychiatry Branch, National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda, Md.)

Longitudinal studies of troubled adolescents and their families permitted the differentiation of various characteristics of suburban runaways. There emerged five different types with distinguishing features and varying family dynamics.

What causes an adolescent to run away from home? What distinguishes this adolescent from other adolescents? In what ways do adolescent runaways differ from each other?

These questions have become urgent as more than half a million children throughout the United States run away from home every year.* In 1969, the District of Columbia police missing persons division reported almost 4,000 runaway teenagers. These included an estimated three or four arriving a day from outside the Metropolitan D.C. area. More than half of the runaways were girls.

I gratefully acknowledge the help which I received during various phases of this project from Drs. Stephen G. Cronin, L. David Levi, Joseph H. Herzberg, Kent Ravenscroft, Jr., Robert J. Savard, John Bartko, Miss Elizabeth B. Sherwood, and Mr. Stanley I. Hirsch.

Since 1968 the "runaway reaction of childhood or adolescence" has—chiefly through the impetus exerted by R. L. Jenkins (2)—been included in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders of the American Psychiatric Association. (1) In a recent article on "The Runaway Reaction," Jenkins has surveyed the relevant literature and offered his rationale for grouping this reaction with the "behavior disorders of adolescence," a major class of disorders occurring in childhood and adolescence. These disorders are "more stable, internalized, and resistant to treatment than *Transient situational disturbances* but less so than *Psychoses, Neuroses, and Personality Disorders*." The runaway reaction of childhood (or adolescence) is explained as follows:

"Individuals with this disorder characteristically escape from threatening situations by running away from home for a day or more without permission. Typically they are immature and timid, and feel rejected at home, inadequate and friendless. They often steal furtively." (2) p. 169 Jenkins derived the category "runaway reaction" from a cluster analysis of the behavioral traits of 300 boys committed to the New York Training School for Boys. (3) This analysis revealed three major groupings.

"The largest cluster was characterized by traits of the 'group delinquent reaction' (308.5, DMS-II). The second largest cluster was characterized by repeated running away from home overnight, furtive stealing, staying out late at night, and stealing in the home. This is the 'runaway reaction' (308.3, DMS-II). The third cluster was characterized by the traits of the 'unsocialized aggressive reaction' (308.4, DMS-II)." (2) p. 1/0.

Jenkins' sample from an urban center does not include runaway girls and does not seem to do justice to those adolescent runaways who come from relatively well-to-do suburban homes. According to available reports, this group is large and increasingly important. Once such report highlighting its importance is the "Shellow Report." (4) From August 1963 to August 1964, Robert Shellow and his team of researchers at the National Institute of Mental Health studied almost a thousand teenage runaways from Prince Georges County, Maryland, and their

*This is a figure estimated by the Chairman of the New York City Youth Board. Most of these runaways, however, return to their parents after only a few days on the road.

families. They found that more than half the children studied came from families with incomes of \$6,000 to \$12,000 a year, and 15 percent from families with incomes over \$12,000 a year. "Only 28 percent were from families with incomes less than \$6,000," the Shellow Report states, "a proportion directly in line with the income distribution of the County as a whole." (4) (Prince Georges County comprises a largely suburban area bordering on the District of Columbia.)

In this paper I want to focus on what suburban runaways are like. I want to consider how such runaways differ from other troubled middle-class suburban adolescents and, perhaps more importantly, how they differ amongst each other. This will then allow me to delineate a typology of runaways which can link their individual characteristics to their family and peer relations. This typology should make it possible to ask: How do features of individual runaways throw light on relevant family and peer dynamics, and vice versa? And further: Does running away, in the light of such dynamics, reflect pathology? Or is it a legitimate, though problematical, attempt at adolescent separation? Depending on the answers to these questions, the evaluation and treatment of runaways and their families must differ. I shall take up these questions in subsequent papers devoted specifically to the family and peer relations of adolescent runaways. Also, I shall then take up the treatment these adolescents may require.

METHOD AND SAMPLE

I draw chiefly on 36 families of adolescents who, over the last five years, participated in a treatment program for "underachievers" at the National Institute of Mental Health.* My colleagues and I began to study—and still study—these adolescents and their families longitudinally from the vantage point of their potential for developing or resisting schizophrenic or other serious psychopathology. Assuming that "underachievers" represent a high risk pool for such pathology, we arranged for referrals from the surrounding school system of seriously underachieving adolescents in the age range from 14 to 16 years. We made conjoint family therapy our main investigative tool and set up follow-up interviews over the next five years.

At first, family outpatient therapy of three months' duration was offered; later, time limits on this therapy were abolished. Also, qualifying adolescents came to be admitted as inpatients for treatment. During approximately the last two years we have established the individual treatment of the index adolescent, couple therapy for the parents and, when feasible and necessary, individual therapy for siblings as interdigitating parts of our over-all treatment program. Additionally, all participating family members were seen in diagnostic interviews and took part in various research procedures. After the end of the individual and family therapies, we delineated and assessed individual and family features which, in our opinion, had greatest predictive value, including the family members' responses to therapy. We then made specific predictions about future behavior to be obtained through later follow-ups. We intend to report in due time on this project. Here I want to focus on that aspect which bears on the problem of suburban runaways.

The potential in our research for studying just this problem emerged gradually. By making "underachieving"—later modified into "school problems"—our selective criterion for accepting adolescents and their families into the program, we inadvertently collected an increasing number of families wherein the index and/or his sibling(s) were runaways.

For purposes of this study we defined as runaway an adolescent who, before reaching age 17, had absented himself from his parents' home without permission for at least one full night. Thirty adolescents fulfilled this criterion. Of these, 21 were index patients and 9 were siblings of such patients. We then rated these runaways according to severity, scoring each runaway on the four items "frequency," "age of onset," "duration," and "distance," as indicated in Table 1, and, by combining his scores, assigned him to one of the following four categories: Severe, moderately severe, moderate, or mild runaway, as reflected in Table 2. Tables 3 and 4 give an overview of how runaways and non-runaways were distributed in the 36 families studied.

*In addition, we made use of extensive clinical experiences with runaways met in less formal treatment and in screening situations.

Table 1.—Scoring of Severity of Runaways

	Score
Frequency :	
Never	0
Once	1
Twice	2
3-5 times	3
More than 5 times	4
Age at onset :	
18	0
17	1
16	2
15	3
12-14	4
Duration :	
Never	0
1 night	1
1 weekend	2
1 week or less	3
More than 1 week	4
Distance :	
Never	0
Less than 1 mile	1
Same city	2
Another city	3
West coast or further	4
Severity of runaways (reflecting mean scores) :	
Nonrunaway	0
Mild runaway	1
Moderate runaway	2
Moderately severe runaway	3
Severe runaway	4

Table 2.—Severity of Runaways

Severe equals 13	7 ♂ ; 6 ♀
Moderate severe equals 6	6 ♂ ; 0 ♀
Moderate equals 6	2 ♂ ; 4 ♀
Mild equals 5	2 ♂ ; 3 ♀

TABLE 3.—DISTRIBUTION OF RUNAWAY AND NONRUNAWAY "UNDERACHIEVERS"

	Runaways		Nonrunaways	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	30	32	64	68
Gender distribution:				
Male	17		30	
Female	13		34	
Still at age of risk	11		15	
Past age of risk	19		49	
Index patients	21		15	
Siblings of index patients	9		49	

TABLE 4.—TYPES OF FAMILIES AND RUNAWAYS IN THE "UNDERACHIEVER PROJECT"

Type of family	Families		Children in and past age of risk		Severity of runaways			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Severe	Moderately severe	Moderate	Mild
Families with runaways only	3	8.3	7	7.5	3	2	1	1
Families with runaway and nonrunaway adolescents	21	58.3	54	57.5	10	4	5	4
Families with nonrunaways only	12	33.3	33	35.1				
Total	36		94		13	6	6	5

These tables show that altogether 36 families yielded 30 runaways and 64 non-runaways. In arriving at these figures, we excluded those children who had not yet reached the risk age for running away—which we set at the years from 12 to 17—and treated as a special category those children who were still in this risk period. All families came from the Washington, D.C. suburban area and, with only two doubtful exceptions, belonged to the middle-class. The parental yearly incomes were, as a rule, above \$12,000. Whenever we lacked fresh data on a given child's runaway status, either through ongoing clinical contacts or recent follow-up interviews, we checked with the parents, or index, via telephone when preparing this report.*

Our sample of 36 families with underachieving adolescents allowed us then to do the following: (a) Compare the characteristics of runaways with those of non-runaway index patients who all shared the symptom of serious underachieving; (b) compare adolescents who ran away with their siblings who did not run away; and (c) compare the family and peer relations of runaways with those of non-runaways (siblings and others.) While we do not claim that these underachieving runaways and their families are typical of American runaways as a whole, or that they clearly fit the diagnostic category "runaway reaction," as described earlier, we believe they provide insights into a group of troubled adolescents that has become increasingly visible and important.

In the following, I emphasize clinical data and observations. In subsequent studies I intend to report also on data from a series of perceptual and cognitive tests which we began to collect systematically approximately a year and a half ago.

COMPARISON OF UNDERACHIEVING RUNAWAYS WITH NON-RUNAWAY INDEX PATIENTS

In order that we could delineate types of runaways, we looked, first, at what distinguished the underachieving runaways from underachieving non-runaways. The following picture emerged:

Of 36 index patients in our project (who were all serious underachievers), 21 were runaways and 15 were non-runaways, according to the criteria listed above. These two patient groups, we found, differed in their over-all symptomatology. I shall outline, first, how they compared with respect to symptomatology of the psychotic or neurotic variety.

Symptomatology of the Delinquent Variety:

1. *Truancy.*—All runaways were massively truant from school. They either missed classes frequently or dropped out of school altogether. In general, the length and frequency of their truancy tended to match the severity of their running away, as measured by our criteria. In contrast, only about half of the underachieving non-runaway index patients were truant. Also, they tended to absent themselves for shorter periods of time than did the runaways.

2. *Assaultive behavior.*—This category includes vandalism (i.e. willful destruction of property), and various kinds of attacks on other persons, including beatings and robberies. Altogether nine of the 21 runaways were assaultive in this sense, four seriously so. In contrast, only three non-runaways were mildly to moderately assaultive. With one exception, all assaultive patients were boys.

3. *Stealing.*—This category includes the stealing of cars and their accessories, shoplifting and burglary. Stealing, thus defined, had occurred with ten runaways and two non-runaway index patients. Among the stealing runaways, we counted three shoplifting girls. The two stealing non-runaways were boys.

4. *Drug and alcohol abuse.*—Drug abuse became an issue with all 21 runaways; however, the quality and extent of such abuse varied greatly among them. With one or two doubtful exceptions, all had tried marijuana at least a few times. At least six runaways had become severe users of amphetamines and LSD, and three had experimented with heroin (none, however, had become addicted). Two runaways seemed more interested in hard liquor than in drugs. In contrast, drugs were raised as problems with only three of the 15 non-runaway patients.

Also, heavy drug users among our runaways almost inevitably procured and sold drugs. Three runaways had to go to court on drug charges.

*In cases where we had doubts about the "runaway quality" of a given episode—as when, for example, an adolescent stayed away for three months with geographically distant friends of the family when he had his parents' permission for staying only two weeks—the episode did not qualify as a runaway incident.

5. *Promiscuity*.—All moderately severe and severe runaway girls were extensively promiscuous. However, in assessing promiscuity as a symptom in present day runaway girls, we must remind ourselves that nearly any girl who wants to be sheltered and accepted by her peers must "pass her body around." Also, most of the runaway boys tended to change sexual partners frequently and must therefore be considered promiscuous. In contrast, promiscuity was absent in the girls and boys who constituted the group of our non-runaway index patients.

Symptomatology of the Psychotic or Neurotic Variety

Next I shall discuss symptomatology of the non-delinquent variety.

1. *Depression*.—For the purpose of this study a distinction was made between depression and withdrawal. We speak of depression when the depressive affect appears as the crucial symptomatic feature. Such depressive affect reflects pain and discomfort. Withdrawal may or may not accompany this depressive affect. At least several of our withdrawn patients seemed not or only transiently depressed and seemed to make themselves pleasantly at home in their retreat from others.

Most runaway index patients at one time or the other were noticeably depressed. Their depressive affect seemed most marked during certain periods of confinement, and usually appeared strongest after they had become hospitalized. Then many of them seemed ready to try anything to escape their painful depression. Increasingly, we came to view the running away of several of these patients as desperate attempts to get away from their depression. Yet depressive affect was also common in the group of non-runaways.

2. *Withdrawal*.—We diagnosed seven out of our 15 non-runaway index patients as being (at least at certain times) markedly withdrawn, whereas only five out of the 21 runaway patients could be thus described. Typically, the withdrawn non-runaways tended to be schizoid borderline patients who, while withdrawn, seemed preoccupied with aspects of their inner life. Several of them we suspected of entertaining delusions or hallucinations.

3. *Hyperactivity*.—Five patients in the runaway group and two in the non-runaway group were, for varying periods of time, hyperactive and/or excited.

4. *Thought disorder*.—Our research design, as outlined earlier, excluded blatantly thought-disordered psychotic patients from being admitted to our project. However, a number of patients revealed at closer acquaintance minor degrees of thought disorder either of the fragmented or paranoid variety, as described by Singer (5)/(6) and Wynne (11)/(12). Four such mildly thought-disordered patients belonged to the runaway group and five to the non-runaway group. On the whole, the thought disorder tended to be more severe among the latter patients.

5. *Neurotic symptomatology*.—Here we include well-established neurotic features such as phobias, obsessive-compulsive symptoms, and attacks of neurotic anxiety. We noticed neurotic symptomatology, as just indicated, in five out of our 21 runaway index patients and seven out of our 15 non-runaway index patients. While mostly mild, this neurotic symptomatology tended to be more severe in the latter group.

6. *Psychosomatic symptoms*.—Psychosomatic symptoms, too, were relatively uncommon in runaways as well as non-runaways. We noticed them in two runaways and four non-runaways.

Summary of Distinguishing Features

This overview suggests that runaway underachievers tend to differ from non-runaway underachievers. Runaway tend to be more truant, more criminally delinquent, more prone to abuse drugs than non-runaways. Girls who run away are usually promiscuous, but so are most runaway boys. Non-runaway underachievers (boys and girls) tend to have available fewer sex partners and often have no sexual relations at all.

Many one-runaway underachievers appear withdrawn, preoccupied with fantasies or solitary projects at the expense of actual peer relations. Also, these non-runaways tend to be more thought-disordered than runaways. Further, the non-runaway underachievers are most likely to show neurotic and psychosomatic symptomatology than runaways.

Depressive affect cuts across the two groups of underachievers and is possibly—at least during certain periods—more prominent among runaways, suggesting that running away may serve to relieve such painful affect.

This overview thus supports the notion that running away fits into a syndrome which encompasses delinquency, low tolerance of frustration, and poor impulse control. Non-runaway underachievers, in contrast, tend to fit into more typical neurotic and borderline syndromes. They tend to contain conflicts within themselves. They suffer from these conflicts instead of trying to cope with them through action and interpersonal agitation. Our overview establishes therefore the average runaway as a type that seems set apart from other types of disturbed adolescents.

DIFFERENCES AMONG RUNAWAYS

Such global characterizations of runaways, though, is not enough. Along with determining what distinguishes runaways as a group apart from other adolescents, we must determine what differentiates subgroups of runaways. In so doing, we aim at a typology of runaways. This task requires that we look more closely at how runaways differ from each other. How do sub-groups, we ask, deviate from the typical profile of underachieving runaways just outlined?

Such deviations in our sample were, first, brought to light by those serious underachievers who were moderately to severely delinquent but who had *not* run away. They were, second, exemplified by those severe runaways who were not, or only minimally, delinquent. Our sample contained a few cases of each of these two deviating categories. I shall briefly comment on each of them.

Bob C. exemplifies a delinquent boy who did not run away. Bob had become a terror in his school. He had succeeded in disrupting classes in ways which caused his teachers to become pale with fury. Also, he had ingeniously stolen the keys to the science rooms so that all science activities of his school had to be cancelled one day. Further, while not yet having reached the age of 16, the legal age for obtaining a driver's license in his home state, he had engaged police cars in reckless chases that became the talk of the community. However, and this seems important here, he had *not* run away from home. (Bob's delinquency, it may be added, turned out to be limited to one period of time. It ended approximately three months after family therapy had started. During the three and a half years following the termination of this therapy, Bob has not been delinquent and, for the last nine months, has served with distinction in the Armed Forces.) At least one other patient in our sample was, like Bob, seriously delinquent without ever having turned into a runaway.

Even more important for the purpose of highlighting differences among runaways are those severe runaways who show little or no delinquent symptomatology. Gary C. is a case in point. He started running away from home when he was about 12 years old. Subsequently he ran away further and further until he finally made a three-week trip to Western Canada. Only a few times did he experiment with minor amounts of marijuana and gave up going to school only after he had desperately tried to be the top student in his class. Apart from such mild drug abuse, no delinquent behavior came to our attention during approximately one and a half years of thorough acquaintance with Gary. Clearly, Gary—like several others in our sample—differs significantly from the delinquent type of runaway which is suggested by the above global profile.

In trying to establish sub-groups of runaways, we looked next at those runaways who, for one reason or the other, had not become index patients. Among these we found at least three siblings whose over-all symptomatology was more severe than that of the index. Also, we found a number of rather inconspicuous runaways—that is, siblings who at one time or another had run away from home but who, like Bob C. in the above example, seemed to have soon outgrown whatever problems might have triggered their running away.

In musing over our clinical data while trying to do justice to truly salient differences in runaways, we finally arrived at a "clinical" typology of runaways. In this typology we sub-grouped those runaways who seemed to share certain individual characteristics as well as certain kinds of family and peer relations.

A CLINICAL TYPOLOGY OF RUNAWAYS

Essentially, four major categories of runaways emerged. Although these categories overlap, we had little difficulty in allotting the more serious runaways in our sample on one of these groups. We have called these groups (1) *the uncontrollable "ne'er-do-wells,"* (2) *the "crisis" runaways,* (3) *the sweet "bad" girls,* and (4) *the lonely schizoid runaways.* Table 5 gives an overview of how these types are represented in our sample.

TABLE 5.—CLINICAL TYPOLOGY OF RUNAWAYS

Runaways	Number	Percent	Severity of running away			
			Mild	Moderate	Moderately severe	Severe
Ne'er-do-well: Male.....	9	25	0	0	3	6
Crisis:						
Male.....	9	33	2	2	3	3
Female.....	5		2	2	0	3
Sweet "bad": Female.....	7	21	1	2	0	4
Lonely schizoid (in terms of defined criteria).....	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abortive:						
Schizoid.....	3	12				
Delinquent.....	3					
Homosexual.....	1					

We shall now take up these groups one after the other, presenting in the process a representative sample of each.

1. *Uncontrollable "ne'er-do-well" runaways.*—We found nine of our runaways (six of them serious) belonging to this group. A rather typical representative is George P. This is his story:

As a small child George was difficult to handle. According to his parents, he just did what he wanted to, never heeding his parents' warnings or limits. When his parents tried to control him, he would throw tantrums and become obnoxious. In the end they would always let him have his will for peace sake. Thus, the pattern for his "getting away with murder" was set. Also, from early on, George showed a "tough and mean" side: He extorted other children's money by threatening to smash their heads, stole their food, and seemed bent on mischief. He often ran away from home, first for hours, then for half-days, then for days. He ran away for several days at about the age of 14 and after he had stolen 15 silver dollars out of his mother's treasure chest and the latter had found out. He returned after he had gambled away the money and had heard his father insist over the telephone that his mother would die of a heart attack should he stay out longer. During the three months of outpatient therapy with his family, George ran away from home once and missed several sessions "because he had something important to do." The "something important," we learned later, were his activities in a tough motorcycle gang. During the approximately one and a half years since the end of the family therapy, George has completely dropped out of school. He did not show up for a follow-up interview, but we learned from his parents that "he is at home sometimes and sometimes not." The last we heard about him was that he had been arrested for participating in a burglary that netted several thousand dollars worth of jewelry.

George's case, although in some respects extreme, appears typical for the "ne'er-do-wells" in our sample. Their running away appears tied to an impulsive life style, to the extensive avoidance of school and learning, a penchant for criminal delinquency, and an easy access to peers who also tend to be delinquents. Their tendency to run away seems to grow out of deep-seated character problems which make them candidates for diagnoses such as psychopaths or antisocial personalities. These character problems, in turn, seem to interlock with characteristic family and peer dynamics, to be described in subsequent papers. Neurotic or psychotic factors seem to play minor roles only. All nine runaways whom we classified as uncontrollable "ne'er-do-wells" were males. As a group they responded least well to psychotherapeutic endeavors.

2. *"Crisis" runaways.*—Lorraine H. is representative of this group. Lorraine was seen with her parents for three months in outpatient family therapy when she was barely 16. After the end of the family therapy she continued with me in individual psychotherapy for seven more months on a once-weekly basis and, approximately a year after that, saw me for another stretch of eight months which ended about half a year ago.

Up to the age of 15 Lorraine had been doing well in school and had given no reason for concern. Suddenly everything seemed to go wrong. She ran away from home overnight. Her parents were informed by the police the next morning that she had been picked up in an abandoned house together with several boys and girls who had been found with LSD and marijuana in their possession. Lorraine received stern warnings from all sides—parents, police, teachers—

and refrained from running away for a while. Yet things did not go well for Lorraine. She involved herself sexually with several boys, took drugs in varying amounts, and skipped many classes. In order to conceal her truancy from school, she resorted to forging passes and lied to anybody and everybody. Finally the bubble burst. She saw herself in an inextricable mess, suffocating under the web of lies she had spun, disgusted with herself by her increasing promiscuity and drug abuse. She ran away from home to a hippy commune in upper New York State. Two and a half days later her father brought her home from there. Lorraine returned home, tired, disillusioned, and ready for anything. Under these circumstances she agreed to try family therapy. Almost with the onset of this therapy she began to "find herself." She again became a good student and seemed to abstain from mischief. The subsequent individual therapy revealed that her situation was not quite as rosy as Lorraine had made it appear to her parents and therapist. She still resorted occasionally to drugs, carried on sexually with two boys, and participated in some orgies. However, by the end of her individual therapy, her progress seemed more solid. Most importantly, she had begun to become aware of some neurotic anxieties and conflicts that had prompted her delinquent and runaway behavior. She began to reflect on her low self-esteem, her "unnatural sexual cravings," her fear of men, of marriage, and of babies—all matters she had tried to push out of her mind by counterphobically dashing into promiscuity and drugs. After a period of moderate depression, Lorraine seemed to shift gears as far as her major activities and relationships seemed concerned. She involved herself in school clubs, became editor of her school newspaper, and learned a foreign language. When one day she noticed high school students younger in age than herself taking LSD and "fooling around with needles" in a back corner of the school yard, this struck her as a bad dream of the kind she herself had left behind. So far she has not run away again.

Although Lorraine's troubles appeared at times serious and could have suggested a comparison with those of George P., a closer acquaintance with her and her family left no doubt that she belonged to a different group from George. These troubles predominantly seemed to reflect a crisis that began when she was 15. A number of factors came together to make this crisis relatively traumatic and long-lasting. Among them were the activation of guilt feelings and conflicts thriving on the intense upsurge of her sexual and aggressive drives; the availability of a deviant peer group with a reputation for adventurous mischief (orgies, smoking pot, and taking LSD); and, perhaps most importantly, two parents who at this time neglected her and yet tried to bind her to them while inviting her to act out certain covert tendencies of their own. (The specifics of such parental behavior will be described in subsequent papers.) Presently, Lorraine seems to have been able to master her crisis. In so doing, she could benefit from the family and individual therapy she received, from a relatively strong ego, and from the ego-integrating momentum inherent in the very process of adolescence.

In the group of uncontrollable "ne'r-do-well" runaways, in contrast, a crisis—as here outlined—seems to be less of a distinguishing feature in the runaway picture. In that group it was insidiously unfolding character problems which chiefly seemed to account for the running away; in this second group, specific conflicts seemed to stand out which had become activated during a critical phase in the adolescent's separation from her or his parents. Boys and girls were represented almost equally in this second group. As exemplified by Lorraine, a sizeable number of such "crisis" runaways seemed to respond well to psychotherapeutic interventions.

3. *Sweet "bad" girls who run away.*—In some ways this group of seven girls seems to represent the counterpart of the all-male group of uncontrollable "ne'er-do-wells." However, although resembling these boys in some respects, the girls in question differed significantly in others so as to justify a special category. Tracy P. appears as a rather typical representative.

Tracy, at the age of 16, looked sweet and soft. She was in full sexual bloom and was aware of this bloom. On account of her seeming sexual maturity and a sophisticated manner of talk, she impressed people as being older than her 16 years. Her parents defined Tracy as the most sensitive and perceptive of their three daughters, but also the one most hell-bent.

Tracy ran away for the first time when she was not quite 13. This happened, according to her father, after he (the father) had accidentally found and read

a letter of Tracy's wherein she had made "an immoral proposition" to a boy. When the father confronted her, Tracy took off. While she was away from home, Tracy—again, according to the father—did, in fact, seek the company of "bad" older boys, doing "I don't know what" with them. The father then rescued her from her bad male company and brought her home. Altogether, six similar runaway episodes followed until Tracy and her family entered treatment with us. Each succeeding episode appeared more ominous than the preceding one. The last three times Tracy had run away to major Eastern seaboard cities where she had found shelter with other runaways. With these she had slept around and repeatedly had "freaked out" on bad LSD trips. Again her father had managed to rescue her each time and, again, each time this rescue had culminated in a brief, blissful reunion where everything was forgiven. Then the runaway cycle had begun anew, heralded by Tracy becoming more irritated, restless, and depressed.

In Tracy, an hysterical personality with depressive and impulsive features, we find a characteristically uneven personality development. Great immaturity on the one side—in addition to being emotionally child-like, Tracy was academically far behind her age-mates—combined with a certain hypermaturity on the other. This "hypermaturity" manifested itself in her "sexy worldliness" which made her appear older than her age. But also, this "hypermaturity" seemed reflected in a certain adult responsiveness. Tracy appeared particularly responsive to clues from her parents. More than her two older sisters, she seemed able and willing to transform herself into the kind of person her parents more or less unconsciously wanted her to be. More than her sisters, she seemed therefore to embody her parents' fantasies and covert wishes. These fantasies seemed to cast Tracy not only into the role of a beguiling seductress, but also into that of a sympathetic, nurturant, perceptive "madonna-mother."

An hysterical, depressive character structure with impulsivity and an uneven maturity, as just indicated, seemed to characterize all the girls in this group which, although showing some overlap, appeared sufficiently distinct from the two earlier-described runaway sub-groups. In some respects, these sweet "bad" girls seemed to form the female counterpart of the all-male "ne'er-do-well" runaways. In other respects, though, they seemed to share salient features with the girls in the "crisis" runaway group, as outlined in the foregoing.

4. *Lonely schizoid runaways.*—I outline this fourth group of runaways despite the fact that our sample offers no one clear-cut example. I do so because I feel this group is important and, by way of comparison, allows us to see the three first-mentioned groups in clearer perspective. The adolescent in our sample closest to representing this group is Roy.

Roy entered our outpatient treatment program at the age of 16, together with his parents and his younger brother Bill. This happened approximately one year after Roy had begun to be late for school, or had skipped his classes altogether. His alarmed and tense mother had arranged for Roy to see a psychiatrist twice a week. Roy, however, had shown no more enthusiasm for his psychotherapy than he had shown for his school work. He had become tardy in attending his therapy sessions and eventually had rejected them altogether.

In the family sessions he was mostly mute. Sometimes he had a whimsical smile on his face; more often he seemed sullen. A number of times he exploded and devastated his mother with some perceptively unfavorable comment on her behavior. After a while he began to attend the family sessions irregularly and finally dropped completely out of them. His parents then continued for a while with couple sessions. A few months later also these couple sessions came to an end as the mother wanted to return to her former psychiatrist. By this time Roy had lost all interest in school. He spent almost all of his time alone in his room, either reading, tinkering with stereo equipment, or just staring in front of him. He refused to meet his former buddies and made no attempts to get to know girls. A few times, though, he deigned to receive and go out with one former classmate.

After having roamed the streets with this boy one particular evening, Roy did not return home as expected. Instead, he continued to wander around in the city after his friend had left him. Finally the night descended upon him. He wandered around until the early morning hours of the next day when he climbed on a fire escape ladder into the 5th floor apartment of a big residential building. Here he stumbled into a sleeping young woman who alerted the police. The

police, after checking with his parents, delivered Roy to a nearby psychiatric institution. Here he remained hospitalized for several months. He was then transferred to a residential treatment center for adolescents with school problems from which he repeatedly ran away. Roy, by now 19, spent the last year in a private psychiatric hospital where he has been diagnosed as schizophrenic. By now he has run away from this hospital at least a dozen times.

Roy is not included in our table of adolescent runaways because he does not fulfill our above-mentioned condition of having run away at least one full night during the risk period (he was picked up by the police before the end of a full night). Nonetheless, he reflects a runaway pattern that seems typical for the group under discussion. This pattern differs from those found in the three first-mentioned groups. We notice a rather bizarre and seemingly aimless quality in Roy's runaway attempt (if the just-described episode can be called a runaway attempt). While "running away," Roy might have been in a fugue state. When later questioned about the reasons for his roaming the streets in the dark and entering a young woman's apartment, he only smiled knowingly and did not give any reason, only "I just had to do it. I don't know why." Also his later runaway attempts, first from the residential center and later from the private psychiatric hospital, seemed to have a similarly dissociated, aimless and strange quality.

One other schizoid girl in our group of "non-runaways" once ran away in a fashion that resembled Roy's. She was picked up by the police only a few hours after she had left the house. Although similar runaway attempts of lonely schizoid adolescents are rare in our sample of "underachievers," they do not seem as rare in other psychiatric populations. (While serving on the psychiatric staff of Chestnut Lodge for approximately five and a half years, I worked with three such schizoid or schizophrenic adolescent runaways. Also, when checking the records of adolescent patients admitted in previous years to the Family Studies Section at NIMH, we could identify three patients who in magnified form resembled Roy's runaway pattern.) It appears that runaway attempts in this group of lonely schizoid individuals often reflect a search for figures from the individual's fantasy lives (which may or may not resemble real life figures). Also, these attempts seem more triggered by idiosyncratic clues than seems the case with runaways from the other groups which tend to run away after hassling with their families.

ABORTIVE RUNAWAYS

In order to make room for adolescents who, like Roy, seem to reflect definite runaway tendencies and dynamics but who do not meet our research specifications for runaways because they did not run away at least one full night during the specified risk period, we have established a special category of *abortive runaways*. In this group we include seven adolescents. Three of these had definite schizoid features, as just described ($AR_s=3$) in three others delinquent traits were prominent ($AM_d=3$), and in one case a homosexual problem seemed to stand out ($AR_h=1$).

These adolescents, though varying in their overt psychopathology, had an important feature in common. Like their, by definition, more successful runaway counterparts, they tried to avail themselves of a pathological mode of separation, namely, the precipitous running away from home, but failed to do so. They never got off the ground, as it were. In this manner they revealed the strength of the blinding (or centripetal) forces which operated in their families; binding forces which seemed to overwhelm these adolescents' drives for separation and autonomy. In other papers (8) (9) (10) I have described these "binding" forces in detail.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In drawing chiefly on 36 suburban families with 30 runaway and 64 non-runaway children, we have attempted to distinguish runaways from other problem adolescents. Our initial comparison suggests that adolescent underachieving runaways typically try to cope with conflicts and anxieties through delinquent actions whereas disturbed non-runaways do not, or less so.

However, this general formulation has only limited value. More salient features of runaways come to light when we distinguish between sub-types of runaways. With this goal in mind, I have presented a typology of runaways in

the second part of this paper. Such a typology reveals that suburban runaways differ significantly from each other. Also, it makes clear that not all runaways are delinquents. And where they share delinquent symptoms, it becomes evident that these often have different dynamic significance.

If we want to trace and understand further such different patterns, we realize we face a situation similar to that which researchers on schizophrenia did 60 or 70 years ago. Dementia praecox then, like "running away" now, presented itself as a diagnostic wastebasket. Some order was eventually brought into this group (or groups) of schizophrenic patients. This was, in particular, a result of efforts of Eugen Bleuler who, while postulating unifying features of the syndrome, specifically referred to the "group of schizophrenias." Thus he prepared the ground for a typology of schizophrenia which distinguished as well as grouped together what seemed salient from his clinical vantage point. Although today we may have doubts about certain of Bleuler's subtypes,* we do not doubt that his clinically inspired typology was a necessary first step in the attempt to come to grips with the phenomenon in question. Specifically, any complex etiologic and therapeutic considerations had to await the emergence of such typology.

Running away, although in many respects differing from schizophrenia, seems no less complexly determined. And, like schizophrenia, it seems to arise when an individual adolescent interacts with his family and peers within a broader predisposing social context. In order that we can begin to grapple meaningfully with this complexity, it seems useful to start out with a clinical typology through which we, more or less intuitively, can group pertinent features of the behaviors.

Appealing as such typology may appear, though, its real value will depend on how far it can, in turn, illuminate the family and peer influences with which a given adolescent, bent on separating himself (or herself) from his family, has to cope. These influences shall occupy me in subsequent papers in this series.

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*Cf. Stierlin, (7).

PARENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF SEPARATING CHILDREN

By Helm Stierlin, M.D., Ph.D.¹; L. David Levi, M.D.² and Robert J. Savard, Ph.D.³

How parents perceive their children and what they expect of them may fatefully affect these children's lives. We deal here with phenomena which Ronald Laing (13, 15) has called "attributions," and which Roger Shapiro (22) has termed "delineations." Related concepts are Melanie Klein's (11) and Bion's (4) "projective identification." All these terms suggest a transitive, molding element in our manner of perceiving and labeling another person; they imply that a given person's perceptions of another person—e.g. that this other person is lazy, weak, shady, etc.—may "take." Hence, these perceptions may become part of the other's self-image and motivational system. Typically, they are often distorted. Not seldom it is the dissociated or unacceptable aspects of oneself that are attributed to the other. Insofar as these perceptions fulfill a defensive purpose for the perceiver, we may speak with Shapiro of "defensive delineations" (22).

Often it may not be clear what makes a certain perception or projection "take"—that is, cause a person to make it a part of his self-image and motivation. Complex interpersonal and intrapsychic processes, particularly the vicissitudes of internalization, come here into play (c.f. see R. Schafer (21)). The chances for the "taking" of a perceptions, projection or attribution seem to be the greater the closer the—positive or negative—emotional tie to the other person, the more dependent that person, and the fewer alternatives for identification he possesses. Examples of projections which "take" in the presence of negative, dependent ties are provided by Jews in concentration camps who, according to Bettelheim and others, absorbed into their self-image their SS-torturers' views of themselves as dirty, inferior and cunning.

When we focus on the perceptions and expectations which arise in the relations between parents and children, we observe an ongoing perceptual interplay to which parents and children contribute. The participants do so in varying, yet specific ways. In this interplay the parents bring their perceptions and expectations to bear on their children, but also ordinarily open themselves to the perceptions and expectations which these children direct toward them (the parents). Further, ordinary parents tend to correct their perceptions and expectations of their children in the light of these children's real capacities and needs. For example, they will not continue to perceive a given child as a little genius, headed for a brilliant university career when this child is desperately struggling to make mere passing grades. Also, the parents, while respecting their child's development toward autonomy, will allow him to eventually immunize himself to the very perceptions and expectations which they direct toward him. Thereby they permit the child to liberate himself from them.

Optimally, there exists thus a movement toward relative mutual individuation and separation in which parents and children participate. (The word "relative" is important as this movement aims not at the absolute independence, but mature interdependence of the parties.) Although the two parties in this interplay—the parents on the one side, their children on the other—are equally important, we shall in this paper focus on the parents' contributions—that is, on their expectations for, and perceptions of, their children.

In the interplay here outlined, we can distinguish two crucial phases: Early childhood and adolescence.

In early childhood the parents'—and particularly the mother's—perceptions of, and expectations for, a given child seem to have a particularly fateful impact because of the child's moldability and extreme dependency during that phase. The parents, at this phase, expose their totally dependent child to their "stronger reality" (c.f. Stierlin (26)). Because of their superior position they have leverage for molding their child's image of himself as good or bad, lovable or unlovable, a born winner or loser, a liar or honest child.

An instructive example is here provided by the Genain Quadruplets, at one point in time all schizophrenic. They have been described and followed-up by

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David Rosenthal (19) and his collaborators. These quadruplets, it appears particularly from the account given by Betty W. Basamania (1), were perceived by their mother in a characteristically differentiated, yet rigid and distorted way almost from the moment of birth. The perceptual distortions reflected the mother's own unresolved childhood conflicts.

The girl who was born only a few minutes ahead of the others was designated for life as the responsible one, the leader; a second one as pleasant and helpful; a third one as basically inept and incorrigible; the fourth one as over-sexed, hostile and trouble-making. These early character designations, here massively condensed and simplified, did "take" to an amazing extent as one of us (Stierlin (25))—who had a chance to treat one of the quadruplets during her thirties—could confirm.

Many of these early perceptions of the child may have their full impact only when the child grows into an adolescent and tries to separate from his parents. For it is only at this time that a child who has been perceived by his parents as, for example, dependent and passive, will conclusively prove that he cannot live independently and thereby cause his parents' prediction to come true.

Compared to what it was like at earlier times, the interpersonal constellation has now changed: The child at adolescence is becoming less dependent on his parents; through school and peer contacts he makes available to himself different alternatives for forming his self-image and identity than are offered by his parents; and he can more effectively than before bring his own perceptions of his parents to bear on the latter. With new cognitive tools at his disposal he can now powerfully "counter-delineate" his parents, that is, perceive and label them as bad parents or failures in life. More pointedly than before he can thus shape their own image of themselves. Most important of all, due to the psychophysiological momentum of adolescence, he moves now away from his parents toward new relationships outside the family orbit, where his parents—often mired in a crisis of middle age (c.f. Levi *et al.*, (16)), depressed and apprehensive about their future—may be confronted with unbearable loss. The power situation in the family as to who needs whom, and as to who can hurt whom, has therefore drastically changed.

Given this shift in the balance of power and dependency in the relation between generations, parental expectations and perceptions, as here intended, in one respect seem to become less important as molding influences in adolescence than they appeared to be in childhood. For, to the extent that the adolescent becomes more autonomous, he tends to immunize himself also against his parents' expectations and perceptions of him.

Yet, by the same token, he remains vulnerable to parental expectations and perceptions to the degree that he still lacks a core of autonomy and continues to remain unduly entangled with his parents. Therefore, only entangled children can act out the unconscious wishes of a parent, as this has been described by A. Johnson (8). For such acting-out, as P. Blos (5) has pointed out, "can only take place when the emotional separation between parent and child is pathologically incomplete."

It is in the light of this relation between achieved autonomy of the child and the potential impact on him of parental perceptions and expectations that a special group of these perceptions and expectations gains added significance. These are those parental perceptions and expectations which reflect on the adolescent's capacity to successfully separate and to become autonomous. For, as long as the adolescent remains at all susceptible to what his parents think and expect of him, it is these perceptions and expectations which carry greatest leverage. For they entail a meta-message or meta-perception about all other parental perceptions. They convey to the adolescent how his parents perceive and judge his confidence and capacity either to heed or turn away from these parents themselves! These perceptions and expectations, in other words, contain a message about his ability—or inability—yet also his right or lack thereof, to liberate himself from his parents.

Parental perceptions and expectations which reflect on their adolescent's ability to separate were highlighted by a research project at the National Institute of Mental Health. In this project families with troubled adolescents were seen in short-term family therapy and were then followed-up over the next several years. So far twelve of these families have been followed-up with intensive interviews. The adolescent index patients covered a diagnostic spectrum from strongly schizoid patients who seemed headed toward schizophrenia to various types of acting-out delinquents. Beyond that, this study drew on approximately 20 fami-

lies which either were recently treated or are still in treatment. In addition to the recorded and sometimes videotaped family sessions, we made use of individual interviews obtained with each family member, and of research procedures such as Family Rorschachs and family art evaluations. These family sessions, individual interviews, and research procedures allowed us to gain a fairly consistent picture of how each family member perceived other members and how he felt perceived by them. Particularly, we learned about the parents' perceptions of, and expectations for, their adolescent children.

VARIETIES OF PARENTAL PERCEPTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS WHICH AFFECT THE ADOLESCENT'S SEPARATION

How do parental perceptions and expectations influence an adolescent's capacity to become autonomous and liberate himself from his parents? Essentially in three interdependent ways, which provide criteria for distinguishing between several interrelated types of parental perceptions and expectations.

There are, first, parental perceptions and expectations which convey to the child a self-image of potential autonomy or lack of such autonomy. Parents can perceive their offspring either as strong, as able to stand on his (or her) own feet, or as sick, weak, infantile or innately dependent. In this context they tend to have specific expectations and perceptions as to how the adolescent may perform in a job and achieve financial independence. The parents can either perceive their adolescent as able to hold acceptable jobs and to live on his own or as unable to do so.

There are, second, perceptions and expectations pertaining to the adolescent's capacity to make shifts in his object relations—to achieve "object removal"—in Katan's words (10)—away from his family of origin. They perceive him to be either successful or unsuccessful in finding friends, sexual and marital partners.

And there are, third, again related to the above, parental perceptions and expectations which are concerned with the adolescent's loyalty toward his parents, with his badness and destructiveness—or absence of these qualities—should he leave his parents.

While the first two types of perceptions and expectations imply a more direct and active "delineating" attitude of the parents, those of the latter group operate more indirectly: The parents convey here how they themselves will be affected by the anticipated—or nonanticipated—separation of their children.

In the following, we want to comment on these different types of parental perceptions and expectations. In so doing, we want to point out different levels of complexity and ambiguity that much be recognized.

GENERATIVE VERSUS NEGATIVE PARENTAL PERCEPTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

On a first general level, we can distinguish between parental perceptions and expectations which are *generative* and those which are *negative*. Generative perceptions convey parental confidence in the adolescent's capacity to grow and become autonomous; negative perceptions convey a lack of such confidence. A comparison with some features of an intensive individual psychotherapeutic relationship seems here useful.

A psychotherapist must bring to bear on his patient a vision of the latter's future. This point has been made by H. Loewald (17), R. Schafer (20),¹ E. Erikson (7), and others. He must approach his patient from the viewpoint of potential growth. This implies that the therapist, whenever he deals with his patient, conveys to him implicitly an image of what he could—and should—become. This image becomes *generative* for the patient insofar as it guides him toward a specific kind of positive self-realization. Thus, when the therapist conveys to him that he *can* become autonomous and *can* achieve mature object relations, this expectation can become incorporated into the patient's self-image and hence can become generative. This is in accord with Goethe's dictum: "If we treat people only as such as they are we make them worse; if we treat them as they ought to be, we help them to become capable of what they are capable of becoming."

In practice, a therapist may convey his confidence in a patient's capacity to become autonomous through the manner in which he communicates his plans

¹ Schafer (20) originated the concept "generative empathy," partly reacting to ideas of Erikson (7).

for a vacation. Instead of "reassuring" an anxious patient about his (the therapist's) whereabouts and his availability should the patient collapse, he can decide not to divulge such information and thereby communicate confidence in his patient's capacity to survive *without* the therapist.

Similar considerations apply to a parent's relation to his or her child. A parent, even more than a therapist, needs to convey to his child a vision of what this child can do and become. Along therewith, he must convey to this child that he can eventually separate and become autonomous. This vision of the child's autonomous future must, of course, be made congruent with the child's actual capacities and needs as these arise in specific life phases.

In the life phase of adolescence, a parent must, above all, convey a vision of the adolescent as a person who can and will separate—and will live richly outside his family of origin. This then, at this juncture, becomes the parent's crucial generative expectation. Such generative parental expectation, we believe, propels the child's successful separation no less than does the latter's own anticipations of an autonomous future, as these have been described by E. Silber (23) and others.

E. B. Murphey *et al.* (18) have reported on generative expectations in parents of successfully separating college students. These parents, write the authors, "regarded the separation and the college experience as a normal expectation and a necessary experience for growth. One father said of his daughter: 'I felt she would do well in her studies. I felt she could take care of herself. I knew that, if she had a problem, she would let us know and we would work it out and, above all, she had a good mind, quick and alert and retentive.'"

In a group of students who rated low in autonomy and relatedness, however, Murphey *et al.* found different parental expectations. These parents "... were not sure that the students would be successful in college or that they would be able to get along without them (the parents). . . . Although these students also had experience with jobs as well as opportunities to live away from home, their parents had not been able to respond to their children's growth by a shift in their own image of the student from dependent child to young adult."

The observations by E. Silber, E. B. Murphey, and their associates, as here reported, were made during relatively few interviews with the adolescents and their parents. In contrast, we could observe our adolescents and their families in ongoing therapy as well as in various interview settings. Herein the therapists' own reactions became important sources of data. In these settings, the impact of parental perceptions and expectations, be these generative or negative, appeared more complex than the above-mentioned studies suggest. We began to distinguish several levels on which the generative or destructive qualities of parental perceptions must be assessed.

On the most general and overt level—which roughly corresponds to the one on which Silber, Murphey *et al.* looked at their subjects—we found that the parents in our sample conveyed few generative expectations, as just defined. Instead, negative, defeating parental perceptions and expectations abounded. These perceptions and expectations conveyed distrust and disbelief in the adolescent's capacity to become autonomous. For example, one mother repeatedly defined her son in a family session as a "born loser," bound to make a mess of his life. The father of another truant adolescent insisted his son was now a failure and would remain a failure. Vindictively he announced that his son would not finish high school and would never hold a job. (At the time of the follow-up interview approximately two years later, this son had indeed dropped out of school and appeared an inveterate drifter.) Still another father likened his son to Sirhan Sirhan, the murderer of Robert F. Kennedy. Typical also were statements in which parents doubted their adolescent sons' capacities to find female partners. One mother insisted that her son was too immature to date. According to her, any girl who took an interest in him must have psychological problems. Another mother addressed her 15 and one half year old adolescent son in almost the same vein: "Any girl who goes out with you should have her head examined." But also, these parents frequently doubted their adolescent children's capacity to have satisfying friendships with members of the same sex. One mother said repeatedly: "You are a bum and the only friends you can have are bum friends. A decent, worthwhile boy would not look at you. Wait, soon your bum friends will be fed up with you!"

The parental perceptions and expectations here reported were not merely hostile to the adolescent. Also—and this seems important—in one way or the other they conveyed to hide that he was unable to successfully separate from his

parents. The parents, in disparaging their adolescent offspring, typically tended to focus not so much on a specific lack of skills or experiences which could be corrected through effort or training. Instead, they aimed at seemingly deep-rooted and incorrigible character defects which they deemed beyond repair.

To those cases where a parent holds *negative* expectations can be added those in which he or she has none or only fuzzy ones. This was true for several parents in our sample. One mother, for example, seemed amazingly unperturbed when her almost 16 year old son failed in school while he lacked any future plans. She enjoyed and encouraged in her son a carefree latency state that was incongruent with his actual age. This boy, with his mother's covert approval, preferred playing with toads in the cellar to doing his homework. She seemed to convey: "As long as you are not thinking about the future, neither will I. I, for my part, will not remind us of a future which separates us." Two other normally cooperative parents were, upon repeated questioning, unable to visualize their 16 year old son in any job situation whatsoever. Neither could they visualize him having a relationship with a girl. Three years later this son was a patient in an expensive private psychiatric hospital where he appeared blissfully unconcerned about his future. He seemed here to operate under the assumption that his parents would always support him regardless what happened.

AMBIGUOUS OR CONFLICTING PARENTAL PERCEPTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

The distinction between generative and negative perceptions and expectations, as suggested above, does not always suffice to guide our clinical endeavors. A further level of analysis must here be introduced. For what, on the surface, may look like a generative expectation, may have a covert negative dimension; and what may appear as a negative perception may, in effect, promote an adolescent's autonomy. In order to do justice to this complexity, we must further differentiate between *overt* and *concealed* perceptions and expectations.

For example, one father in our sample regularly reassured his runaway daughter after each new runaway episode that she was basically all right. He was confident, so he told her, that things would work out well in the long run. This father was crying "peace, peace" when there was no peace. He tried to overcome his own despair caused by his daughter's delinquent bouts by contriving to convey a positive image of her. He proffered generative expectations in order to deny his underlying negative ones. However, his despair was apparent to the clinical observers. There could be little doubt that the daughter responded to her father's covert negative perceptions, and not to his overt, generative perceptions of her.

Another father, after suffering a hemorrhage from an ulcer, told his truant and drifting son, in a seemingly determined manner, that he would no longer rescue him should he get into trouble. On the surface this seemed to indicate the father's positive resolve. It appeared to imply that he deemed his son ready and able to take responsibility for himself. Careful clinical observation convinced us, however, that this was not the case. The concealed expectation was here that the son would eventually get into trouble and then would find out how much he needed his father. At this later point the father would be able to vindictively tell his son that he could not manage for himself—that is, the father would then convey his basic underlying negative expectations.²

Two other parents provided a still further example of how overt generative perceptions may conceal negative and defeating ones. During the family sessions these parents constantly pointed to the creative qualities of their 15 year old daughter Evelyn. They told Evelyn, an attractive, mostly silent girl, again and again that she was highly artistic, that she had grace, and that she would easily find a job as a model, if not as an actress. However, in individual interviews, these parents told the therapists that they had no faith in the girl's creative ability, that they never believed she could make it as a model or an actress, and that they were praising her only to bolster her ego. The mother revealed, in addition, that the girl resembled the mother's schizophrenic brother. She (the

² This example makes clear that careful clinical observation over time seems best suited to tap the interpersonal perceptions and expectations under discussion, as against a step-by-step analysis of a single recorded interaction. Psychotherapeutic observations allow one to take in the total Gestalt, the temporal dimension and the different levels of overt or covertness that come into play in interpersonal perceptions and expectations.

mother) feared therefore Evelyn might become schizophrenic like him. In the family sessions this girl distrusted what her parents said about her and she seemed able to pick up the covert message inherent in her parents' exaggerated praise of her (namely, that she could *not* become autonomous), yet she appeared at a loss as to how to verify her perceptions of her parents and of herself. After shouting some sarcastic and rebuffing remarks, Evelyn tended to withdraw from all human contacts—family as well as peers—to her room where she would spin herself into a fantasy world.

But further—and this can make for added ambiguity—a seemingly generative expectation may not only conceal a negative one; also a seemingly negative expectation may hide a generative intent. We might speak here of the Vince Lombardi syndrome: Reminiscent of the late football coach who angrily heaped invectives and abuse on a given player in the hope that this player could thereby be cajoled into disproving—through his actions—all the dismal perceptions his coach seemed to have of him (the player).

Thus, some parents in our sample seemed to trigger a given boy's abrupt separation from the family by categorically disparaging or questioning, so it appeared his ability to make it on his own. One mother, for example, repeatedly told her son he would never find a girl who would consent to marry him. According to the mother, he just was not the type of a boy a girl could find interesting. This son—then not quite eighteen—told his mother all of a sudden that he had become married and that he was about to move out of the house (which he did). He soon became the father of a child and made himself and his wife financially independent as a laborer.

Not seldom an adolescent seems at a loss as to how to react to a parent's ambiguous expectations as these relate to his separation. In such a case he or she might simply wait until the parents' expectations and intentions become clearer to him or her. This seemed to happen with Clara, the sister of the 15 year old Evelyn, mentioned earlier. Like Evelyn, Clara received constant ambiguous messages from her father and, like Evelyn, Clara seemed in danger of becoming schizophrenic. Clara was a college student who used to spend her summer vacations at home. At these occasions the father would typically berate her for being lazy, for being a financial drain, and for ruining her parents' vacation. While denouncing her in this manner, he derived evident pleasure from having her around him, particularly when she was scantily dressed and served his breakfast. The girl, unsure as to whether the father wanted her at home or not, continued to spend her vacations uneasily in the parental home. The father finally seemed to have decided that he wanted her out of the house (this was at a time when another attractive sister had reached adolescence) and subsequently threw her bodily down the steps and out of the door. He forbade her expressly to come back home unless she had secured a job. The girl complained bitterly about the father's brutality but, with the door shut behind her and the message clear, she seemed now in a position to move away and to live on her own as a teacher. The more she then became able to enjoy an independent life, the less probable it seemed that she would suffer a schizophrenic break.

In distinguishing between overt and concealed perceptions and expectations, we tap only one kind of possible ambiguity in parental perceptions relating to the separation of their child. Two other kinds of contradictory parental perceptions remain to be mentioned. They reveal yet another level on which the generative or defeating impact of parental perceptions has to be evaluated.

There are, first, overt yet contradictory perceptions and expectations held and transmitted by one and the same parent with respect to a given adolescent. Such overt contradictory perceptions and expectations abounded in our sample. One father typically vacillated from one session to the next in his evaluation of his boy's future. In one session he saw his son headed for a brilliant career in television, and in the next he saw him headed for chronic dole-outs.

Second, there are contradictions which may be called *interparental contradictions*. These stem from different appraisals of a given adolescent by his two parents. Such differing parental perceptions are common and perhaps inevitable in family life. One parent, for example, may perceive a given adolescent as energetic and purposeful and the other may see him as stubborn and uncompromising when evaluating the same behavior. One parent may see him headed for a career as a doctor while the other sees him, at best, becoming a medical orderly, and so on.

FACTORS WHICH CAUSE PARENTAL PERCEPTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS, TO BECOME GENERATIVE OR DEFEATING

We are now in a position to reflect further on the complex factors which cause parental perceptions and expectations to become either generative or defeating for the adolescent. In line with the conceptual scheme outlined earlier, these factors can be understood as the contributions of the two principal parties—parents and adolescent child—to the interplay of perceptions and expectations described above. We begin with the contributions of the adolescent child.

The most critical factor in this interplay appears the autonomy which the adolescent has achieved at a given point. This autonomy—reflecting the differentiation-integration of his ego—insures he can selectively respond to, and possibly refute, his parents' perceptions of himself. Equipped with a solid core of autonomy, he can struggle successfully with any potentially negative perceptions and expectations his parents may direct toward him. If he lacks such autonomy he will, so it seems, fall easily prey to these perceptions and expectations.

Also, given such a core of autonomy, the adolescent can be expected to respond positively to any "Vince Lombardi cajolery," as described above. Further, he can more readily be expected to cope successfully, if not creatively, with the contradictions in parental perceptions to which he is exposed. Gregory Bateson (2), John S. Kafka (9), and Lyman Wynne (28) have written on how a child may cope creatively with the very parental ambiguities and contradictions which, under slightly different circumstances, may contribute to his schizophrenic development.

But—and this brings into view the other party in the interplay here discussed—against the adolescent's core-autonomy and ego-strength, must be measured the parents' contributions—contributions which may either hit a relatively autonomous or relatively entangled adolescent.

When we try to pinpoint the critical factors in these parental contributions, the following interrelated aspects emerge.

First, we must consider the degree of implied or concealed generativity in the parents' perceptions and expectations: In any given interaction we must try to evaluate the generative, autonomy-furthering intent that may exist in seemingly defeating perceptions and expectations.

We must, second, evaluate the ambiguity and contradictoriness inherent in parental perceptions and expectations. As a rule, an adolescent appears to fare best when he is exposed to *interparental, as against intraparental, contradictions*, as mentioned above. For, given some measure of core-autonomy, he seems then in a better position to critically evaluate and hence selectively respond to his parents' different perceptions of himself. His chances to perceptually assert himself seem best when the perceptions of one parent are mostly generative and when this one parent relates to him actively and energetically. The negative perceptions and expectations of the other parent can thus become counteracted and "neutralized."

The adolescent's chances for immunizing himself against his parents appears to lessen, however, when he is exposed to contradictory and confusing perceptions and expectations from mainly one intrusive parent while the other parent withdraws. This negative outcome appears even more likely when the parental perceptions and expectations are (a) of the "sick" versus "bad" variety, and when they are (b) rigidly entrenched.

PERCEPTIONS OF "SICKNESS" VERSUS "BADNESS"

When an adolescent, either overtly or covertly, is perceived as sick, incompetent, too weak for life, immaturely dependent, too insecure, etc., he will—this we believe on the basis of our observations—become more easily paralyzed and derailed from separating himself than when he is seen as bad, mischievous and trouble-making. It is not difficult to understand why this should be so. For perceptions of badness, although implying dire anticipations of future failure, give the adolescent some leeway for separating himself from his parents via rebellion and defiance. Perceptions of "sickness" and weakness, in contrast, tend to squelch such rebellion and defiance. However, through interparental perceptions of "badness" in the child may facilitate this child's abrupt separation, in the long run they might exact the price of a negative identity. Further, the internalization of badness in the child may presage the child's eventual downfall through guilt-induced self-destruction.

RIGID VS. CORRIGIBLE PARENTAL PERCEPTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

To the extent that parents uphold negative perceptions rigidly, these perceptions seem to insidiously "numb" the child into identifying with them. They will become persistently absorbed into his self-system and, as a result, will resist the child's attempts at immunization.

In our sample, we dealt frequently with perceptions and expectations which the parents appeared to have formed during the offspring's early formative childhood. Subsequently, these never seem to have changed. For example, one mother said about her son: "Almost from birth on George was a sneaky liar. I have never experienced him otherwise. He will never change and will therefore always get into trouble." Another mother reported of her adolescent daughter: "When I saw her as a baby I knew she was the one child who would always worry me. She was always a dreamer, the impractical one. I doubted she would make it in life." It was this one girl—then 15 years old—out of four daughters who, at the time of the family therapy and at the time of the follow-up interview, seemed headed for a schizophrenic disturbance.

At this point we shall not take up the question of how much the parents' original perceptions of a given child were distorted and defensive (in the meaning of Shapiro's (22) conceptualizations)—that is, how much they reflected the parents' own unresolved and disowned conflicts—or how much they were responses to actual traits or actions of the child. Whatever might have been the case earlier, by the time the child has reached adolescence, this question will have become moot: He will, to a lesser or larger extent, have identified with and lived up to his parents' expectations and perceptions of him. We deal by now with a reinforcing interactional system. One of us (Stierlin (25)) has discussed this matter in a separate paper.³ Instead of trying to understand the origins of this interactional system, we believe it is more important from a clinical point of view to look for possible "cracks" in the system. Such "cracks" indicate that the parental perceptions and actual traits, intentions or actions of their children do not jibe. Conceivably these cracks can then be widened so as to allow both parties in the here-described interplay—parents and children—to perceive each other afresh and to promote in each other true separation and autonomy.

HOW PARENTS ANTICIPATE BEING AFFECTED BY THEIR CHILDREN'S SEPARATION

When we raise this question we have to focus on still another aspect of parental contributions to the interplay outlined earlier. Here we deal with the parents' willingness and capacity to let go of their children through grieving and an effort at restructuring their lives—factors that are also bound to affect their expectations and perceptions of their children.

This is not the place to deal with this question in depth. In this paper we want to mention only those parental perceptions which seem to reflect best how the parents can let go of their children and restructure their lives. Optimally, in letting their children go, these parents do not break all ties, but prepare the ground for new and more mature relations with their children. Whatever they do, they will send out anticipatory messages to these children. The children, in turn, will respond to these messages.

Depending on how the parents convey as to whether and how they will live without their children, these children can be expected to separate either relatively freely and easily or to be burdened by guilt over abandoning and hurting their parents. These parental anticipations often entail the specific message to an adolescent that he would act selfishly, ungratefully, and cruelly should he strive to separate from his parents. Particularly Laing and Esterson (14) have described such guilt-inducing parental messages.

When we try to clarify how these parental anticipations affect the children, we must consider similarly complex factors as we have outlined when we discussed the generativity or defeating, and overt or concealed, quality of parental perceptions in general. In the following, we want merely to report on some observations obtained from our sample which may help such clarification.

We could distinguish three ways in which parents appeared affected by their children's anticipated separation.

³ J. Stabenau, W. Pollin, M. Allen, and their associates (24) have taken up further aspects thereof while describing the different life courses of identical twins.

First, in some instances the parents appeared to block any such anticipation out of their awareness. These parents avoided at all cost talking or thinking about their children's forthcoming separation. When we asked them specifically what their lives would be like when their children left home, they tended to dismiss such questions as irrelevant. They would say: "His or her going away will be no problem to us, life will go on as usual." In several cases of such denial, though, the parent appeared intrusively worried about the adolescent. One mother, for example, depicted herself to us as an independent, mature woman who was able to lead a rich life of her own now and later. However, she could not help being constantly preoccupied with what her son was doing and tried to keep a tap on all his friends, teachers, and psychiatrists. This activity she rationalized as love for her son. Another mother spent many sleepless nights thinking about her 15 year old son who had run away from home and had lost interest in school. She was constantly struggling with the question of why he was unhappy, why he had changed, what would happen to him, etc. Only after nine months of family therapy began she gradually considered her own excessive dependence of her son. Along therewith, she began to face the implications for her own life and her own marriage of her son's gradually approaching separation. In these and similar cases the parents' own fears of being made lonely and of having to restructure their own lives, appeared buried under a flurry of intrusive activities and worries.

A similar denial was evident in a father who talked about his future without the son in the house with seeming glowing delight. This man described himself as finally becoming free to do what he had always wanted to do once his children were out of the way. Yet he appeared over-identified with his son in a highly ambivalent manner: He would excessively adore him, cheer his attacks on the establishment, condone almost any scheme and whim, but also would get into fights with him which occurrence he would try to trivialize or totally dissociate. This father, who had lost his own father at the age of five, appeared to parentify his son to an unusual degree. He expected the son to be the father he did not have while also taking him to task for what his actual father had done to him (namely, abandon him). This father's almost manic denial of the importance to his own life of his son's separation seemed commensurate with the depth of his unshaken investment in this son.

Such denial of the impact of the child's separation contrasted with an attitude of deep depressive gloom presented by some other parents. It was the wife of the just-mentioned husband who provided a striking contrast here. This woman anticipated a life without her son to be totally empty and meaningless. In reflecting on her son's separation, she looked depressed and appeared to burden her son with her depression. A similar paralyzing depression seemed to take hold of one father mentioned earlier when his youngest of four daughters had reached mid-adolescence.

In the last expectant attitude to be described, the parent anticipated being lonely and depressed once the child would leave but also conveyed he could cope with such depression and loneliness. This seemed to be the most desirable attitude. Here the adolescent did not need to cope with his parents' denial nor did he face undue guilt for abandoning his parents and condemning them to misery and loneliness. For example, one mother who appeared deeply entangled with her only son seemed nonetheless able to realize that she must emotionally separate from the latter. She dreaded such separation but prepared herself to grieve his loss and to restructure her life. At approximately the age of 50 she decided to learn to drive a car and to look for a job. Her active coping attitude—which neither denied the pain of separation nor burdened her son with her depression—may have been a critical factor in preventing her son from developing a schizophrenic break.

SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR FAMILY THERAPY

To the extent that parental perceptions and expectations as here described become potent forces in the separation drama of adolescence, they are bound to become foci for therapeutic intervention. Family therapy which reveals most clearly the significance of these perceptions and expectations, offers also the best chance to deal with them. This is not the place to deal with the complex issue of interpersonal perceptions in family therapy. The reader is here referred to the relevant works of R. Shapiro (22), L. Wynne (28), Boszormenyi-Nagy (6),

R. Laing (12), and others. However, a few remarks on the therapeutic problems posed by these perceptions and expectations, as they bear on the adolescent's separation, seem in order.

Parental perceptions and expectations, as outlined here, set for the family therapist two interrelated tasks: First, he must help the adolescent and the parents to clarify these perceptions and expectations when these are concealed, ambiguous and contradictory. This will help all partners in the separation drama to understand better where they stand with each other. Particularly, it will help the separating adolescent to differentiate his own self-image, his own motivations and aspirations from those held for him by his parents. Also, he can differentiate himself from his parents and can challenge and refute his parents' perceptions and expectations of him. One can say that in this manner the conflict of generations is transformed from a guerrilla to an open, conventional war. In the effort to clarify what is concealed, ambiguous and contradictory in the parental perceptions and expectations, the therapist must, among other things, pay attention to the following areas of parental ambiguity and contradictoriness.

First, he must be alert to parental perceptions and expectations which are preferred verbally but are contradicted by other behavior, for example, when a parent declares an adolescent ready to take on a job but disparages all active attempts at job-seeking.

Second, he must pay attention to what is conveyed about a given child to the interviewer or therapist and what is conveyed to the child in private or in family sessions. (Note, for example, the case of Evelyn, mentioned earlier, whom the parents in her presence described as a potential actress and model and whom they devalued in the interview with the therapist.)

Third, he must watch out for what is said when the parental couple is together as against what is said by each parent singly to the interviewer or therapist. It happened repeatedly in our sample that parents could reveal their dire expectations about a given child only when they could talk alone to a given therapist.

Fourth, he must, in line with the above, pay attention to possible discrepancies between seemingly shared family and quasi-public parental perceptions and expectations and the parents' concealed perceptions and expectations.

And, finally, he must try to deal with those above-described anticipations about the impact of the separating adolescent on the parents themselves, anticipations which may be harmful to the adolescent because of either the parents' denial or their excessive depressive gloom.

Clarification of parental expectations and perceptions, however, is not enough. Together with the task of clarification, as just described, must go that of *liberation*. By liberation we mean the adolescent's freeing himself of the thwarting impact of his parents' perceptions of, and expectations for him which by now have taken hold of him and are seriously limiting his life's choices and future growth.

In order to understand what is involved in such liberation, we must consider first what these parental perceptions and expectations mean in the parents' own psychic economy. Here we focus on the defensive aspects of their perceptions and expectations, as described by Roger Shapiro (22). For example, by perceiving and labeling her adolescent son as lazy and a born loser, a mother can try to come to grips with her own sense of being a failure in life. Instead of owning and working through her own painful feelings and conflicts, this mother disowns and externalizes them onto her child. She recruits her child as a living receptacle for these externalized conflicts. She unburdens herself by burdening the child. Such parental perceptions and expectations, used defensively, are therefore exploitative. In becoming recruited as an adjunct to his parents' defensive system, and in being made to fit his parents' needs, a child becomes inevitably thwarted in his own growth and separation. Parental perceptions and expectations which seem designed to interfere with an adolescent's move toward autonomy bring to light most clearly the exploitative features of such parental perceptions and expectations.

The separation drama of adolescence, however, does not only reveal the defensive and exploitative nature of parental perceptions and expectations, it also triggers and reveals the adolescent's revengful fury at his dawning realization of his parents' ongoing exploitation of him. He is therefore likely to turn with a vengeance against his exploitative parents. Yet, paradoxically, his strongest weapon for making his parents suffer now is his seeming willingness to live up

to his parents' negative and defeating perceptions and delineations of him. He negatively counter-delineates them by delivering himself as the living proof of their own sickness or badness. For it is exactly in this manner that he can play on his parents' guilt over having exploited him, that he can show up his parents as failures, that he—and this seems most important—can prevent their own growth and liberation. The implication for therapy is here that the family therapy must analyze the exploited victim's masochism—and enjoyment of power over his parents—which are inherent in his living up to his parents' negative, separation-preventing perceptions and expectations of him.

Liberation, in the final analysis, must therefore become mutual: To the extent that the parents, through psychotherapeutic intervention, become able to correct their perceptions of and expectations for their adolescents in the light of the latter's true needs and capacities, they will promote their own growth and, instead of miring themselves and their children in a vicious circle of exploitation and counter-exploitation, will work toward true separation and liberation.

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CENTRIFUGAL VERSUS CENTRIPETAL SEPARATION IN ADOLESCENCE: TWO PATTERNS
AND SOME OF THEIR IMPLICATIONS

(By Helm Stierlin, M.D., Ph.D.,¹ L. David Levi, M.D.,² and
Robert J. Savard, Ph.D.³)

In this paper we shall outline two patterns of separation which emerged in a study of separating adolescents. One pattern we shall call *centrifugal* and the other *centripetal*. We consider these patterns extreme variants of the separation course of adolescence. These separation patterns, we shall subsequently try to show, can illuminate the sequences and configurations which in adolescents give rise to various forms of psychopathology. Particularly certain forms of schizophrenia and sociopathy seem here important. Also, we shall try to show how other patterns can be conceived within the framework proposed here.

The separation patterns described in the following can be cast into relief by relating them to a conceptual model of separation which need not necessarily occur in reality. We have in mind what Max Weber (1) has called "ideal types." This ideal-typical pattern reflects a developmental process wherein the adolescent can reconcile parental values and characteristics with those derived from his peers and alternate adults. As this process gets under way, there emerges—on ever new levels—from the conflict between parent and adolescent a new synthesis in which the adolescent is differentiated from his parents and enriched by the outside influence of his culture. But he also maintains common values and certain solid features of identification with the parents.

We deal thus with an expanding spiral of separation and differentiation on various levels—emotional, intellectual and esthetic. The steps on this spiral are small enough so that the pain and depression involved in the increasing differentiation of parent from adolescent can be worked through without tumultuous disruption or complete rupture of the relationship. Yet neither is the pain so intense and intolerable that the differentiation process is brought to a standstill. This dialectical process of conflict and reconciliation is more thoroughly described in Helm Stierlin's book, *Conflict and Reconciliation* (2). It unfolds in all phases of human development and relatedness, yet seems to become most acute during the oedipal period and adolescence.

During the *oedipal* period the child, as a way of establishing distance from his incestuously tempting and threatening parents, erects these parents as introjects in himself. He thereby separates *from* them and yet remains tied *to* them in important respects. While he separates from his parents, he invests himself in persons outside his family such as friends or teachers. Thus he attenuates and modifies further his ties to his parents in a "positively expanding separation circle."

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The period of *adolescence* reactivates oedipal conflicts and, hopefully, permits their final resolution. In order for this to happen, the dialectical process of separation, as here outlined, must gain a new momentum and complexity. Once more the adolescent is drawn into the orbit of his parents and suffers in the process ambivalence, incestuous temptations and threats. At the same time, he can invest himself in a wider range of peers, alternate adults and potential sex partners than was possible before.

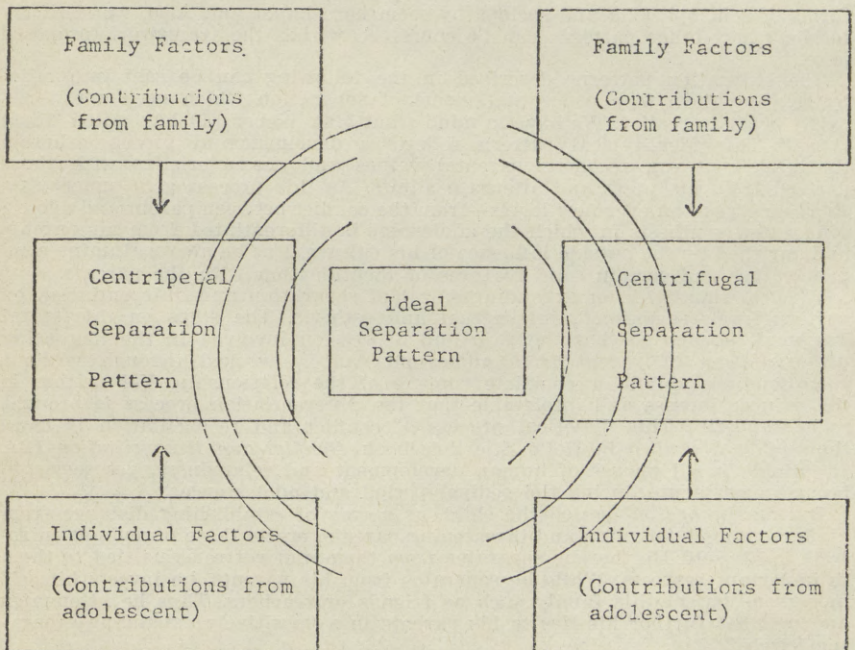
With this model in mind, we can distinguish between two extreme vicissitudes of separation. In one of these, the "orbit of the family and parents" exerts an unusual attraction for the adolescent: Centripetal forces are here predominant. These forces tend to delay or abort the adolescent's endeavors at separation. Yet they may nonetheless facilitate certain enriching experiences, conflictful and painful though these may be.

In the other extreme configuration suggested by this model, the adolescent evades or attenuates the attraction of the parental orbit. At the same time he maximizes the importance of peers or alternate adults. Here we find *centrifugal* forces strongly at work: Instead of *delaying* his separation, the adolescent is *rushing* it. In so doing, he subjects himself to experiences and problems different from those found in the first-mentioned configuration.

These two different separation patterns imply thus different vicissitudes in relationships and different potentials for growth.

The separation patterns here outlined are constituted by the family *and* the separating adolescent. We may therefore speak of contributing* family factors and individual factors. Altogether we arrive at four groups of factors (or contributions) that need to be considered: Table 1 makes this clear.

TABLE 1



In elucidating these groups of factors we drew on approximately 13 families with adolescents seen at the National Institute of Mental Health initially for family therapy of three months' duration. After approximately two to three

*On the concept of "contributions to relationships," see Stierlin (2, 3).

years, these families were followed-up with detailed interviews. The interviews focused chiefly on items on which predictions had been made earlier. Also, we made use of another 20 families whom we have seen in family treatment over the last four years and with whom we have kept informal contacts or who are still in therapy at NIMH. We shall, first, describe those family factors which enter into the centripetal separation pattern.

FAMILY FACTORS IN THE CENTRIPETAL PATTERN

In the centripetal pattern the family holds greater promise for the fulfillment of crucial relationship needs than does the outside world. This seems to be a basic "*family assumption*." As such, it is comparable to the basic assumptions which Bion (4) has described in groups. The antennae of the family members, while trying to spot possible sources of gratification and security, seem more or less rigidly geared to each other; they only pick up what seems available within the family boundaries.

What lies outside these boundaries is only perceived dimly or not at all. This outside world appears dark and threatening. To the extent that "within" family gratifications (and expectations for such gratifications) become important, the actual contact with the outside world tends to lessen. At closer inspection many of these families turn out to be socially isolated—despite often seemingly harmonious, "nice" professional relationships and an occasional flurry of club or church activities carried out by (as a rule) one parent.

While remaining fixated on each other, the antennae in the family seem to have a peculiar selective sensitivity. In order to grasp important features of such sensitivity, we can make use of a concept which David Reiss (5) has experimentally derived. Reiss spoke of *consensus-sensitive* families in cases where it seemed more important for the members to establish (an often unacknowledged and emotional) consensus between themselves than to face disagreement over their pursuit of a superordinated task. The term "consensus-sensitive," although derived from an experimental context, seems to describe these families also clinically. We appear to deal with some of the phenomena which Lyman C. Wynne (6) has described under headings such as "pseudomutuality" and "pseudo-hostility," and to which T. Lidz (7) and his associates partly seem to refer under the label of "family skew." All these families seem to present an imbalance in favor of those forces which make for an often sticky and squelching family togetherness as against those forces that allow for the developmentally appropriate differentiation and separation of the family members from each other. Clinically, such "consensus-sensitivity" often seems to imply an excessive sensitivity of the members to certain unacknowledged and dissociated needs of other members. Of these needs, disowned, erotic and masochistic needs often stand out.

Further, in many such families we notice a network of parental perceptions and expectations which seem specifically designed to tie the adolescent to the family orbit. In another paper (cf. Stierlin *et al.*, 8) we have described some of these perceptions and expectations. In one way or the other they make it difficult for the adolescent to conceive of himself as a legitimate and successful separator. Instead, he is seen, and comes to see himself, as unfit to separate—that is, as too "sick," too inept, too dependent, too weak, etc., to do so—or as too selfish, too cruel and too destructive should he actively seek his independence. The parents threaten the adolescent with sanctions, produce guilt in him, and tend to lessen his confidence in himself, but also often hold out rewards—such as special attention and gratification—should he stay in the family orbit. The parental messages are often covert and contradictory on the *intra-* as well as *interparental* levels. They thus often mystify the adolescent, as this has been described by R. Laing (9, 9a), L. C. Wynne (10), and Singer (10a), and others. In so doing, the parents tend to exploit their children psychologically: They recruit these children persistently for the purpose of making them (the children) into undifferentiated and unseparated life-time complements to their own uncorrected defects, unmastered conflicts, and unmet needs.

Finally, these families seem often grossly imbalanced with respect to how the two parents invest themselves in an adolescent at the time when the latter's oedipal conflict is reactivated. One parent appears here overinvested in the adolescent in the binding, mystifying ways just mentioned, and the other appears to step back and withdraw. Mostly—but not always—it is the opposite-sexed parent who overinvests himself (or herself) in the adolescent, while the same-

sexed parent retreats. Such reactivated oedipal stalemate seems to amplify further the binding, centripetal forces which operate in the family: An over-invested, regressively tinged dyadic relationship seems to mire the adolescent ever more deeply in the parental orbit.

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS IN THE CENTRIPETAL PATTERN

These individual factors seem to complement logically the family factors just described.

In order to become vulnerable to centripetal family forces, an individual adolescent can be expected to have certain typical character traits, defenses and motivations. He can be expected to be the kind of person who lets himself be conditioned into seeking his main gratification and security within the family and not in the outside world. He can be expected to specialize himself for "symbiotic survival" in the manner which one of us has described elsewhere (cf. Stierlin, 2). He can be expected to find his way—more or less—in a jungle of mystifying and binding parental perceptions and expectations. Thus he will learn to latch onto at least some precious sources of gratification and security which are hidden in this jungle. In fact he can be expected to make to himself so precious these sources of gratification and security that any sources which the outside world can offer must pale in comparison.

In succumbing to his parents' separation-blocking strategies and perceptions, he can be expected to more or less lose the will to separate. These parental strategies can be expected to ensnarl him, to fill him with sufficient terror and guilt so as to make separation for him the number one unforgivable crime. We expect him to be more of an oenophil than a philobat (in the sense in which M. Balint, II, coined these terms), possibly to be more field-dependent than field-independent, to be rather less than more stimulus-seeking and to be more basically passive than active.

Further, this adolescent can be expected to restructure his reality while he adheres to the family orbit and its squelching entanglements. He can be expected to establish a private niche and fantasy world amidst a generally consensus-sensitive yet agonizing family field. The more his personality make-up predisposes him for this course, the more likely will he succeed in establishing such private niche and world. This means he will distance himself from his parents without "really distancing" himself: He will separate by a withdrawal from parental objects which is *not* counterbalanced by a commensurate investment in new real life objects.

These expectable individual and family factors we found—more or less clearly—demonstrated in certain typical families and adolescents.

In the following we shall present two such families whom we shall call the Fenwalds and the Kowalskis.

The Fenwald Family

This family consisted of Mr. Sigmund Fenwald, an electronics data engineer in his mid-forties, his wife Martha of about the same age, the 16 year old index patient Kurt, and a two years younger brother Marvin. One older sister had moved away and was not available for therapy or interviews. The Fenwalds attended either family or couple therapy for approximately eight months and were followed-up about two and one half years later.

On the whole, the Fenwalds appeared socially isolated, although not inordinately so. Mr. Fenwald, at the time of our contacts with him, was shy and retiring. He had no real friends, and associated mainly with a few business colleagues whom he met at lunch time. The evenings he tended to spend at home either reading or watching television. On his weekends he worked in the garden or went fishing.

Mrs. Fenwald, intense and elaborately dressed, was socially more active. She joined several housewives in a few afternoon coffee klatches and seemingly tried to win other couples for joint outings in the evenings. She was particularly fond of French movies. Few of these outings materialized, though, as her husband was not interested. For this reason she berated him incessantly. Again and again she dwelt on his lack of social enterprise which she saw at the root of her own emptiness and frustration. When Mr. Fenwald asked her to go out with her friends and leave him alone, she refused to do so, however. In the family and couple therapy it became evident that she was actually afraid to socialize because she was not sure of her friends and feared rebuff and neglect. She had been a sales girl at

the time of her marriage and then had had high hopes of becoming an actress or singer. But none of her ambitions had materialized—essentially due to her lack of talent. (To her credit she had mainly a pleasing face and voice.)

She had married Mr. Fenwald mainly in order to be relieved of an unglamorous routine job and existence. Because of her husband's more prominent social position, she gained through her marriage a potential foothold on what seemed to her the "big world." Yet in trying to take advantage of the "big world" (even though this "big world" comprised little more than avant garde movie houses, boulevard restaurants, and the like), she could not help reactivating old ambivalences. On the one side, she wanted to become a glamorous figure and, on the other, she feared her downfall because of lack of talent. She tried to resolve this conflict essentially by disowning *her* fears of social contacts and, in the process, by berating her husband for *his* social insecurity. Yet the upshot of these psychological maneuvers was that she had only tenuous investments in the outside world. In her actual quest for satisfaction and security she was even more—this became clear in the family and couple therapies—mired in her family than was her husband. And in investing herself within the family, she concentrated almost exclusively on her son Kurt.

To the extent that the Fenwalds had only tenuous relational investments in the outside world, they appeared bound and sensitized to each other. Yet while almost constantly sniping at each other, they avoided open or sharp arguments that could have served a distancing and self-defining function. The poisonous arrows of blame, innuendo and provocative bickering they directed toward each other seemed sugar-coated and, by hurting, seemed to tighten the family cohesion. In sadomasochistic fashion, the members appeared sensitive and receptive to each others' needs. Separation or divorce seemed inconceivable for the parents.

This bitter-sweet family togetherness seemed to paralyze Kurt's efforts to extricate himself from the family orbit. Increasingly, he seemed to enjoy the erotic element in the sadomasochistic hassles which Mrs. Fenwald offered him. These hassles originated often over his not getting up in the morning and not going to school on time. While remaining tied to his mother in an erotized hostile dependency, Kurt seemed to see less and less need for going to school and for thereby grounding himself in the outside world.

Further, Mrs. Fenwald—and to a lesser degree Mr. Fenwald—tended to mystify Kurt and to employ stratagems which undermined his confidence and sense of legitimacy over whatever strivings for independence were left in him. For example, Mrs. Fenwald would overtly prod Kurt to invest himself in the construction and repair of high-fi sets, his favorite hobby, only to denounce as inept and selfish his efforts at achieving therein some mastery.

Finally, we need to emphasize the parents' unequal investments in Kurt. Whereas the mother clung to Kurt with desperate, engulfing intensity, meddling with, and exasperating all persons with whom Kurt promised to relate meaningfully—such as teachers, psychiatrists, and (potential) buddies—Mr. Fenwald, depressed and passive yet apparently concerned, seemed to lack the energy needed to engage himself with Kurt and to protect him from his intrusive mother. (As a result of the family therapy, though, he invited Kurt to some of his fishing trips.)

Kurt Fenwald—and herewith we turn to the individual in this centripetal configuration—at the age of 16 was a handsome, lanky boy. Prior to joining family therapy at the NIMH, he had seen a local psychiatrist for about a year once or twice weekly. This therapy had ended after he had shown up increasingly late at his therapeutic sessions or had missed them altogether. In his pre-adolescent years he had had some friends—who also had been those of his brother—and had seemed to enjoy roaming and exploring the countryside—but by the time he had joined family therapy, little expansive drive and initiative seemed left. By this time he would read a great deal, tinker in the basement with his high-fi sets, and occasionally visit hamburger stands with his brother Marvin. Only rarely would he deign to go out with a former boy friend. In the family therapy he would either just sullenly and defiantly sit there, not uttering a word, or would teasingly engage himself with his mother; or would, abruptly and only for short periods of time, join the family discussion. At such a point he would frequently offer a particularly perceptive or challenging comment. When he did this, he tended to appear more interesting and honest than all other family members.

When we met Kurt for the first time, he appeared entangled with his family—particularly so with his mother—yet also seemed already on the way of dis-

tancing himself from the family through restructuring his reality and through seeking his private niche, as mentioned earlier. While hassling with his mother in the above eroticized, sadomasochistic manner, he also seemed to entrench himself more deeply in a detached routine of his daily life wherein his books and fantasies were the things that counted. In some way, this routine seemed to fall into place with the ongoing family entanglement. Thus, Kurt seemed to prepare himself for an existence that, on the one side, would allow him to stay in the family orbit—that is, would continuously establish him as a focus for parental concern and support—yet, on the other, would assure him an undisturbed niche of his own. Less and less he seemed interested in seeking out either male or female friends. He never tried to have a date with a girl.

The family therapy with the Fenwalds ended prematurely: The mother became dissatisfied with the family therapist and wanted to return to her former individual therapist. After the family therapy had stopped, Kurt's "dual existence within the family orbit" (where he appeared deeply entangled as well as detached) continued for a while. Then Kurt suddenly had to be hospitalized in a psychiatric institution. In a seemingly bizarre fashion, he had entered a trailer where he had run into an unsuspecting girl. This girl had notified the police who transported Kurt to a psychiatric hospital. When his former family therapists visited him in this hospital, Kurt appeared unperturbed, friendly and almost relieved. He could give no reason why he had entered the trailer. Subsequently, he was transferred to a residential school in another state where he soon withdrew from almost all human contacts and refused to attend classes. He was then transferred to a private psychiatric hospital where our follow-up interviews took place later. At the time of these interviews, he refused to see a hospital therapist, yet talked pleasantly though vaguely about philosophy and the hippy life which he intended to join. He seemed detached from his parents but appeared also assured that they would take care of him as long as they and he lived. Because he lacked hallucinations, delusions and other clear-cut evidence of schizophrenia, Kurt was then not diagnosed as schizophrenic. However, even though not yet unequivocally schizophrenic, he seemed headed toward this condition.

In sum, we notice in Kurt a lack of centrifugal expansion and, along therewith, only feeble attempts to actively seek outside relations. Instead, he restructured his interpersonal reality and established for himself a niche in a continuously entangled family field. Although, in a sense, he had successfully detached himself from his family, he seemed unable to perceive for himself a future outside the (extended) family orbit. Whatever may happen, he seems confident that his parents will always rescue or support him.

The Kowalski Family

The Kowalskis emigrated to this country from Eastern Europe. Both parents, at the time of our first contacts with them, were in their mid-forties. Mr. Kowalski worked as an economic advisor in a government agency; Mrs. Kowalski until recently worked as a housewife. The Kowalskis have two boys and one girl. For the purpose of this study, we want to focus on Alfred who, when we first saw him, was 15 years old. By the time of our follow-up interviews, he was approaching 18. Alfred has a two years older brother Manfred and a two years younger sister Marla.

The Kowalski's were socially isolated to an uncommon degree. In years they had not had a social gathering in their house although Mr. Kowalski had repeatedly wanted to arrange one. He blamed his wife for letting the house turn into a pigsty that would abhor guests. Mrs. Kowalski felt her husband exaggerated and criticized her unduly. She admitted, though, that sometimes she neglected her household because her children demanded too much of her. Only once or twice in the last two years had a fellow emigrant from the Kowalski native country stepped into the Kowalski home. Such almost total social isolation made the Kowalski more dependent on each other than seems normal even for first generation immigrants, but also accentuated the ambivalence and frustration they felt amongst themselves. As a result, they seemed to vacillate between being close in an entangled, suffocating way and being unduly distant. When they waited in the waiting room for their family sessions, they tended to sit as far apart as possible, yet usually became intensely embroiled after the sessions had started. In these sessions Alfred could at one moment present himself as an arrogantly detached outsider and then step in as the most sensitive observer, commentator, and debunker of the family. In particular, he seemed to be uncannily gifted to spot vulnerabilities in his parents. On the surface, he seemed to

shift alliances easily. In the hateful stalemate that had arisen in the marriage of his parents, he would either—in evident collusion with his father—triumphantly cut down his mother, or would, in seeming compliance with his mother's covert commands, show up his father as a passive weakling.

Underneath such versatility in the shifting of alliances, however, one could discern a strong tie to his mother. As in the relation between Kurt Fenwald and his mother, mutual sadomasochistic needs and gratifications seemed to cement this tie. There was lacking, however, the erotization we found in the Fenwald mother-son relationship. Mrs. Kowalski seemed engaged in a more straightforward power struggle with Alfred. She insisted, for instance, that Alfred show loyalty and respect to his new country by saluting the flag and learning patriotic songs. Yet Alfred would inevitably do the opposite of what she wanted him to do. Instead of saluting the flag, he would spit on it publicly; instead of learning and singing songs at a patriotic ceremony, he made a laughing-stock of himself and his parents.

At closer inspection, we find also here the imbalanced oedipal investment described above which, given the over-all family configuration, had not the effect of "bouncing Alfred out of the family" but impelled him to restructure his interpersonal reality and to create for himself a niche within the (extended) family orbit.

Although Alfred appeared a little more solidly grounded in the peer world than did Kurt—he was, for example, temporarily a member of several athletic teams and, for a while, competed vigorously in wrestling events—also his contacts and investments outside the family turned out to be extremely tenuous. By the time of the follow-up interview, he had become alienated from all his peers. Earlier he had had a close relationship with only one boy who happened to be black. The problems which seemed inbuilt into this interracial relationship caused him to lose also this only "friend." Like Kurt, to the extent that he withdrew from the world of real people, Alfred began to invest himself more heavily in books which did not expose him to interpersonal strain and ambivalence.

Alfred, despite the developments just outlined, at the time of the follow-up interview seemed in some ways to function better than we had expected and predicted. For he no longer seemed to give evidence of some of the school and behavior problems—such as truancy, refusing to do his homework, arrogantly defying his teachers, etc.—which originally had triggered the family therapy. We concluded nonetheless that Alfred, during the follow-up period, had consolidated a rather schizoid position. Particularly the strong paranoid streak in him made the eventual prognosis appear guarded.

In reviewing this separation course until to date, we were impressed by what appeared to be a loosening of Alfred's involvement with his mother, which in this form and relative abruptness we did not expect. We finally concluded that this was probably an after effect of the family therapy which in this case had been planned and carried out for only three months. Probably as a result of this therapy, the mother had—approximately one year after its discontinuation—decided to lead a more active life outside the family. She finally took steps to become a barmaid and, in so doing, defied and upset her husband. While introducing more turmoil into her marriage, she also managed to exacerbate if not to break the hostile stalemate in her relationship with her husband. While she thus became again more intensely engaged with her husband, she also invested herself more in the outside world. Her husband responded to all these relational overtures with several suicidal gestures, as a result of which he finally sought individual psychotherapy for himself. Given these redirections in the lives of his parents, Alfred seemed somewhat freed of the previously mentioned pressures and, as a result, seemed in a better position to carry out his academic studies. Also, it appeared that the mother could turn more easily from Alfred because the younger child, now growing into adolescence, seemed to offer herself as a potential target for renewed investments. Still, given the overall picture it remains to be seen whether Alfred can put to good developmental use the apparent respite from, and relaxation of, centripetal forces operating in the Kowalski family.

FAMILY FACTORS IN THE CENTRIFUGAL PATTERN

Here the "basic family assumption" contrasts with the one found in the centripetal constellation: Essential sources of gratification and security cannot be found inside, but only outside the family. Therefore, when the parents feel frustrated with each other and with their children (which is bound to occur

frequently), they will look beyond the family orbit. Also, they will tend to instill in their children a centrifugal orientation.

Along with such centrifugal family assumption, we find lacking or less prominent those above-described forces which seem to foster family cohesiveness: We find less consensus-sensitivity and less reliance on strategems which tend to mystify other members and thereby tend to block the offspring's separation. Instead, we find an open and frequently hostile argumentativeness, seemingly made safe and perhaps enjoyable by the fact that the family members can "bounce away" from each other, that no unyielding family boundaries prevent them from putting distance between each other.⁴

Given the relative ease with which the adolescent can "bounce away" from the family field, dyadic incestuous involvements with one parent are bound to effect him differently than those described in the centripetal pattern. They are here more likely to incite him to act out revengefully in the reactivated oedipal battle and, in so doing, to recruit sex-mates from the peer group to serve as his pawns. Predictably, these sex relations with peers will tend to end abruptly once they have fulfilled their purpose. Yet nonetheless—as we shall describe later—they can serve as stepping stones for identifications and learning experiences which eventually will help to pull the adolescent away from the parental orbit.

Thus, given the centrifugal valences prevailing in such families, the adolescent can be expected to move (or be expelled) into the outside world early and forcefully. In separating himself from his family, he appears pushed by a "vis a tergo."

Specifically, we can distinguish several dynamic features operating on the family level which may account for an adolescent's premature and possibly abrupt separation.

First, an adolescent in this centrifugal constellation may have to serve as the family's delegate to, and experimenter with, the outside world: The parents may eagerly "send out" a given adolescent in the anticipation that he will satisfy their hunger for the goods they perceive to lie outside the family. In particular, they may expect him to provide them with sexual excitement they cannot find in their own marital relations. Parents seem more likely to delegate to an adolescent the task of bringing in the outside Eden, the more they feel themselves incapable of living out their own centripetal longings (because they are too much bogged down by fears and internalized prohibitions). However, although they expect this adolescent to report back to them like a good retriever dog, he will often stall in doing so since the parental demands have little force over him and since he finds too gratifying the scrounging around outside the family.

Besides the use of an adolescent as delegate to the outside world, other separation-inducing family dynamics can come into play. Such dynamics include, above all, the parents' rejection and neglect of their children. Whenever these children encounter rebuff, neglect, hassling, conflictful demands, and other unpleasant experiences which originate with their parents, they will in almost reflex-like fashion try to get away from the parental orbit and seek support from peers or alternate adults. These adolescents will do so because they need not cope with those separation-blocking family forces which we described as typical for centripetal configurations.

Sometimes, though, it may be difficult to decide what triggers in such families an adolescent's centrifugal tendencies. Such adolescent tendencies may lessen the more parents—instead of containing within themselves their longing for the outside world and outside relationships—will try to satisfy such longings through actions. This then seems to decrease their need to use the adolescent as a delegate and outside experimenter as just described. On the other hand, it can be argued that such outside-oriented parents may set also an example for centrifugal action which their adolescent may be tempted to follow. This may, for example, be the case when there is infidelity on the parents' sides or when these parents show in other ways by their actions that they lack faith in anything that parental and family relationships could offer. Much will therefore depend on the quality of the parents' motivations and of their activities outside the family as to whether these parents will either foster or discourage centrifugal tendencies in their adolescent children.

⁴This hostile argumentativeness, creating as well as presupposing distance, must be distinguished from the earlier mentioned "pseudo-hostility" which L. C. Wynne and his associates (6) have described. Although phenomenologically similar, pseudo-hostility is structurally different from the here discussed phenomena in that it implies a rigidly structured and bounded family field. We do not find the "bouncing-away phenomenon" so typical of the centrifugal family here described.

Again, the individual factors which operate in this configuration relate logically to the family factors just outlined. Also here the individual adolescent, in order to succumb to the centrifugal pull, must have certain complementing character traits, defenses and motivations.

This adolescent can be expected to be more motorically expansive than his counterpart in the centripetal constellation, to act out more readily because of defective impulse controls, to be more field independent and actively stimulus-seeking, to be more adventurous and "philobatic," in M. Balint's sense of the term. Given these traits and/or defenses, he is in a better position to establish "instant distance" by argumentation and fighting: he can easily "bounce out of the parental orbit." Given the ease with which he can escape from discomforting family stresses, he is under less pressure to restructure his reality by the earlier described psychological maneuvers and to stake out for himself a niche in an embroiled family field.

The relative ease with which he can bounce out of the family orbit seems commensurate with the ease with which he can enter into new relations with peers or alternate adults, transient and exploitative as these relations might be. In particular, he seems to have little difficulty in finding sex-mates who conform to his wishes.

Let us now turn to two families who represent the centrifugal configuration.

The Kenwood Family

The Kenwoods consist of Mr. and Mrs. Kenwood, both in their mid-forties, and their four children: Jack, the index, who at the time of the first family contact was approaching 16; his two year older sister, Evelyn; one boy two years and another eight years younger than Jack. Only Evelyn and Jack, together with their parents, were seen in family therapy.

Mr. Kenwood, a lean, depressed-looking man with a voice both accusatory and wailing, works as a demolition expert. In his late teens he was thrown out of high school because of truancy and petty thievery and subsequently spent some time in jail. He views this as evidence of his having been an adventurous youth, one who got involved in scrapes, but was liked by his peers and finally was able to manage his life. From his early twenties on he had been drinking heavily. Approximately eight years before our first contact with him he had lost control of his drinking and eventually had joined Alcoholics Anonymous. During the last several years, while attending regular AA sessions, he has not touched alcohol.

When his drinking went out of control, family life—according to his wife—became hell. He would arbitrarily beat the children and make feebly disguised advances to the elder girl. The mother was compelled to protect her children, but particularly the two oldest ones from their "brute alcoholic father." In so doing, she could not help establishing an intimate bond with them which had infantilizing as well as parentifying features. After Mr. Kenwood had stopped drinking, the marriage moved along on a more even keel, this meaning that the parents bickered and fought only verbally and avoided physical assault and violence.

The mother, an outwardly soft-spoken and demure housewife, had an alcoholic father and brother. She was attracted by her husband's worldliness and, so she said, never suspected that his social drinking could get out of hand. Although initially she saw herself as obedient and meek, with time she learned to defend herself against her violent and alcoholic husband. At the time of the follow-up interview, she argued sharply with him. Also, she criticized her son Jack who was then absent.

In contrast to the two earlier described families, the Kenwoods had easy social contacts. The father appeared on easy terms with various buddies and colleagues and impressed us as the type who in a bar can instantly start a cozy conversation with a fellow traveler or barmaid. Repeatedly he was unfaithful to his wife.

The discussions in this family appeared fragmented, animated and hostile, yet clear. While arguing, the members seemed to bounce away from each other but also easily seemed to resume their argumentation. One of us who participated in the follow-up interviews and was as yet unaware of the separation patterns here under discussion wrote after one interview: "It looks like this family, fragmented in the inside, looks to contacts outside for sustenance."

Also in the Kenwoods we noted an unequal balance of Oedipal investments: Each parent appeared unduly involved with the opposite-sexed older child. However, here the incestuous bonds, instead of adding a centripetal push, gave

rise, as we shall presently see, to Jack's and Evelyn's flight from the parental orbit into outside peer and sex relations.

Jack Kenwood, at the time of the family therapy, presented himself as a lanky, handsome youth with marginal academic grades, but an excellent athlete and swimmer. In the sessions he defended himself well against his father. While the father would decry him as a lazy bum, certain to fail in life, Jack would triumphantly dwell on the father's shortcomings such as his earlier truancy and thievery and, above all, his later alcoholism. The mother tended to support Jack against what she perceived as the father's brutal and unjustified onslaughts.

While this went on, Jack almost imperceptibly seemed to drift out of the family orbit. He spent much of his time with peers, many of them belonging to a tough breed of motor cyclists. Following the family therapy, he tried a number of different jobs, such as working as a carpenter's helper or hardware salesman. Each time he was fired after a short period because he was either too unreliable or too defiant. Despite his irregular school attendance and marginal academic work, he graduated from high school. At this point he seemed apprehensive and undecided. After failing in another attempt at work, he finally joined the army with the blessings and active support from his father. Here he seemed to welcome limits and discipline. However, after at first adapting to military life, he went AWOL. By the time of the follow-up interviews with the family, he was known to roam around in the neighborhood. The parents knew then through indirect sources that he was "shacking up" with a 16 year old girl, that he had been involved in "gang-bangs," and that he was associating with his tough delinquent friends. The mother, still feeling close to Jack, seemed to nurture a vindictive grudge against the latter for his having betrayed her confidences. The father, on contrast, seemed strangely unconcerned about what Jack was doing. It was as if by now he had discarded the bad seed from the family.

Such "discarding of the bad seed"—the parents' relatively easy emotional de-investment in an adolescent offspring after seemingly bitter and invested arguments with him—seems typical for the centrifugal separation pattern. So seems the "resolution" of the reactivated oedipal conflict by the adolescent's flight into precocious sexual activities wherein sex partners appear exchangeable and de-valued as persons.

Also, the separation course of Evelyn, Jack's two year older sister, revealed strong centrifugal features. On the whole, however, Evelyn appeared better integrated than Jack and more likely to succeed in a conventional life career. During the period of Mr. Kenwood's uncontrolled alcoholism, Evelyn, as already noted, had suffered the father's crudely seductive advances. This fact seems to have fostered a strongly sadomasochistic tie between them that seemed difficult to break. In the family sessions, Evelyn, with covert assistance from her mother, attacked the father even more vituperatively than did Jack but also like him, she turned precociously to heterosexual sex partners in the above-described bounce-away fashion. By one of these she was made pregnant and had to have an abortion. Although her actions seemed to reflect a pathologically incomplete separation from the father in the sense that boys served her as pawns to revengefully antagonize him and that she seemed to vicariously act out some of his (the father's) "delinquent" sexual propensities, there could be little doubt that the parental orbit was quickly losing its attraction for Evelyn. Evelyn would willfully say away from home whenever she pleased. She seemed determined to lead her own life outside the family. Whatever ongoing problems and conflicts she—via traumatization and internalization—had inherited from her father, she seemed now prepared to reenact, if not to solve, by transferring them to persons outside the family.

The Peck Family

This family provides our second example for a centrifugal configuration. The Pecks consisted of the two parents and six children. When the therapy with the Pecks started approximately three years ago, the oldest boy was in his last high school year (after which he left his home town for a far away college). The three youngest children had not yet reached preadolescence. The focus was therefore on Sybil, then about 14, and her one and one-half year older brother, Tim.

Mr. Peck, a small stocky man, was then in his late 50s, his wife being eight years his junior. Mr. Peck, who held a middle-echelon desk job in a bank, throughout his life had felt overshadowed by his older, more successful brother. This brother, outgoing and socially expansive, had become a well-known surgeon.

Mr. Peck, in contrast, was rather passive and shy, though conscientious in his work. While envying and admiring his older brother, he seemed ambivalently resigned to a niche which allowed him to deal with numbers instead of human beings. He married his wife in his late 30's after the two had worked for a while on neighboring office desks. He liked to tinker around with various schemes and contraptions and, in order to be able to do so more freely, had joined a hobby club which also came to serve as his major social outlet. He could overcome his social shyness when he drank and did so more and more as the years went by. However, he never clearly qualified for the label of an alcoholic, as had Mr. Kenwood. His friends at the hobby club and elsewhere saw mainly his charming, more extroverted side when he had gulped a few martinis. At home, however, he presented an increasingly pathetic figure, often dozing and slurring in speech and consequently became despised by his wife and children.

The more Mr. Peck was found wanting as an effective male in the house, the more the burden for the children's care fell on Mrs. Peck. In some ways, the latter seemed better equipped for this role as she had a hard compulsive streak; however, she resented the task of the family organizer and tried to spend as much time as possible working away from home. For this work she loved. Although there were six children in the home, of whom three were still small, Mrs. Peck left the house at approximately 8:30 in the morning and did not return until 5 o'clock in the evening. The children were left to make-shift arrangements and to the care of each other. The result was chaos at home and neglect of the children. In the vacuum created by the parents' absences, but also with the latter's covert permission, Tim and Sybil started to have sexual relations with each other. The relations began when Sybil was 11 years old and they lasted for approximately three years. After Sybil and Tim had stopped their incestuous activities, both moved aggressively into peer groups. In so doing, they both became what we might call "precocious experimenters with life." Tim prided himself at the age of 15 and one-half that he had access to all kinds of persons and groups in town, including pimps, motorcycle gangs, Black Panthers, heroin addicts, etc. He would often be truant from school since he, after spending his evenings with jazz bands or just hanging around, was too tired to get up the following morning. His mother's angry attempts to get him out of bed were usually to no avail—the more so as she was hurried to arrive at her job on time. As he grew older, Tim became more outright delinquent: He dealt with illicit drugs and participated in petty thieveries, possibly in robberies. In one instance, Tim joined his peers in a burglary attempt directed at his parents' home. Tim had then assured himself that his father was drunk so that he would be either unable or too embarrassed to take decisive action. The plan succeeded and the boys stole a record player and discs which belonged to Tim's older brother Biff.

After he had discontinued his sexual relations with his sister, Tim became involved with a girl friend slightly younger than himself. He made her pregnant and subsequently tried to abort her by supplying her with an overdose of LSD while at the same time withholding her food. The girl's pregnancy terminated finally through medical and psychiatric intervention. At present, Tim lives separated from his parents on the fringes of respectable society. Although over the years he seemed repeatedly ready to involve himself more intensely with our treatment program, he avoided a lasting commitment.

This was different with Sybil, his young sister, who at first participated actively in the family therapy and later involved herself intensely with an individual psychotherapist. After Sybil had stopped her incest with her brother, she began to relate to a string of boys and repeatedly was made pregnant. These pregnancies tended to end spontaneously after a few months.

Like her brother Tim, Sybil turned to the outside world with a hunger for thrills and adventure. Like Tim, she experienced heavily with illicit drugs. At one point she ran away from home for several weeks during which time she became heavily promiscuous. Also, she was then almost constantly drugged. She finally passed out on the streets after having lost approximately ten pounds. She was then hospitalized and, helped by an intense individual and milieu therapy program, slowly began to find herself. When her individual therapist left town after approximately one year of treatment, she became pregnant once again and this time carried the pregnancy to full term; the child, after delivery, was put out for adoption. When last seen by one of us—this was approximately three years after our initial contact with her—Sybil had given up drugs and sexual

relations and, instead, was engaged in strenuous back-pack trips with a new boy friend. To the interviewers she appeared over-experienced for her age, but also determined not to make a mess of her life. After having lived for so long in an alienated, hassling relation with her mother, she had recently grown closer to her. In the last year the mother (as a result, we believe, of the family therapy), had finally reduced her outside work load and had begun to devote more time to her children and home.

The Peck parents as well as the two here-described children, reveal several features which we associate with the centrifugal pattern: The parents were either withdrawn from the family or were unduly invested outside it and were therefore unable to provide their children with the constant caring attention which the latter's character development needed. Instead, they blatantly neglected their children. The father, further, covertly encouraged his children to move out into the exciting outside world and to experience there the thrills and adventures which he himself, mired in his shyness and frequent drunkenness, could not pursue. In our first intake interview with the father, we heard him talk admiringly of Tim's and Sybil's social skills and "maturity"—traits which he felt lacking in himself and which he envied in his older brother. Further, the father's passive inefficiency, in addition to being held in contempt by the mother, made him particularly unsuitable as a model for identification to his more energetic and expansive children. Hence, the children's drive to find alternate models for identification in the outside world becomes even more understandable.

These two children show typically traits which we associate with the centrifugal pattern—such as thrill- and adventure-seeking, a motoric expansiveness, a capacity to relate easily (though often fleetingly) to peers, and to have sex partners available when needed (even though these partners may be used as pawns in the oedipal battles with the parents). (As a special dynamic factor in Tim's and Sybil's centrifugal separation course, we must further consider their efforts at breaking up their own incestuous and guilt-ridden relationship by turning with a self-restructive vengeance to peers as sex partners. However, at this point we shall not pursue these and other dynamics as they are not central to the subject of this paper.)

VARIATIONS IN SEPARATION PATTERNS

The separation patterns so far outlined represent extremes on our hypothetical scale. More frequently than such extremes we can expect mixed patterns, wherein either centripetal or centrifugal elements dominate. Of the many variations which are of clinical interest, we want to single out two combinations. These we shall call *pseudocentripetal* and *pseudocentrifugal* patterns. The following two cases from our sample reflect these two variations.

In one case, the family made great efforts to present to us a picture of absolute family togetherness. The parents and their children—there were four of them—emphasized constantly that they were a happy united family: They did everything together, they enjoyed family picnics, and had frequent outings in the zoo, and were all happily chatting away at the breakfast table. The index adolescent, at the time of the family therapy 15 years old, seemed to contribute to the centripetal configuration. He did not want to go to school, spent most of his time in the basement where he collected stamps and toads, and enjoyed being infantilized by his mother. Also, he seemed to prefer the company of his younger siblings to that of peers of his age.

However, the follow-up carried out approximately three years later made the earlier centripetal trends look largely like expressions of his physical and psychological immaturity at that earlier time. Although he was then 15 years of age, he looked like a ten year old and seemed untouched by the concerns and problems of average 15 year olds. When, for example, a young and ambitious teacher introduced his class to "The Catcher in the Rye," by Salinger, he found—despite superior intelligence—the book completely incomprehensible. Instead, he continued to think of his toads in the basement. He did not play with his age mates because the discrepancies in physical and mental developments seemed too great at that period. At the time of the follow-up, the boy looked still immature but appeared more related to his peers in an age-appropriate manner. We felt then safe to predict that in time he would separate and embark on a conventional career and marriage.

On the family level, the earlier-mentioned togetherness seemed less convincing the more and the longer we saw this family. It appeared at closer inspection that

the children were in fact branching out successfully in diverse directions although they made little ado about this. Probably because of this family's excessive conventionality, the members seemed unduly compelled to convey an image of themselves as a happily united American family. In sum, this happened to be a family whose centripetality on closer scrutiny appeared rather weak and transient.

In another family whom we shall call the Neidermans, centrifugal tendencies seemed at first prominent. This family consisted of the parents and four children, of whom Paul, the third youngest, had become the index. Paul's three sisters were five years older, two years older, and one year younger, respectively. By the time of our first contacts with him, Paul had become truant and had repeatedly run away from home for short periods. In the family sessions Paul tended to be either silent in an explosive sullenness, or jabbed angrily at his parents. At home he had proven increasingly uncontrollable to his father. Like the two older girls, Paul indicated frequently that he expected nothing good from his family and that he therefore was turning to outside sources for gratification. When the family therapy started he seemed involved with several girl friends and seemed to have no unusual difficulties in relating to peers. Neither seemed his sister next to him in age to have such difficulties. This sister presented herself as a popular and attractive girl who in the family sessions chatted eagerly about her boy friends.

In the years following our short therapy contact with this family Paul continued to be truant, to do poorly in school, and to work only sporadically in various jobs. Finally his father, in seeming exasperation, "expelled" Paul into the army where he subsequently went AWOL.

The Neidermans were thus a family which we initially, without hesitation, would have placed on the centrifugal side of our spectrum. However, when we, prompted by the follow-up interviews, took a new look at them, we became aware of powerful, though hidden, centripetal elements. For sure, all three older children had seemed intent on moving out of the family orbit abruptly and precociously. However, in each case we noticed how the initial centrifugal momentum had seemed to fizzle out while the attraction of the family orbit seemed to increase correspondingly. As it turned out, the oldest daughter had left the family precipitously for a hastily arranged marriage; but after she had given birth to a child, this marriage quickly—though not unexpectedly—broke up, leaving the young woman no other choice than to return with her baby to her family of origin. The second oldest earlier-mentioned daughter, who at the time of the family therapy presented herself as a popular knockout chased by boys, became subsequently entangled with married older men who seemed poor prospects for stable relationships. This girl subsequently made several suicidal attempts or gestures which each time necessitated the parents' interventions.

All this had the effect of tying her more closely to these parents as she moved on in her adolescence. Also in the first-mentioned index adolescent and his younger sister, we discerned a similar pattern of seeming precocious and abrupt attempts at separation from the family which soon seemed to lose momentum and then seemed to give way to a counteracting centripetal tendency. It looked as if these children were kept by their parents on a long leash which made it easy for them to dash into the outside world at first only to feel later its retracting force. A closer look at this family also made us aware of strong mystifying and separation-blocking stratagems and expectations of the parents of the kinds we have mentioned earlier.⁵

⁵The term "separation pattern," we must here remind ourselves, implies always a longitudinal dimension: Between the family and individual factors described above, we must interpolate certain situational and experimental contingencies. These contingencies, to various degrees, affect the family and individual dynamics and thereby affect the separation course of the given adolescent. These contingencies are either more or less predictable.

Some of the more predictable contingencies tend to occur in conjunction with what we may call *separation landmarks* such as the adolescent's—expected or actual—graduation from high school or (in the case of boys) his eligibility for the draft. Another predictable contingency comes into play when the index adolescent is followed by younger siblings relatively close in age who may—or may not—fill for the parents the interpersonal vacuum created by the separating adolescent.

Less predictable contingencies include changes in the parents' or adolescent's interpersonal lives such as might be brought about by individual or family therapy (cf. the relations between the Kowalski parents, described earlier), deaths of family members or close friends, or other unexpected catastrophes—such as illnesses or unemployment of the father—during the adolescent's crucial separation years. These changes may crucially alter the various family or individual factors. Contingencies, as here outlined, were not the focus of this paper although they are clearly important. In our ongoing or anticipated studies we intend to pay closer attention to them.

THE RELEVANCE OF THESE SEPARATION PATTERNS TO SCHIZOPHRENIC AND SOCIOPATHIC DEVELOPMENTS

We do not expect that separation patterns, as here outlined, will differentiate conventional groups of emotional and mental disorders. However, they can help us to see these groups in new perspectives. This probably holds true for disorders such as neuroses or perversions which we expect to reveal specific combinations of centripetal and centrifugal elements; and this holds particularly true for disorders in the schizophrenic and sociopathic groups.

Although some recent studies—among them the Denmark studies of Kety, Rosenthal, Wender and associates (12, 12a)—suggest a blurring of boundaries between schizophrenic and sociopathic groups (the authors include sociopathic traits and personalities in their concept of “schizophrenic spectrum disorders”), other studies suggest a different view. At least some forms of schizophrenia and sociopathy, according to these studies, reflect distinct personality make-ups and family configurations. Particularly studies of David Reiss (5), Stabenau and Pollin (13), and others make it appear that these two diagnostic groups are linked to different family climates and configurations. In the families of schizophrenics these authors have noted mainly squelching, binding and mystifying interactions with high degrees of consensus-sensitivity or pseudo-mutuality (as described by Reiss, 5, and Wynne, 6, respectively); in families with sociopathic offspring, in contrast, they tended to observe a bitter and fragmented, yet articulated argumentativeness and a willful and apparently selfish disregard of the members for each other.

Observations such as these suggest different separation patterns for these two groups of disordered adolescents and their families. Such different separation patterns seem cast into clearest relief when we compare certain extremes in schizophrenic and sociopathic developments.

On the extreme end of the schizophrenic separation spectrum we have in mind those patients who end up as chronically hospitalized “vegetables.” These are patients who make themselves at home in their restructured inner reality amidst a given psychiatric institution while they seem to have lost all will to seek new relations or new activities outside this second “home.” Different authors (Scott and Ashworth, 14, Nameche *et al.*, 15, 15a) have described such patients in paradoxical terms. These terms suggest, at the same time, extreme states of nonseparation *and* of separation from the patients’ families of origin. Ashworth and Scott, for example, depict these patients as having died and become mere shadows to their parents. Nonetheless, in their very death and shadowiness, these patients remain for their parents a never-ending, consuming source of worry and guilt. These chronic, “dead” patients, on their part, appear forever preoccupied with, and tied to, their parents either as rigidly cathected inner objects or as background persons from whom they can never imagine themselves becoming separated. Nameche *et al.* reviewed the longitudinal course of schizophrenic patients who became chronically hospitalized and compared this course with that of schizophrenic patients who remitted and spent various periods of time outside mental institutions. They found the chronic patients to have been much more consistently and symbiotically enmeshed with their parents (and particularly their mothers) than had the patients in the remitting group.

While they had remained enmeshed with their parents, these chronic patients had had practically no contacts with peers or alternate adults during their pre-adolescent and adolescent years. In the remitting group, in contrast, the patients had, as a rule, been able to make some contacts outside the family orbit—fragmented, short and agonizing though these contacts might have been.

If we turn to extremes in the sociopathic separation spectrum, we find comparable outcomes of chronic institutionalization. This time, though, the chronic institutionalization does not occur in a mental hospital but in a jail. Claude Brown (16), in his *Manchild in the Promised Land*, has movingly described the sequences through which children from our black ghetto culture may inexorably move toward such chronic institutionalization. He depicts these youngsters’ disorganized, hate- and neglectful family milieu, their precocious, brutal experimentation with sex and drugs, their early removal from the family orbit and correspondingly early move into a delinquent peer group. This peer group then confirms their view of the world as a jungle wherein only toughness and cunning promise survival: He depicts further the step-by-step increases in the seriousness of their crimes which then lead them to the reformatory whence they, labeled as hopeless cases and further confirmed as incorrigible delinquents, eventually move on to the permanent jail.

Can we further specify how certain forms of schizophrenia may develop in accord with a centripetal separation pattern? In order to answer this question we must consider those major sets of factors that may contribute to an eventual schizophrenic outcome. This is not the place to describe these sets of factors in detail. We refer the reader to the latest work of Wynne and Singer (17, 17a, 17b) which provides the most up to date outline of this subject. Suffice it to state that an eventual schizophrenic outcome seems to hinge on three interacting sets of factors: First, on an individual genetic component which gives rise to a "psychophysiologic response disposition" that implies vulnerability for schizophrenia. Second, on certain characteristic communication deviances in the family which affect the preschizophrenic child continuously during the formative years of his emotional, intellectual, and relational development. In their totality these deviances tend to confuse and mystify him and to make idiosyncratic his orientation toward his inner and outer worlds. And, third, such schizophrenic outcome seems to hinge on this child's separation course in adolescence. Instead of finding alternate experiences and models of identification that are available in a disturbing family, this course may be such as to preclude crucial alternate experiences and identifications. It is at this point where our concept of separation patterns becomes relevant. For it offers a framework which at this developmental phase brings into view those factors which may either foster or prevent an eventual schizophrenic outcome in the adolescent. Also, such framework might facilitate tracing those sequences which lead to outcomes not clearly schizophrenic but still lying within a "schizophrenic spectrum."

The distinction between genuine and pseudo-centrifugal patterns seems here useful. For example, with the possibility of pseudo-centrifugal separation courses in mind, we can single out a special type of seemingly precocious and abrupt separator who, his overt centrifugal tendencies notwithstanding, seems to adhere to a basically centripetal pattern.

By the same token, we can look for hidden centripetal elements in the separation courses of actual or potential sociopaths. We can, for example, take a fresh look at the quality and duration of those transient states of pathologically incomplete separation during which many overtly independent and precociously separating delinquents tend to obediently comply with their parents' covert expectations and wishes, as these have been described by A. M. Johnson (18) and others. We intend to take up these issues in forthcoming publications.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE TWO SEPARATION PATTERNS FOR THE ADOLESCENT'S GROWTH

The above considerations become further meaningful when we specifically consider the adolescent's growth. For each of the above patterns implies dangers as well as opportunities, advantages as well as disadvantages, for such growth.

If we begin with the centripetal pattern, its potential dangers become immediately visible: The adolescent, in sticking too long to the family orbit, becomes subject to a disordered separation timetable. Because he does not invest himself duly in peers and alternate adults, he misses out on new learning experiences and models for identification which could serve as springboards for entering the outside world. Because he remains lastingly tied to his family and parents, he runs the danger of getting stranded in relational dead-ends such as we found represented by the fate of the chronic hospitalized schizophrenic. Even when he achieves a separation of sorts by restructuring his reality and establishing a niche in the family field, his parents qua introjects will continue to exert a malignant spell over him. For their influence is not mitigated by real contacts with other people. One of us (Stierlin, 19) in another paper has described how such malignant inner objects become important and alive at the expense of potentially available outer objects. In cases less extreme than the earlier-mentioned chronic hospitalized schizophrenics, we find in this group often lonely schizoid individuals who are tenuously established in the outside world, as these have been described by, among others, Fairbairn (20) and Guntrip (21).

However—and herewith we shift our perspective to the centripetal pattern—what may appear as a danger from one angle, may, from another, appear as an opportunity. The persistent tie with the parents, agonizing and conflicting as it might be, may foster an introspective depth and strength which often seem unavailable to early and abrupt separators. As much as many of the adolescents in this group may have to cope with nearly unresolvable binds and contradictions, they may nonetheless grow while trying to master them. Particularly Gregory Bateson (22) and Lyman C. Wynne (23) have commented on the pitfalls and

challenges inherent in family constellations with schizophrenic offspring where centripetal features tend to dominate. Also, in situations where one sibling pursues a more centripetal and the other a more centrifugal separation course, it is our impression that the first sibling—usually the index—tends to be the emotionally richer and more sensitive person. As far as families with schizophrenic offspring are concerned, such impression appears confirmed by observations made by Juliana Day and Hanna Kwiatkowska (24) on the art productions of schizophrenic index patients as compared with those of their nonschizophrenic (and more centrifugally separating) siblings.⁶

In the centrifugal pattern, in contrast, it is the opportunities for growth which at first sight impress us. Here we find, so it appears, those adolescents who are bent on liberating themselves from a family that threatens to squelch and stifle them. By easily moving into the world of peers and alternate adults, they make available to themselves new learning experiences and new models for identification. They thus create for themselves a springboard for further entering into and growing amidst the interpersonal world that exists outside their families. We have—on the basis of observations made by Nameche *et al.* (15, 15a), Artiss (25), and others—reason to believe that whenever an adolescent is allowed to branch out into the outside world, the chances for a chronically crippling schizophrenia become remote.

However—and herewith we turn to the dangers and disadvantages of this second separation course—a high price may here nonetheless have to be paid. The ease with which many of these adolescents seems to move into the orbit of their peers, join their gang activities and find their needed sexual partners, often indicates a shallowness and transiency of their human relations. Because of their centrifugal bent, many of these adolescents will enter new (sexual as well as non-sexual) relationships when conflicts and ambivalences deriving from unresolved oedipal problems become reactivated. Certain features of the modern group and communal life, particularly as existing in the hippy culture and the “human potential movement,” seem tailored to the needs of mainly centrifugally separating adolescents who need warmth from human relations but are ill-prepared to cope with the conflicts and ambivalences that intense and lasting dyadic relations inevitably arouse.

Many of these youngsters tend to lack the strength of remaining detached amidst emotional turmoil, which we find in a number of adolescents who follow a centripetal separation course.

Further, centrifugally separating adolescents, in fleeing their actual parents, seem often driven to find in their peers what they failed to obtain from their parents. Therefore, they will often feel compelled to *parentify* their peers, that is, relate to these peers as if they had important parental attributes. But such *parentification of peers* can seldom be a one-way process. In order to become accepted by their peers, these youngsters must often, in one way or the other, allow themselves to become parentified in turn. This then introduces into their peer relations some of the very strains and problems they tried to avoid by removing themselves prematurely from the family orbit.

Also, delinquent activities carried out with peers seem often designed to ward off the painful feelings of loss and grief besetting these youngsters as a result of their premature separation from their parents. For, in a sense, their early separation from their parents implies that their parents have died for them.

We are presently looking more closely at what is involved in such overinvested relations with peers. It appears to us that in important respects many centrifugally separating adolescents do only delay, but not achieve, their separation from their families. Instead of remaining stuck in a family orbit, they chose to remain stuck in a peer orbit. Even though this latter orbit seems to offer openings for moving into the adult world, these openings seem of little use. Even where these individuals finally seem to move the adult world, they seem to bring into this world many of the immaturities, irresponsibilities and unresolved problems that bedeviled their peer relations. We thus observe many dead-ends in human rela-

⁶ We have observed that siblings close in age may occasionally differ substantially in their separation patterns, the one pursuing a rather centripetal, the other a centrifugal course. We intend to look more closely at the specific configurations underlying this phenomenon.

tions and arrests in growth which, although qualitatively different from those described in the extremes of the centripetal pattern, seem hardly less serious.

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SUBURBAN RUNAWAYS OF THE 1960's

(By Robert Shellow, Ph.D.*, Juliana R. Schamp, M.A., Elliot Liebow, Ph.D., and Elizabeth Unger, A.B.)

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I. INTRODUCTION

The idea that life can be better elsewhere, in another city, another job, another relationship, another family, another planet, is a prevalent one, especially in highly mobile societies such as ours. Though such fantasies may be built upon the wish for an instantaneous change of scene with its freedom from present relationships and responsibilities, rational attempts to reduce fantasy to fact are seen as taking a gradual, planned course. Through seeking advice and gathering information, the individual builds bridges to new settings and new relationships. In contrast, precipitous escapes are considered evidence of personal instability and irresponsibility. Only rarely are they seen as a rational response to crisis conditions whose pressures transcend the limits of personal endurance.

But when an adolescent runs away, whether as a rational response to an emergency situation or because of a personal disturbance, running away is seen as a social problem. Parents are fearful that their children cannot fend for themselves and adults generally become alarmed. Police agencies are called in to return the child to the presumed security of his own home. But the very act of

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running away would appear to be a repudiation of the family as a source of comfort and support. Running away clearly calls into question the "family-competence" of parents, and it takes its place in the long catalogue of adolescent behaviors which disturb adults.

An examination of the relatively sparse literature on runaways discloses the existence of two almost opposite points of view. One position asserts that running away is evidence of individual psychopathology, that runaways show serious personal disturbance which is manifested in impulsive, disorganized, and delinquent behavior. The other position, though not excluding the possibility of pathologically-driven behavior, contends that most running away is best interpreted as an adaptive response to situational pressures, the origins of which may lie in ordinary family conflicts or even in general economic conditions.

The difference between these two positions seems to derive principally from differences in methodology: the samples selected, the instruments used and the data collected. Perhaps the most important of these is sample selection. The runaway from home is usually caught in one of three nets set up by society: the legal-correctional net, the mental health net, or the welfare services net. How the runaway act is interpreted depends in large part on which of these nets is used.

Investigations of runaways who were sent to juvenile courts, clinics used by courts and police, or to correctional institutions, consistently come up with the finding that runaways are delinquent and psychologically disturbed. Armstrong (2, 3), in her often-cited studies of 660 boys and 122 girls referred to New York City Juvenile Court clinics (1926-33), draws a clear picture of the typical runaway as delinquent, mentally deficient, and a member of a low-income minority group whose family is disrupted by separation, desertion or divorce. Aichorn (1), also drawing on a clinical population, comes to a similar conclusion. And Burt (6) ominously intones that running away "is usually the first step on the downward stair to crime—the first premonitory portent of far more desperate misdemeanors." (p. 455.)

Foster (8) studied 100 runaway boys and girls in the Psychiatric Clinic of the Los Angeles Probation Department. He concludes that the runaway act results from the impact of parental separation or other intrafamilial conflict on the child's psychodynamics. He pointed out that "the child with limited abilities to cope with 'dangerous' [aggressive] impulses can run to escape temptation and search for safer gratification." (p. 491.)

Rosenheim (25), also spoke of dangerous impulses, especially those arising directly out of the Oedipus predicament: "There does seem to be a special group of adolescent boys who run away in whom the Oedipus situation is very close to the surface. . . . [The boy] comes very near to being an Oedipus . . . running away is self-banishment." (p. 657.) For this group running away is "distinctly unhealthy," and he saw "nothing [in these boys] to indicate that they were on the right track to make themselves mature and independent." (p. 664.) Taking a somewhat different tack, Riemer (21) described several children who repeatedly ran away for periods longer than 24 hours as having an "extremely negative character." He concludes that "running away constitutes a severe narcissistic disorder." (p. 526.)

A series of reports have recently come out of the Worcester Youth Guidance Center where 28 runaways (17 boys and 11 girls) were studied intensively (7, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 27, 29, 30, 31). In one of the reports, Leventhal (13) says:

In contrast with lay and even many professional notions concerning the seemingly benign nature of running away, the findings here suggest severe pathology. On the basis of the marked overconcern with loss of control and with ego surrender, and some degree of reality distortion, prepsychotic functioning is suggested. (p. 127.)

In general, runaways, seen at the Worcester Center "represent a group that is more pathological than the 'typical' child guidance case." (16, p. 11.) To support this contention, Leventhal (13) refers to the work of Robins and O'Neal (23, 24), who studied 179 boys thirty years after they had been patients in a child guidance center. The histories of those who had run away showed more criminal activity, more divorce, and more frequent diagnosis of sociopathic personality.

Perhaps the clinical viewpoint is best summed up by Robey, *et al.* (22) who who studied 42 runaway girls referred over a ten-year period to the Juvenile Court Clinic of Framingham, Massachusetts. "Running away, far from being a childish escapade, is almost always indicative of some severe individual or

family pathology and may result from a wide variety of intolerable home situations." (p. 763.)

If the task, then, is to formulate the psychodynamics of runaway children, the consensus is that these children manifest severe psychopathology. It is our belief, however, that this conclusion is often peculiar to clinical studies and is strongly influenced by a built-in bias deriving principally from sample selection. Indeed, when we look at studies based on samples drawn from other than clinical populations, psychopathology no longer appears as the exclusive or even the principal explanatory concept.

One such study was that of Outland (19, 20) whose source of data was 3,352 boys registered with the Federal Transient Service of Southern California during the depths of the Depression (August, 1934-July, 1935). Though 80% of the boys came from broken families, Outland found that their running away was prompted mainly by economic hardship, and to a lesser extent by the quest for adventure.

Referring to over 8,000 runaways appearing in juvenile courts during the war year 1942, Skinner and Nutt (26) also cite general economic and social conditions as the central determiners of running away:

The reasons for which "runaways" leave home today are probably much the same as in the past, although the problem is accentuated by the war situation. The conditions that lead boys and girls to leave home in search of jobs, however, are just the reverse of those that caused the migrant youth problem in the depression years. Opportunities for work, instead of being hard to find, beckon to youth from all sides. (p. 51.)

Even some clinicians, especially when looking at children who are not referred to clinics, see runaway behavior as relatively benign. For example, Balsler (4) made an intensive study of 89 runaway boys and girls who sought help from the New York Travelers Aid Society, and he concluded that "many of the individuals who are making their *initial* [our italics] runaway will find the problem solved during and by this episode." (p. 540.) Kanner (12) observes that although "many adult gangsters begin their criminal careers when they run away from home . . . there are numerous individuals whose escapades have remained comparatively harmless episodes to which they look back with a certain feeling of amusement." (p. 701.) Healy (10) concurs: "Many cases of this type right themselves in time and the running away solves the problem." (p. 34.)

Lowrey's (17) observations summarize this second viewpoint. Basing his conclusions on studies of runaway children during the depression and war years, he sees running away as having "fairly simple connotations" for most children, and "in many instances, running away seems to be a healthy mode of response to an intolerable situation." (p. 781.)

Quite apart from the orientation of the investigators and the samples chosen for study, there remains the question of how the data are collected. Some studies rely almost entirely upon the analysis of records of children long gone from the agencies in which they were seen. Such studies permit little control over the quality of data. Frequently the data are recorded by a succession of persons unknown to the investigator who is forced to assume that there is consistency in what is selected for notation on the record.

By contrast, studies of children in intensive face-to-face situations *do* allow for a greater measure of data control. Interviewers can be trained, a standard set of questions can be asked, or a pre-arranged number of areas may be covered even in an unstructured interview. This interview approach, however, is limited to those who are willing and able to have very personal aspects of their lives probed in time-consuming sessions. Generally, it is easier to obtain participation from clinic patients since such probes are known to be a part of clinical procedures.

Our study in part reflects a conscious attempt to avoid the difficulties of sample bias and use of secondary data. First of all, we employed a relatively broad net in obtaining our sample; we started with children reported missing to a police department. Secondly, much of the information on the children, the events of the runaway episode, and the characteristics of their families were collected firsthand by our own interviewers. In addition, secondary sources of information were used to supplement the personal material gathered from the families. Finally, we interviewed intensively runaway children who would not ordinarily have been referred to a clinic. Our method, then was an attempt to utilize the strengths of each of the two approaches employed in previous studies: the broad sweep of the survey and the immediacy of data obtained through clinical investigation.

II. METHODS

The present study was carried out by the Adolescent Process Section of the Mental Health Study Center, a National Institute of Mental Health field station in Prince George's County, Maryland.¹ The project originated in the common interests of the Adolescent Process Section, the juvenile court, the police department, and the department of probation and parole.

The judge of the juvenile court had become concerned with the number of runaway girls appearing before the court, and the police department was pressed by a growing demand for service in locating missing persons. The research interests of the Adolescent Process Section focused on mental health problems of adolescents in a rapidly growing urbanized County. During informal discussions over a period of six months, all these interests converged in a study of missing children and more specifically runaways.

The court, the police, and other county agencies took a strong and active role. They helped to develop sources of information, proposed goals for research, made substantial changes in their procedures and record keeping, and actually gathered all the data for one entire phase of the project. Because of the close association between the research agency and the community action agencies, the goals of the project were not restricted to research alone. From the very beginning, it was understood that the research would lead to recommendations for community action.

The study began in February of 1962, with an attempt to obtain an accurate count of reports of missing persons in the county, both adults and children. Until that time, even an estimate of the number of missing persons was unavailable because police procedure called for placing all complaints, regardless of their nature, in one master file. The first step, then was to establish new procedures for handling missing person reports.

In the original police procedure, when a parent reported a missing child, his information was taken over the phone by an operator at the police station and recorded on a general complaint form. A special form was designed by the Adolescent Process Section and the police department to get specific descriptive information useful in locating the subject. Questions about how and why the person left and whether he left alone or with a companion were added. Also included were questions on the subject's past history of absences. The length of the new form required further changes in procedure. Since a telephone interview of this length would have tied up police switchboards, the police decided to have a uniformed patrolman take the information from the complainant in his own home.

At a weekly meeting of the sergeants and corporals of the uniformed division, the new form was explained item by item by members of the research staff, and police officers were invited to ask questions on the intent and administration of the form. The new form was further refined in the give-and-take of this training session.

This preliminary missing person report provided very little information on the individual and family history.² And since it was taken at the very beginning of the episode, it also lacked information on certain details of the absence such as length of time away and destination. To get at this information, it was necessary to institute a follow-up procedure. Initially, probation officers undertook this task in a second home interview using a specially designed form. But the regular case load of the probation officer proved to be too great to permit these additional responsibilities. Very quickly the follow-up procedure bogged down and only a small number of interviews were completed. When the backlog continued to grow despite emergency assistance by the research staff, it became obvious that follow-up interviewing was a full-time job requiring an enlarged research staff. In retrospect, this breakdown in procedure was a good thing since it involved the research staff in all phases of data-gathering and led to a reappraisal of the follow-up phase.

¹Prince George's County is contiguous to the District of Columbia and is one of the most rapidly growing counties in the United States. Since 1950 the county has changed from predominantly rural to suburban. This rapid growth greatly increased the demand for services such as schools and police protection, and altered the political character of the county.

²A copy of the initial Missing Person Form used by the police appears in the appendix. Also included in the appendix are the following materials, mentioned later in the text: Follow-up Interview, the explanatory letter to parents, Intensive Interview Guide, categories of offenses and charges, and the School Questionnaire.

Coding generally kept pace with data collection. The coded data were placed on IBM cards for periodic tabulations. Staff members met with agency heads to report progress and to get further suggestions. And for the first time we began to get some idea of the size of the missing person population in Prince Georges County.

This was a period of trial and error. As we gained experience with the home visit follow-up interviews, we further revised our forms and procedures. One major change dealt with the follow-up interview itself which evolved into a broader inquiry into the missing child's experiences during his absence and into his life circumstances. Many items were added on family relationships and the child's personal problems.

At the same time we began to experiment with telephone interviews instead of home visits. To our surprise, we got an encouraging response to the telephone approach. One important factor in this was surely the impression of care and concern given parents by the police officer at the time of his visit to their home. Another factor was the stress placed on the voluntary and confidential nature of participation in the interview. To prepare for the interviewer's phone call, a letter of explanation was sent to the families of missing children. Several forms of this letter were tried, and one was selected as part of the procedure. (See Appendix.) The letter capitalized on the good name of the sponsoring agencies. The letterhead established the study's connection with the National Institutes of Health, an organization well-known and respected in this area, and the sponsorship of both the juvenile court and the police department carried weight with many citizens. An overwhelming majority of parents consented to the follow-up interview. Less than 2% refused; 94% of the interviews were completed, and the remainder were either partially completed or unobtainable.³

In summary, the following procedures were adopted. A uniformed policeman filled out the initial missing person report and filed a copy with the Juvenile Bureau. That bureau, in turn, forwarded a copy to the project office and mailed out the explanatory letter to the parents of the missing child. A member of the research staff then called the family and requested an interview. If the child had returned, the interview was completed at that time. If not, arrangements were made for a subsequent call. Where families were without telephones or where informants appeared hesitant to discuss the runaway on the phone, interviews were conducted in the home.

Most staff members were experienced interviewers, particularly the staff member who conducted over half of the interviews. The entire staff participated in daily discussions designed to deal with problems as they arose and to maintain a single standard of clarity, relevance and detail.

The attempt to gain the child's as well as the parent's perspective on the runaway episode and the family situation required an interview with the child himself. The intensive interview was originally designed to get not only the viewpoint of the child on the runaway itself, but also to get an idea of how the child viewed himself, his family, his peers, his education, and his plans for the future. Again the same pattern of preliminary testing of interviews, both as to technique and content was followed. Pilot tapes were played and analyzed. A standard set of questions was devised, and these served to structure the interview but only loosely. The interviewer was free to introduce questions in any form and in any order appropriate to the occasion. The interviews averaged about two hours but no firm time limits were prescribed.

The original plan called for an intensive taped interview with every third boy and every third girl over ten years of age. This plan had to be revised because of parental resistance and the lack of public transportation in the county.

Many parents, who themselves had willingly given information to the interviewers, balked at asking their children to give information. A number were disturbed by the idea of a tape-recording. Others resisted when the interviewer explained that the contents of the interview were to be kept confidential *even from the parents*. Some mistook the purpose of the interview as therapeutic and were inclined to refuse when this hope was disappointed. In a number of cases, older children themselves refused to participate.

³ A guarantee of confidentiality was given in the letter and repeated at the beginning of the follow-up telephone interview. On July 1, 1963, Dr. R. H. Felix, then Director of the National Institute of Mental Health, issued a statement assuring participants that the information volunteered in the course of this study would be held confidential and used only by persons engaged in the study and only for scientific purposes.

Furthermore, interviews were frequently difficult to arrange even when parents and children were willing. Our original plan was to conduct all interviews in a room at the project office specially furnished for tape recording. But since there is virtually no public transportation in this large and sprawling county, private transportation to and from the project office—often a matter of 50 miles or more—had to be provided either by the family or by the project staff. Where such transportation could not be arranged, home interviews were carried out, but these frequently proved unsatisfactory. This was especially true in smaller homes and apartments where privacy was impossible and where the intrusion of ordinary household noises affected the quality of the tape.

Despite these obstacles we were able to complete 96 interviews, 40% of those originally planned for. Although we were disappointed with our completion rate in this phase of the project, the material obtained from these intensive interviews with adolescents was essential to our subsequent interpretations of other and more descriptive data.

The remainder of the data was collected from records of public agencies: schools, police, and juvenile court. Collecting information from school records presented the greatest difficulty. The task was made manageable by limiting our record search to the public secondary schools. Had we included parochial, private and public elementary schools, we would have had school records on an additional 200 children but we would also have had to visit an additional 100 schools or more.

Beginning with lists compiled from the initial missing person report which indicated the last school attended by the subject, we went to the secondary schools for each child's school performance and school history. The major effort to gather records was made during the summer after final grades had been recorded and before school records were transferred to the next school. With the help of the Pupil Services Department and the guidance counselors, we were able to locate the records of 562 students.

School data proved disappointing in several respects. Records of students who had transferred into the county frequently contained minimal pre-transfer information and even those of students who had long been in the county system had many gaps. Schools within the county differed widely in their concern for record-keeping. Even such standard items as number of days attended in the school year or grades for a previous grading period were sometimes missing. Certain kinds of information, e.g., those dealing with discipline, were often maintained in separate files or purposely (and perhaps wisely) destroyed periodically.

Police records presented a simpler task. Juvenile records are maintained in a single central location in the county, the Juvenile Bureau. Moreover, we asked fewer questions of these records. We simply wanted to know whether the child had been known to the police and how frequently and how deeply he had been involved in delinquent activities.

Our principal problem here was the evaluation of the relative seriousness of the offenses and charges listed. For this we went directly to the police themselves. We listed all those offenses appearing in the juvenile records and asked each of the eleven members of the Juvenile Bureau to rate them. Those offenses rated most serious by at least 80% of the officers were designated Category A, those rated most serious by 21-79% were designated Category B, and those rated as most serious by only 20% or less, Category C.

Juvenile Court records provided the remaining source of data on public file. Here again the task was simplified by the availability of records in a single office. Like police records, court files were alphabetized by name, and the presence or absence of a child's name in these files was conclusive evidence of his involvement or lack of involvement with the Juvenile Court. Within limits, complete data was gathered on the child's history of court appearances, institutionalizations, and probationary periods both before and after the runaway episode.⁴

Finally, we drew a comparison sample of adolescents from the public secondary schools. Time and staff limitations precluded individual interviews with these adolescents. Instead, we administered a pencil and paper questionnaire in the classroom. The school questionnaire was pretested on a sample of 300

⁴The limiting factor in gathering court data was the difficulty in relating a specific police charge to a given court case. Reading court cases in detail to make this determination proved too time-consuming for the purposes of the project. Accordingly we chose to use only the summary record in the alphabetical file.

secondary school students ranging from low-ability 7th graders to college-bound seniors. We tried both checklists and open-ended questions. In general, the students seemed to have more difficulty with checklists than with open-ended questions. Moreover, we ourselves preferred the vivid, highly expressive responses elicited by the open-ended form despite the additional burden in coding such responses. The final form of the questionnaire which included a large number of open-ended questions attempted to cover many of those areas dealt with in the follow-up interviews with parents.

In an intensive drive over a two-week period, the entire project staff participated in administering the questionnaire to 1,350 students in 11 schools.⁵ Forty-five classes in the middle range of ability were chosen from courses required of all students.⁶ After giving a brief introduction to the study and its purposes, each project team read standardized instructions to establish a similar "set" for each group. Both introduction and instructions stressed that the questionnaire was anonymous in an effort to encourage students to give full and frank answers. Students had the option of not answering *any* of the questions, or of answering some and omitting others, just as they preferred. In the twenty-minute discussion following the questionnaire, students expressed feelings about adults and argued among themselves about definitions of their problems. These discussions helped us to interpret answers to the questionnaire.

To summarize, there were seven separate sources of data. The police missing person report (1) served chiefly as a preliminary to the interview with parents (2), our primary source of data. Intensive interviews with children (3) were used principally as a means of interpreting findings generally. Other supplementary sources were agency records from schools (4), police department (5), and juvenile court (6). And finally, the school questionnaire (7) served as the source of comparative data. (See Chart 1.)

CHART 1.—SOURCES AND QUANTITY OF DATA

Sources of information	Number attempted	Number completed
(1) Police missing person report	1,026	993
(2) Report of followup interview	993	951
(3) Intensive interview	243	96
(4) School records	731	562
(5) Police records	834	834
(6) Court records	834	834
(7) School questionnaire	1,350	1,327

III. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The missing child

Previous studies associated running away with repeated absences on the one hand or with absences of a specified length of time on the other.⁷ Our study focused on the child's *intent*. For us, the runaway is the child who leaves home voluntarily with the knowledge that he will be missed. Length of time away is not an element in our definition because we felt that "success" in staying away might be merely an accident of circumstance or a reflection of the child's age, skill, or resources.

During the Study Year proper (August, 1963 to August, 1964), the county police department handled 1,663 missing person reports. Of these, 1,026 dealt with missing children under 18 years of age. After we eliminated children classified as non-county residents, institutional runaways, and "sociological adults,"⁸

⁵ Schools were listed alphabetically within each division (i.e., high school and junior high school) and assigned numbers. Five senior highs and six junior highs were then selected by means of a table of random numbers.

⁶ Within each school the number of classes at each grade level was set by the over-all grade distribution in the county school enrollment figures. For example, since 20 percent of the over-all school enrollment was in the 7th grade, 20 percent of the questionnaire sample were in the 7th grade classes.

⁷ See, for example, Riemer (21).

⁸ Occasionally reports were filed on children not residing in the county, who were either visiting or just passing through. Institutional runaways included those missing from a private center for emotionally disturbed boys, and a small number of boys who took advantage of weekend leave from the nearby state training school to run away. We felt that this latter group, though reported by their parents, had left home specifically to avoid returning to the correctional institution. "Sociological adults" were those children under 18 who were "on their own" in terms of support and residence.

there remained 993 missing person reports on 834 children. The number of reports was greater than the number of children reported missing because some children left home on more than one occasion in the course of the Study Year. Of the 834 children responsible for 993 reports, 726 were reported only once and 108 were reported missing two or more times.⁹

Not all children reported missing, of course, are runaways. Some reports originate in misunderstandings about where an adolescent is or ought to be; a child under ten may wander off or get lost. The study required that the runaway children be distinguished from those children simply reported missing. To do this, a committee of senior project staff reviewed all relevant data. Each reviewer made an independent determination of the runaway or non-runaway status of each child. Subsequently these judgments were compared. In those few instances where unanimous agreement was lacking, the issue was thrashed out in open discussion.

Since our major concern was with runaway adolescents, we concentrated on the 731 missing children in our sample in the 10-17 age group. Ninety per cent of these 731 adolescents were subsequently classified as runaways.¹⁰ Thus, the overwhelming majority of runaways were adolescents and almost all adolescents reported missing were runaways. The discussion which follows centers on adolescent runaways.

All neighborhoods and areas of the county contributed missing children and runaways roughly in proportion to their child population.¹¹ The boy-girl ratio was 60-40. The preponderance of boys among runaways reported to the police contrasted sharply with the sex ratio of runaways referred to the local juvenile court where 60% were girls. The median age for both girls and boys was between 15 and 16, but a proportionately greater number of girls were in the 16-17 year old age range.

The runaway episode

There was great variability in the number of runaways reported from one month to another. In the Study Year, for example, only 68 were reported for March as against 112 for April. But these monthly variations did not hold constant from year to year. When we looked at the three-year period for which we have data, these monthly variations tended to wash out altogether. Similarly, when the runaways reported for the Study Year were grouped according to three-month seasons, there was little seasonal variation. The spring months (March, April, May) did show a slightly higher incidence of runaways, and in general, what differences did occur were more marked among girls than boys. (See Table 1.)

TABLE 1.—SEASONAL VARIATION OF RUNAWAY EPISODES (REPEAT EPISODES INCLUDED)

Season	Boys		Girls		Total	
	Families	Percent	Families	Percent	Families	Percent
Fall.....	116	25	65	20	181	23
Winter.....	94	21	88	27	182	23
Spring.....	133	29	111	35	244	31
Summer.....	112	25	57	18	169	22
Total.....	455	100	321	100	776	99

Note: X^2 equals 11.26; df equals 3; p equals 0.025.

We had expected that adolescents would tend to leave home over the weekend when there are fewer checkpoints on their whereabouts and less structure in their lives. To some extent this expectation was borne out. Had runaway episodes occurred equally on all seven days of the week, we would have expected 14% on any given day. As it turned out, 20% occurred on Friday for the group as a

⁹ The 108 repeaters accounted for 159 additional reports. These repeat episodes are included in the statistical analysis of data only when the point of interest is the "runaway episode" itself, but are not included when the general characteristics of runaway or missing children are the point of interest.

¹⁰ Only one out of every four of the children under ten years of age was classified as a runaway.

¹¹ Since these data were gathered in the terms of the 74 census tracts of the county, the numbers for the census tracks were too small for statistical analysis.

whole. Runaway episodes for boys were more or less evenly distributed over the week. The girls showed a particularly high preference for Friday and Saturday departures. (See Table 2.) Perhaps girls take advantage of the dating situation on the weekends as a jumping-off point for the runaway. Our interviews with parents and children showed that it was not unusual for a girl to run away with her boy-friend who provided transportation, financial resources, and a reason.

TABLE 2.—DAY OF DEPARTURE OF RUNAWAY EPISODES (REPEAT EPISODES INCLUDED)

Day of departure	Boys		Girls		Total	
	Families	Percent	Families	Percent	Families	Percent
Sunday.....	47	10	31	10	78	10
Monday.....	70	15	44	14	114	15
Tuesday.....	75	16	40	12	115	15
Wednesday.....	72	16	35	11	107	14
Thursday.....	60	13	28	9	88	11
Friday.....	70	15	85	26	155	20
Saturday.....	61	13	58	18	119	15
Total.....	455	98	321	100	776	100

Note: X^2 equals 22.82; df equals 6; p equals 0.001.

This interview data is consistent with the finding that girls were more likely than boys to have between 6 p.m. and 12 midnight, the dating hours. (See Table 3.) The fact that boys are more likely than girls to leave during the daylight hours and on weekdays suggests that the school situation is more directly related to running away among boys.

TABLE 3.—DEPARTURE TIME OF RUNAWAY EPISODES (REPEAT EPISODES INCLUDED)

Departure time	Boys		Girls		Total	
	Families	Percent	Families	Percent	Families	Percent
Midnight to 6 a.m.....	26	6	20	6	46	6
6 a.m. to noon.....	132	30	47	15	179	24
Noon to 6 p.m.....	139	51	103	33	242	32
6 p.m. to midnight.....	147	33	139	45	286	38
Total.....	444	100	309	99	753	100

Note: X^2 equals 23.00; df equals 3; p equals 0.001.

Interview data also suggested that runaway episodes were impulsive and poorly planned. For example, only one-third of the children had more than a dollar with them. Many left without extra clothing or any food and had to seek makeshift sleeping arrangements in hallways, laundromats or parked cars. Girls frequently took no more than a set of curlers and a can of hair spray.

This lack of planning perhaps reflects a timidity and tentativeness which seemed to characterize many of the runaways. They traveled a short distance, they stayed away only briefly, and many returned of their own volition. Three-fourths of the runaways never got beyond the metropolitan area. Almost two-thirds of the runaways were home again within 48 hours; one-half decided to return on their own, while the others were either located by friends or family or returned through the help of the police.

In half the cases it was the mother who decided to call for police assistance. In one-fourth of the cases it was the father who made the decision and in the remaining one-fourth it was a joint decision of both parents.¹² Whether the runaway was a son or daughter seems not to have been a factor in which parent took the initiative to call the police.

¹² A further comparison was made between natural parents and other two-parent families in terms of decision to report. Among natural parent families, father, mother, and joint decisions were more equally divided (29 percent, 35 percent, and 35 percent respectively); in other two-parent families, it was primarily the mother who made the decision (59 percent of the cases).

Most parents tended to act fairly promptly. Almost one-half reported their children within four hours, and 60% within six hours. Although one might expect parents to be more apprehensive about a daughter's safety, girls did not seem to be reported more promptly than boys.

First-time runaways were reported relatively promptly as against those who were running away for the second, third or fourth time. (See Table 4.) In part, the greater delay in reporting repeat episodes seems to reflect the parents' confidence—born of past experience—that the child would return soon and of his own volition.

TABLE 4.—DELAY IN REPORTING RUNAWAY EPISODES, INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT EPISODES

Delay in reporting	Initial episodes		Subsequent episodes		Total	
	Families	Percent	Families	Percent	Families	Percent
Under 6 hours.....	380	63	57	44	437	60
Over 6 hours.....	222	37	73	56	295	40
Total.....	602	100	130	100	732	100

Note: χ^2 equals 16.68; df equals 1; p equals 0.001.

Children were just as likely to take off with companions as they were to take off alone. Girls went with someone else slightly more often than did boys, and perhaps this too suggests that girls make use of the dating situation as an opportunity to run away.

Parents sometimes blamed companions for their child's departure. But many parents frankly attributed the runaway episode to situations either at home or at school. They frequently traced the episode to specific family arguments or to a threat of punishment hanging over the child.

Family characteristics

Previous studies repeatedly pointed up the association between family disorganization and runaway behavior. Though it was not possible to systematically delve into the subtleties and complexities of family dynamics of several hundred runaway adolescents in our study, we obtained in all cases at least descriptive data bearing on family structure, family history, and socio-economic variables.

Runaways and the school questionnaire respondents were almost identical with respect to family size. The largest proportion of both groups lived in households of four to six persons.

The largest proportion of the runaways occupied the position of oldest child in the household. This would appear to support the common belief that the oldest child is more likely than others to be subjected to pressures within the family. However, the same preponderance (51%) of oldest children was found among the adolescents responding to the school questionnaire. Thus, there seems to be no across-the-board relationship between ordinal position and runaway behavior.¹³

There did appear to be a link between running away and the child's relation to the adults with whom he lives. In contrast to the 82% of the school questionnaire respondents living with both natural parents, only half of the runaways lived with theirs.¹⁴ The runaway, then, is more likely to come from a broken or reconstituted family. It would be misleading, however, to assert a simple cause-and-effect relationship between broken homes and running away. To do so would ignore the fact that half the runaways came from intact families, and would also raise new questions about children who live in broken homes and do not run away.

¹³ By ordinal position we do not mean birth order but rather the functional position of the child among other children in the household. Children 18 and over were classified as adults living in the household. This probably accounts for the very high proportion of "oldest" children both among our runaways and respondents to the high school questionnaire.

¹⁴ Perhaps these two figures are not strictly comparable. We have some reservations about the accuracy with which the adolescents in the school sample identified the adults in their households. It may be that children in reconstituted families look upon the step-parent as their natural parent, particularly if remarriage occurred when the child was very young. The gap between the two groups may not be as great as our findings indicate.

It is popularly believed that families in which the mother works outside the home are functionally equivalent to broken homes. The working mother is frequently blamed for any deviant behavior of the child, the implication being that if only the mother would stay home where she belongs, her child would have neither reason nor opportunity to get into trouble. But there were just as many working mothers in our comparison group as among the runaway group; almost half the mothers in both groups were working outside the home. By itself, then, the presence of a working mother does not seem to be a crucial factor in a child's decision to run away from home.

Quite apart from structural changes within the family, changes or conditions that the family experiences as a unit may also be disruptive to a child's life. The simple fact of a physical move from one residence to another, for example, since it often involves changes in school and in friendship groups, may have considerable impact on a child. Table 5 compares runaways and questionnaire sample on the number of address changes over a five-year period. The comparison reveals that the runaways moved more frequently. More than two-thirds of them had moved at least once; only one-half among the comparison group had done so.

TABLE 5.—NUMBER OF ADDRESS CHANGES

Address changes	Runaway adolescents		Comparison group		Total	
	Families	Percent	Families	Percent	Families	Percent
None.....	201	33	624	50	825	44
1.....	203	33	279	22	482	26
2 or more.....	207	34	349	28	556	30
Total.....	611	100	1,252	100	1,863	100

Note: X^2 equals 50.51; df equals 2; p equals 0.001.

Socio-economic considerations also shape in important ways the character of family life. Armstrong's study (3) in the 1920's found that New York City runaways came from families at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. In contrast, over one-half of our suburban runaways in the 1960's came from families with incomes of from \$6,000 to \$12,000 and an impressive number (15%) came from even more economically successful families with incomes above \$12,000. Only 28% of the runaways came from families with incomes of less than \$6,000, a proportion directly in line with the income distribution of the county as a whole.¹⁵

CHART 2.—EDUCATION OF PARENTS
[In percent]

Level of schooling	Fathers		Mothers	
	Runaways	1960 census	Runaways	1960 census
At least 1 year college.....	24	28	18	18
High school graduate.....	27	26	32	37
1 to 3 years high school.....	26	20	33	21
8th grade or below.....	23	25	16	24

With respect to parents' education, little difference was observed between the runaway group and adults in the county at large. (See Chart 2.) There were differences between the occupational ratings for parents of runaways and those of students answering the school questionnaire.¹⁶ The occupational ratings of parents of runaways tended to be lower. (See Chart 3.)

¹⁵ According to the 1960 Census figures for Prince George's County, 32 percent of the families earned incomes of less than \$6,000. Although we asked for an estimate of family income on the school questionnaire, most of the children were unable or unwilling even to make a guess, and many responses of those who did answer seemed highly questionable and inconsistent with the child's description of parental occupation. For this reason we did not compare the family incomes of runaways with those of the comparison group.

¹⁶ Ratings were based on an occupational scale developed by the United States Bureau of the Census (28). In contrast to the data on income, the school questionnaire asked for descriptive data with respect to parents' occupations, permitting a direct comparison with the data from the follow-up interview.

CHART 3.—OCCUPATION OF PARENTS

[In percent]

	Fathers		Mothers	
	Runaways	Comparison group	Runaways	Comparison group
Position on occupational rating scale:				
Upper 3/5.....	82	91	73	84
Lower 2/5.....	18	9	27	16

Structural and socio-economic characteristics of the family, however, are probably only indirectly associated with a child's decision to run away. Conflict in the family, which may or may not be a reflection of these factors, should have a more direct bearing on runaway behavior. Indeed, if we look only at the parents' perceptions (follow-up interview) of family life, it would appear that the families of runaways are marked by conflict. (See Table 6.)

TABLE 6.—PARENTAL REPORT OF PROBLEMS AT HOME

Report of problems	Runway adolescents		Missing adolescents		Total	
	Families	Percent	Families	Percent	Families	Percent
None.....	129	23	44	65	173	27
Some problem.....	441	77	24	35	465	73
Total.....	570	100	68	100	638	100

Note: X^2 equals 53.00; df equals 1; p equals 0.001.

More than three out of four of the parents of runaways reported conflict within the family, mainly over issues such as the child's school performance, his choice of friends, his rejection of family rules and values. For parents of missing children not classified as runaways, only one out of three reported such problems.¹⁷

From the child's point of view, however, whether runaway or not, it would appear that trouble at home is the rule. Over 80% of the adolescent comparison group and an even larger majority of those in our intensive interview sample, which included non-runaways, reported trouble at home. What we have then, is the great majority of children claiming to live in family settings characterized by conflict. Although parents of runaway children are more likely to assess the family situation in similar terms, parents of non-runaways tend not to see or not to admit such conflict. Perhaps parents require a clear behavioral statement such as the act of running away in order to recognize or admit the existence of family discord.

School Experience

School is a trouble spot for most adolescents, whether runaways or not. Two-thirds of the parents of runaways reported that their children had problems in school. On the school questionnaire almost the same proportion of adolescents stated that they had problems in school and many of these students expressed a need for help in dealing with them.

Though standard measures of intelligence¹⁸ indicated that runaways as a group did not vary from national norms, other school records—grade point averages, absences, retentions—pointed to school as a special problem area for runaways.¹⁹

¹⁷ It should be noted that this difference, however great, would be slightly less striking had we controlled for age. Runaways generally tend to be somewhat older than those children simply reported as missing and may therefore be more likely to be involved in conflict with their parents.

¹⁸ The school testing service uses the Lorge-Thorndike Verbal and Non-Verbal instruments. We used only the verbal scores which appeared more frequently in school records.

¹⁹ Although the 631 adolescents included 10, 11, and 12 year olds, we made no attempt to collect records of those runaways in elementary schools. In the public secondary schools we were able to locate 562 records of varying degrees of completeness. Our actual working N for these records was sometimes as low as 350 on certain items.

Grades are the most obvious indicator of school performance. Eighty-two per cent of the runaway children had grade averages of C or below for the grading period closest to their reported absence. This level of performance of the runaway group contrasted sharply with that of the comparison group where only 32% of the students reported grades that low.²⁰ (See Table 7.)

TABLE 7.—MOST RECENT GRADE POINT AVERAGE

Grade point average	Runaway adolescents		Comparison group		Total	
	Families	Percent	Families	Percent	Families	Percent
C and below.....	395	82	414	32	909	46
Above C.....	86	18	873	68	959	54
Total.....	481	100	1,287	100	1,768	100

Note: X^2 equals 355.04; df equals 1; p equals 0.001.

On the assumption that running away might be a response to a discouraging decline in school performance, we compared grade point averages concurrent with the absence with those of the previous marking period. And, indeed, grade averages around the time of the absence were lower. A similar decline was also reported by the comparison group. The tendency for grade averages to decline with time seems to be a general one. The grades of runaways, however, appeared to start at a lower level and to dip more sharply.

Academic performance, of course, is affected by factors other than intelligence, namely interest and involvement in classroom tasks. High absenteeism often reflects a low level of interest in school. The median number of days absent in the school year 1963-64 for runaways was 19 days, more than 10% of the school year. For the entire secondary school population during that same school year, the median number of days absent was 13.²¹

A further indication that school has been a particularly troublesome area for runaways is that nearly half of them had been retained at some point in their school careers, and about 20% were over-age-in-grade.²² Although we had no comparative data on retentions for the school questionnaire sample, we did find that only 7% of this group were over-age-in-grade.

The finding that runaways had moved more often may be a factor in their greater number of retentions and generally poor school performance since a change in residence often means a change in school as well. Runaways do, in fact, show a greater number of junior high school transfers. (See Table 8.)

TABLE 8.—NUMBER OF JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL TRANSFERS

Junior high transfers	Runaway adolescents		Comparison group		Total	
	Families	Percent	Families	Percent	Families	Percent
None.....	226	49	1,044	80	1,270	72
1.....	159	34	218	17	377	21
2 or more.....	77	17	46	4	123	7
Total.....	462	100	1,308	101	1,770	100

Note: X^2 equals 181.13; df equals 2; p equals 0.001.

It may be that school changes are especially difficult for junior high students. Not only does the curriculum become increasingly difficult during these years but

²⁰ We accepted the students' self-report of grades on the school questionnaire at face value.

²¹ School absentee records were not kept by date. It was impossible, therefore, to determine how many days of absence were attributable to the runaway episode. Since 63 percent of the runaways returned within 48 hours and since many of the episodes occurred over weekends or during the summer, it is safe to assume that the reported absence itself contributed little to the absenteeism.

²² Over-age-in-grade classification was based on the normal age distribution within a given grade. First-graders were assumed to be 5, 6 or 7 years old. A three-year span within a grade was used. For example, children older than 7 in the first grade were classified as over-age-in-grade.

this is a time, too, when peer associations take on a growing importance, especially in the school setting. It is understandably difficult for the adolescent to break off old peer relationships, establish new ones, and maintain an even level of school performance at the same time. Once he falls behind in his school work, he may never catch up.

One might assume that the school problems and difficulties of the runaway would lead to a high rate of dropouts among this group. Curiously this seems not to be so. Only 58 of the runaways were school dropouts at the time of the runaway, about one-fourth of the runaways old enough (over 16) to have dropped out legally. This rate is no higher than that reported for school populations generally. (5) One might speculate that running away and dropping out of school are alternate ways of backing off from the daily confrontation with a difficult school situation.

In summary, then, school records show that runaways, in contrast to other adolescents, were absent more often, had lower grades, and were more likely to have been retained. These characteristics of the runaway group are even more true of runaway boys. This would tend to support our impression that boys are more likely than girls to run away because of school difficulties.

Outside home and school

Outside of home and school lies another important part of the teenager's world: the area of peer friendships, leisure time activities and contacts with the wider community. In informal associations, clubs, organizations and work, he learns still other skills on his way to adulthood. What he learns from experience here may reinforce or undermine what he is taught by adults at home and school. In important ways success with his peers may compensate him for failures in adult-dominated settings.

Although data derived from questionnaires and interviews do not permit a detailed description of the complexity of a child's network of informal associations, they do provide some superficial measures of such associations. If club memberships and working for money are used as indicators of outside activities and involvements that give a child a sense of worth and satisfaction not available to him at home or in school, then the simple absence of these things may relate directly to the runaway episode. Indeed our data do suggest the absence of such compensatory satisfactions in the lives of runaway children. Slightly more than 40% of the runaways belonged to clubs as against 80% of the comparison group. Similarly, only 50% of the runaways worked for money compared with 85% of the comparison group.

Police Contacts. It is in his leisure time, too, that the adolescent is most likely to come to the attention of the police and other non-school authorities. Earlier studies found that running away went hand-in-hand with delinquency. We sought to test this connection by comparing the police and court records of runaways with those reported by the adolescents in the school questionnaire. First we looked at the number of runaways who were known to the police prior to their absence. Juvenile Bureau files revealed that one out of three runaways had one or more contacts with the police in the two years preceding the missing person report. Surprisingly, the same proportion of students in the comparison sample claimed they, too, had had contacts with the police.²³ It was not until we examined the number of children formally charged—where we were on much firmer ground—that a sizeable difference between the two groups emerged. Police files showed one out of every six runaways had had a charge placed against him but only one out of 25 of the comparison group reported having been charged. Despite the magnitude of this difference between the two groups, the fact is that 5 out of 6 runaways had *never* been charged. If we take formal charges rather than simple contacts as the measure of delinquent behavior, most runaways did *not* have a history of delinquency before their reported absence.

²³ Interpreting the incidence of police contacts in the two groups presented certain difficulties. No clean and simple comparison was possible. First of all, among runaways episode itself may have been the basis for a recorded police contact. This would make the one out of three figure spuriously high for runaways. On the other hand, data on police contacts among the school sample is based entirely on self-report. In examining the students' descriptions of their contacts, it was obvious that some were of a casual and trivial nature not likely to have been recorded in police files. This, too, would tend to inflate the contact ratio for the school sample. We have simply assumed that, had we been able to refine our measures, there would have been an equal decrease in the contact rate for the two groups.

Following the episode,²⁴ however, the proportion of runaways with formal charges rises to one out of four. (See Table 9.)

TABLE 9.—RUNAWAYS CHARGED BY POLICE BEFORE AND AFTER EPISODE

	Before episode		After episode	
	Families	Percent	Families	Percent
Runaways not charged.....	532	84	453	72
Runaways charged ¹	99	16	178	28
With A offenses.....	36		38	
With B offenses.....	40		84	
With C offenses.....	23		56	
Total.....	631	100	631	100

¹ Where an individual was charged with more than 1 offense, only the most serious charge was listed for the purpose of this table.

This ratio is not materially altered by removing the number of cases in which the runaway episode itself was the basis of the charge. Looking at the number of runaways charged with serious offenses (Category A) after the runaway episode, we see only a slight increase over the number so charged before the episode. Almost all the increase from before to after the episode was in the number of boys charged with moderately seriously offenses (Category B) and in the number of girls charged with the least serious offenses (Category C).²⁵ In both instances, the number of children so charged more than doubled.

Clearly a child is more likely to have been formally charged by police after running away. Similarly he is more likely to have appeared before a judge; one out of six runaways had appeared in court prior to the episode, and one out of three afterwards.²⁶ But the most striking feature to emerge from these findings is that the great majority did not get into trouble at all either before or after running away.

Repeaters

Before the first month of the Study Year was over, some children had already registered their second runaway. During the Study Year alone, there were 104 adolescents who had run away two or more times.²⁷ Since our records went back a year and a half before the Study Year and extended a year beyond it, we were able to identify those children who had run away from home more than once over a three-and-a-half-year period. Over this period there were 220 such repeaters for whom we had Study Year data.

An examination of this data revealed that repeaters were distinctive from one-timers in many important respects. Repeaters, for example, tended to remain away longer, usually overnight and frequently for more than two days. (See Table 10.)

TABLE 10.—TIME AWAY BY REPEATER STATUS

Time away	1 timer		Repeater		Total	
	Families	Percent	Families	Percent	Families	Percent
Daytime (to 18 hours).....	148	31	34	16	182	26
Overnight (5 to 48 hours).....	198	41	90	42	288	41
More than 2 days.....	136	28	88	42	224	32
Total.....	482	100	212	100	694	99

Note: χ^2 equals 20.06; df equals 2; p equals 0.001.

²⁴ The post-episode record-gathering period ranged from 6 to 18 months. Had we been able to wait and check all records for, say, a two-year period following each episode, we would surely have found more charges. This was neither practical nor especially desirable. The greater the time lapse, the more tenuous the link between the act of running away and subsequent delinquent behavior.

²⁵ For a discussion of how offenses were ranked, see p. 18.

²⁶ The discrepancy between the one-to-four ratio of charges after the episode and the one-to-three ratio of court cases after the episode is attributable to the fact that court cases can originate with agencies other than police, e.g., probation department and schools and that there is a lag between the time the child is charged and the time he appears in court for his hearing.

²⁷ Ninety-six percent of those adolescents reported missing more than once were classified as runaways.

Many of them might have stayed away even longer, for the great majority of them had to be located or caught. (See Table 11.) Non-repeaters were more likely to return on their own. Perhaps the repeater is more determined in his efforts to leave home.

TABLE 11.—CIRCUMSTANCES OF RETURN BY REPEATER STATUS

Circumstances of return	1 timer		Repeater		Total	
	Families	Percent	Families	Percent	Families	Percent
Voluntary.....	264	58	91	45	355	54
Caught.....	191	42	111	55	302	46
Total.....	455	100	202	100	657	100

Note: X^2 equals 9.21; df equals 1; p equals 0.005.

Though the family composition of the repeater was not noticeably different from that of the non-repeater, there was a difference with respect to family income. This was most evident in the number of families coming from the middle and upper income brackets. There were proportionately twice as many non-repeaters as repeaters from families with annual incomes of \$12,000 or more. (See Table 12.)

TABLE 12.—FAMILY INCOME BY REPEATER STATUS

Family income	One-timer		Repeater		Total	
	Families	Percent	Families	Percent	Families	Percent
Under \$6,000.....	124	29	57	28	181	28
\$6,000 to \$11,999.....	229	53	130	63	359	56
\$12,000 and more.....	80	18	19	9	99	15
Total.....	433	100	206	100	639	99

Note: X^2 equals 10.71; df equals 2; p equals 0.005.

Although most parents of runaways reported some trouble at home with their child, parents of repeaters were far more likely to do so than parents of non-repeaters. (See Table 13.) The crucial distinction between the two groups is the greater frequency with which school was cited as the chief source of trouble at home by parents of repeaters. The reported incidence of other areas of disagreement (e.g., discipline, choice of friends, family discord, etc.) was much the same for the two groups. Arguments over school matters in the home often reflected the real problem the child was having in school.

TABLE 13.—TROUBLE AT HOME BY REPEATER STATUS

Trouble at home	One-timer		Repeater		Total	
	Families	Percent	Families	Percent	Families	Percent
None.....	142	32	32	16	174	27
Over school.....	110	25	76	38	186	29
Over other areas.....	189	43	90	45	279	44
Total.....	441	100	198	99	639	100

Note: X^2 equals 21.38; df equals 2; p equals 0.001.

As mentioned earlier, most parents of runaways saw their children as having trouble in school. This seems to be more true for repeaters than non-repeaters. Three-quarters of the parents of repeaters reported school difficulties as opposed to one-half of the parents of non-repeaters. And, indeed, examination of school records showed that repeaters were absent more often, had lower grade averages, were retained more frequently, attended more junior high schools, and were more likely to drop out of school following the episode. (See Table 14.)

TABLE 14.—ONE-TIMERS AND REPEATERS AND SCHOOL

	Percent of—		p—value of χ^2
	One-timer	Repeater	
Parental report of trouble.....	57	76	0.001
Absent 21 days or more, 1962-63.....	33	43	.025
Absent 21 days or more, 1963-64.....	43	54	.025
Past grade average ¹ of D or below.....	19	33	.001
Most recent average of D or below.....	30	43	.005
Record of school retention.....	41	57	.001
Transferred in junior high.....	45	57	.001
School withdrawal after episode.....	14	30	.001

¹ Past grade average was for the grading period preceding the episode; in some cases it was based on semester grades, in others on the final grades of the previous school year.

Repeaters also tended to have more problems outside home and school. Two-thirds of them were reported as having problems in this area, whereas only one-half of the non-repeaters were so reported. Our objective indicators again bear out the accuracy of the parents' reports. Repeaters consistently ran afoul of the law. They not only had more contacts with the police but were charged more often, sent to court more often, and institutionalized more often than the non-repeaters. (See Table 15.)

TABLE 15.—ONE-TIMERS AND REPEATERS OUTSIDE HOME AND SCHOOL

	Percent of—		p—value of χ^2
	1-timer	Repeater	
Parental report of trouble.....	51	64	0.005
Some police contact before episode.....	26	47	.001
Some police contact after episode.....	37	70	.001
Charged by police before episode.....	12	24	.001
Charged by police after episode.....	16	51	.001
Any court case before episode.....	12	25	.001
Any court case after episode.....	20	56	.001
Institutionalization before episode.....	4	15	.001

Among the 220 repeaters we found a group of 58 boys who had run away three or more times. These frequent repeaters conform most nearly to the stereotype of the chronic runaway and are perhaps the kind of runaways on which several previous studies have been based. (9,13,21) For the most part whatever distinguished the repeaters as a group from the non-repeaters was even more true for this group of boys. They stayed away longer and were most likely to have trouble at home, in school, and in the community. In addition, the frequent repeater was more likely to have lived in two or more households and more likely to have withdrawn from school after running away. The characteristics of this group of boys closely parallels those of school dropouts as reported in the literature. (5) Unfortunately studies of dropouts do not report the runaway histories of their subjects. But the poor school history and the high withdrawal rate of the repeater suggest that in looking at the child who runs away from home more than once, especially if he's a boy, we are looking at a probable dropout.

The Unreported Runaway

From the very beginning we knew that our study would not catch all runaways. We knew that those who were reported missing to the police were merely the tip of the runaway "iceberg," and that beneath the surface lay an undetermined number invisible to public agencies. Hildebrand (11) in his study based on police records in New York City pointed out this difficulty: "It is recognized that the information contained here is not complete since *it is impossible to know how many children run away and are not reported.*" (P. 211, italics ours.)

The school questionnaire was designed in part to obtain an estimate of the number of these unreported runaways. All students were asked whether they had run away during the Study Year. The individual questionnaires remained anonymous, but we were able to compare the names of all students taking the questionnaire with our list of children reported missing to the police.

This matching showed that only one out of every six self-reported runaways had been reported missing. On this admittedly crude basis, we estimated that the reported runaways in our study were perhaps only one-sixth of the total number of runaways, and that as many as 3,800 adolescents in Prince George's County ran away from home during the Study Year. Whatever the magnitude of error in this estimate, running away must be viewed as a more extensive problem than the number of missing person reports would indicate.

We gained a somewhat different perspective on running away by asking those who had not run away if they had ever seriously considered doing so. One out of every three said yes. Just how many of them would have run away had time and circumstances been right is a matter for conjecture. The important thing is that at one time or another these children wanted to run away. That there is such a large number of children who have seriously considered running away suggests that we guard against making too much of clear-cut differences between those who run away and those who do not.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Research on children who run away from home has a history of some forty years or more. This past research does not present a single sharp image of the runaway child but rather a blurred and shifting configuration. Why children run away from home and the meaning of running away to the child, to his family, and to society seem not to be constants but ever-changing functions of time and place.

Since our study was carried out during a period of unprecedented national affluence, it is not surprising that our runaway children bear only slight resemblance to the children set to wandering during periods of social and economic upheaval. Nor do most children in our study look much like the clinic-captured runaways of, say, the Worcester Center, although both groups were drawn from comparable suburban metropolitan areas.

It was only when we looked at the relatively small minority who ran away repeatedly that we were able to identify runaways who more nearly conformed both to the picture so consistently drawn by clinic investigations and to the popular stereotype of the runaway. Here, in the frequent repeater, we did run across evidence of personal and family disorganization, serious difficulties in school, and consistent involvement with law enforcement agencies. However, it is not so much his repeated running away which attracts the concern of controlling and helping agencies but the fact that it is coupled with more threatening and destructive behavior. It is as if the frequent repeater appears in the runaway population by accident; perhaps he would more appropriately be located in the clinic population with those in need of special and professional help with many aspects of their lives.

For the most part, however, the majority of runaways we encountered showed little evidence of severe personal or family disorganization. In fact they looked very much like their nonrunaway counterparts.

We found, then, two analytically separable groups of children who knowingly and purposefully removed themselves from the effective control and surveillance of their parents. One was a relatively small group for whom running away was intimately bound up with individual or family pathology. This group appeared almost exclusively among frequent runaways. The second and much larger group consisted mainly of those who ran away only once. Apart from having been reported for running away, this latter group was not clearly distinguishable from adolescents generally.

Attempts to understand and deal with the problem of running away from home must take these two distinct populations into account. Though the overt act may be the same for both groups, what lies behind the act, the social and psychological meaning of the act, is different for the two groups; and each group must be considered separately.

Had we considered only the seriously disturbed minority, we would have arrived at essentially the same conclusion as those previous studies which attacked the problem through clinical and agency populations, that is, that runaways are damaged children badly in need of individual and expert care. Such a conclusion would be entirely inappropriate for children in the other and larger group, however. These, too, are troubled children, but they are troubled in much the same way as other adolescents are troubled. Unlike the path-

ologically-driven frequent repeater, the others need no custodial care and have no special need for individualized professional services.

In part, their difficulties lie outside themselves, in the different social systems in which they move, in their relations with the parent generation, with the school system, and with their peers. For them, running away may be a calculated maneuver in their dealings with parents, ultimately designed to change the relationship rather than deny it. It may be a way to break free from a long standing conflict with an unyielding and profitless educational system. Or it may be simply a desire to step back, take stock, and rest before engaging again one's parents, teachers, or friends. Running away may be any of a number of things ranging from a cry of despair to a victory yell. Most frequently, perhaps, it is something in the middle: a plain, forthright expression of dissatisfaction at home or school. The problems facing most runaway adolescents are the same as those facing many young people; in this sense, running away from home can be seen as one way of dealing with these problems. Other adolescents deal with these problems differently but not necessarily in ways that are better either for themselves or for the community.

From the very beginning of this study, our collaboration with the Juvenile Court, the County Commissioners, the police, the schools, and other county agencies oriented us toward community action. Since we believe that the vast majority of runaways are adolescents responding in a particular way to problems common to adolescents generally, the remainder of this section will be devoted to recommendations centered on those problem areas which confront all adolescents and which we believe to be susceptible to community action.

School, for example, is a problem for a major part of the general adolescent population. Our own data show clearly the connection between school as a problem area and running away. Runaways tended to perform poorly at school. Not only was this poor performance frequently a direct source of trouble for the child, but it also served indirectly as an important source of conflict between him and his parents. Parental dissatisfaction with the child's school performance often led to nagging and disciplinary measures which, over time, became conflicts in their own right. Although school problems appeared more marked among the runaways, the school questionnaire and our contacts with other non-runaway adolescents suggested a widespread dissatisfaction with school.

There were indications, never tested, in our data that children, whether runaway or not, generally appeared to meet increasing difficulty as they moved through the secondary school system. The diminishing holding power of schools throughout the entire country as seen in the high rates of absenteeism, truancy and drop outs, may well be symptomatic of this progressive difficulty encountered by students. Not so easily observed are the psychological dropouts, those who are present in body only but whose thoughts are regularly elsewhere. Truancy and dropping out psychologically, which appear on the surface to be a child's rejection of school, might, in many instances, be better seen as the school's rejection of the child, especially the one who does not accept academic values.

The major problem appears to lie with those students—and they are in the majority—who will *not* go on to college. A way must be found to increase the school system's ability to tolerate students who are not academically oriented. The prevailing sink-or-swim philosophy is a wasteful one. There is a need to make the daily six hours of school more meaningful to more students. For many students the school experience might be made more meaningful by broader and improved vocational programs. Programs which allow for a split schedule of employment and studies are promising on several counts. First of all, they offer students a first-hand acquaintance with skills and attitudes necessary for employment. Furthermore, work-study programs involve representatives of industry, business, professions, and labor directly in the development of vocational training. This, in turn, can serve to keep the school curriculum planners abreast of the actual job market. It may be that much of the responsibility for vocational training can be assumed by industry and business where equipment and methods of training are more likely to be up to date than in the schools. The investment of public funds in expensive and quickly obsolete equipment often has limited the utility of vocational programs in the past. In a world which has seen in a ten-year period the creation and obsolescence of actual job skills, e.g., the elimination of the clerical phase in preparing data for computers, such a shift of responsibility would help avoid the costly mistake of training students for non-existent jobs.

Vocational programs of this scope might go a long way toward helping these students make sense of school in terms of their present lives as well as their future goals.

The present lives of adolescents require that schools provide other kinds of education as well. Our interviews with adolescents and our post questionnaire discussions led us to recognize once again the imperative need of adolescents to make a place for themselves among those of their own age. Neither parents nor schools seem to be able to answer basic questions that adolescents sometimes hesitate or fear to ask adults. We therefore, suggest the establishment of *peer relations education* programs on a voluntary basis to discuss dating, peer group associations and pressures, sex facts and practices, and marriage and the responsibilities of parenthood. Though peer relations education would be the responsibility of the school, this program could succeed only if the discussions were held during school hours and were led by group discussion leaders and professionals not in a formal evaluative relationship to the students.

Another recommendation has to do directly with runaways and their families. The disruption of family life occasioned by running away may leave both parents and child in need of "first aid." Police officers can provide sound advice and offer comfort to parents whose children have run off, but they do not have the time nor are they equipped to provide family counseling. Our interviews with parents pointed up the need for such counseling. Families frequently asked for help and even those who did not explicitly do so welcomed the opportunity to talk about their recent troubles. Since most people are more willing to seek help when they are hurting, a lot can be accomplished during the runaway crisis. Once the child has returned, however, the crisis is seen as being over, and the families comfort themselves with the belief that everything is all right. In many cases, however, it is not.

The runaway crisis offers an opportunity to give assistance to families when they most want it. To wait at all may be to wait too long. We recommend that communities set up an around-the-clock, on-the-spot *emergency aid service*. This emergency service of aid and referral would be a unit of professionally-trained counselors supervised by a member of the mental health professions. It could operate as a special group of consultants attached to the juvenile bureau of the police department.

There is evidence from interviews with parents and intensive interviews with children that adolescents encounter constant criticism from impatient adults. Parents consistently complain about misbehavior and school performance and teachers register their disapproval through the medium of school grades. Adolescents sometimes respond to this disapproval by fighting it, ignoring it, or running away from it, any one of which may alienate them further from the adult world.

As long as an adolescent is able to obtain satisfaction in peer relationships, he may be able to compensate for loss of self-esteem in his relationships with teachers and parents. Perhaps the adolescent who runs away only once does so because of a momentary breakdown of satisfactions in all spheres at once. In the school questionnaire, many of those who seriously considered running away but did not report that their change of mind occurred after reflecting on what they might lose in being away from their friends. It is likely that the repeater's peer group ties are not so strong and he is therefore less restrained by such considerations. With virtually nothing to lose, of all adolescents he is most prone to act on the fantasy that life can be better outside his home territory.

Though public policy cannot easily and directly improve the quality of family life, it can greatly influence the way other institutions meet the needs of adolescents. In most communities, for example, there is no single agency that concerns itself with all areas in the lives of adolescents. There is a fragmentation of concern among existing agencies—secondary schools, juvenile court, police department, recreation board and a whole host of voluntary organizations. Most communities could benefit from the establishment of a centralized *youth board* to develop an over-all picture of the needs of youth, to plan programs beyond those already under way, and to coordinate and balance efforts in the community. The youth board would not only survey and study but would be empowered to take positive action through a permanent staff working with a budget of its own. The primary function of the youth board would be to assess and respond to the needs of youth—to have its staff constantly in contact with youth and to use young people themselves as advisors and program staff.

One such need is in the area of recreation which we define as going beyond team sports. In the helter-skelter suburbias with this barebones public transportation system, recreational facilities are typically lacking and what few exist are inaccessible to large numbers of adolescents. Recreational facilities need to be distributed throughout the community for each access. The youth board would develop and operate a network of youth centers staffed by full-time professionals, with each youth center offering a wide range of activities, from performing arts to automotive repair. Since school property has always been used as a site for recreational activities, schools offer a ready-made base on which to build such a program. School plants could be kept open afternoons, evenings, weekends, and all summer, too.²⁸

The range of these recommendations—only one of which deals directly with running away—reflects the shift in our concerns as the study progressed. Our initial concern with runaway adolescents steadily pressed us toward a concern with adolescents generally. More and more, running away came to appear as a reaction to the ambiguities and problems associated with the social role of the adolescent in the modern world. Runaways are frequently among those adolescents who are too shrewd, too questioning to accept comfortably the mere promise of adulthood in the indefinite future while pacified with privilege in the present.

Increasingly school has become the only agent of meaningful initiation into full and valued participation in the community. The academic, career-oriented young person finds it relatively easy to accept his dependency status because he knows it leads directly to such participation. At the peak of his physical and sexual energy, he tends to expend this energy in ways that are supportive of his goals. He tends to see his teachers and other adults as trainers whose task it is to assist him in reaching these goals. He submits more easily to their discipline and is eager for their approval.

But for many others, school is not a means to an end. For the adolescent unprepared or unwilling to pursue the career curriculum prescribed by the school system, school is a sort of deep freeze designed to preserve him in childhood or child status. Nor does society offer him any real alternatives. Child labor laws, compulsory school attendance, and the growing indiscriminate demand for formal education credentials conspire to shut off the possibility of direct entrance into the full participation of earning a living and raising a family. Socially approved and self-promoting outlets for his energy are typically unavailable to him. He must contain this energy or get rid of it in ways that are socially unacceptable; he must spend it in the meaningless exercises of academic life or dissipate it in self-defeating irritation, impatience, and hostility with the system. For him, teachers and parents are not trainers preparing and leading him to his goals, but keepers who stand between him and a valued place in society.

Clearly, current methods of preparing adolescents for adult life are simply not suitable for all young people. In a recent year, there were several thousand who ran away in a fairly typical suburban county and there were many times more who considered doing so. In a sense these runaways have taken the initiative; their usually inept attempts to escape from the "nowhere" of adolescence into the "somewhere" of adult status are a comment on our lack of inventiveness when it comes to youth. Whether we respond with our usual reflex of worry and criticism or whether we act to provide for the real needs of the adolescent generation, is a measure of our society.

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²⁸ To do this, additional paid help would have to be provided and in suburban areas the school bus system would need to be revised and perhaps expanded to provide adolescents with easy access to activities.

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THE RUNAWAY: PERSON, PROBLEM OR SITUATION?

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Running away from home is something boys and girls have been doing for years. Indeed, there is a certain romantic aura about it as exemplified by folk heroes like Horatio Alger and such literary figures as Tom Sawyer and Holden Caulfield. However, to probation workers, judges, counselors, the police, and others who work with young people, the runaway adolescent is a harsh reality. This article represents an effort to understand why young people run away. Its thesis is that the runaway should be viewed as a person having problems in coping with his particular social situation. Aspects of the situation in which runaways find themselves will receive attention.

The study reported here was undertaken in light of the fact that in one county alone the rate of juvenile runaways had almost tripled within a five-year span.¹ The gravity of this statistic was further reinforced by the experiences of the authors with a number of concerned local youth-serving agencies such as the courts, the police, juvenile detention centers, "hot-line" and crisis centers, and the public schools. Thus plans were made to launch a study comparing two groups of adolescents, those who had run away one time or more and those who had never run away. The intent was to compare the way in which these two samples of adolescents perceived their particular personal and situational cir-

¹ The study was conducted in Montgomery County, Maryland. At the time of the study, Mr. Dean was a probation worker in Montgomery County and Dr. Goldmeier, a faculty member at the University of Maryland School of Social Work and Community Planning, was a consultant at Clifton T. Perkins State Hospital which serves mentally ill offenders throughout Maryland.

cumstances. It was hoped that such information would help probation workers, teachers, counselors, and others who work with runaways in focusing on fruitful areas of intervention.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

A review of previous research on runaways suggested basically two contrasting theoretical orientations. One approach apparently taken by a number of researchers, especially those writing in the 1930's and 1940's, pursued the thesis that a runaway's behavior was attributable to personal conflicts which he was not able to solve in some other way. For example, Armstrong viewed the runaway act as a psychoneurotic response and she also alluded to the prominence of such factors as mental deficiency and poor impulse control.² Robey and Rosenheim, focusing on girl and boy runaway populations respectively, found in their studies that the act of running away was motivated by pressures stemming from resurgent oedipal conflicts which the adolescent could only solve by the act of physical separation from the parent.³ Riemer concluded that, in developmental terms, the conflict was even more basic. The runaways studied by Riemer were considered to have a "severe narcissistic disorder" or, at least, an "extremely negative character."⁴ Additional personal or characterological features such as a lack of inner control,⁵ depression,⁶ fear of rejection by a parental figure,⁷ the need to deny dependence,⁸ and the need to express hostile and revengeful feelings⁹ have also been identified.

In contrast to the aforementioned thrust which offered explanations in terms of individual psychopathology, other researchers may best be described as espousing a situational view of the runaway act. The explanations from this school of thought ranged from the proposition that running away represented nothing more than a youthful search for adventure¹⁰ to the view that it was a positive step in problem-solving.¹¹ To support the latter point, for example, Paull noted that an adolescent's developing sense of selfhood and independence may be constructively expressed in the course of the runaway escapade.¹² Also, more recently writers have taken the view that running away is an interlude in a young person's life prior to "going straight,"¹³ that it is a "post-modern" style,¹⁴ and that it can be an expected response in an unresponsive social system.¹⁵

METHODOLOGY

In the questions asked of the runaways and non-runaways who participated in this study, it was sought to avoid an overly narrow approach which appears to have been a feature of some of the previous research. Attention was devoted to a combination of personal and situational factors and these provided a basis for the hypotheses developed. This study took a somewhat broader stance¹⁶ more

² Clairette Armstrong, "A Psychoneurotic Reaction of Delinquent Boys and Girls," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, vol. 32, October 1937, pp. 329-342.

³ A. Robey, R. J. Rosenwald, J. E. Snell, and R. E. Lee, "The Runaway Girl: A Reaction to Family Stress," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 34, March 1964, pp. 762-767; Frederick C. Rosenheim, "Techniques of Therapy," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 10, July 1940, pp. 651-659.

⁴ Morris D. Riemer, "Runaway Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 10, July 1940, pp. 522-526.

⁵ Theodore Leventhal, "Inner Control Deficiencies in Runaway Children" *Archives of General Psychiatry*, vol. 11, 1941, pp. 775-782.

⁶ Erwen Stengel, "Studies on the Psychopathology of Compulsive Wandering," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, vol. 18, 1939, pp. 250-254; and L. L. Burt, *The Young Delinquent*. London: University of London Press, 1964.

⁷ Randall M. Foster, "Intrapsychic and Environmental Factors in Running Away From Home," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 32, April 1962, pp. 486-491.

⁸ Ceil R. Chamberlin, "Running Away During Psychotherapy," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, vol. 14, 1960, pp. 288-294.

⁹ Hugo Staub, "A Runaway From Home," *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, vol. 12, 1943, pp. 1-22.

¹⁰ G. E. Outland, "Determinants Involved in Boy Transiency," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 11, 1938, pp. 360-372.

¹¹ Ben H. Balsler, "A Behavior Problem—Runaways," *The Psychiatric Quarterly*, Vol. 13, July 1939, pp. 539-557.

¹² Joseph E. Paull, "The Runaway Foster Child," *Child Welfare*, vol. 35, July 1956, pp. 21-26.

¹³ J. Kaulman, J. R. Allen, M.D., and L. J. West, M.D., "Runaways, Hippies, and Marihuana," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 126, November 1969, pp. 163-166.

¹⁴ K. Keniston, *The Uncommitted*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965.

¹⁵ Steven G. Lubeck and Lamar T. Empey, "Mediatory vs. Total Institution: The Case of the Runaway," *Social Problems*, vol. 16, Summer, 1969, pp. 242-260.

¹⁶ See for example, Robert Shellow, Juliana Schamp, Elliot Liebow, and Elizabeth Unger, "Suburban Runaways of the 1960's" *Monograph of the Society For Research In Child Development*, vol. 32, No. 8, 1967, pp. 1-51.

compatible with the person-problem situation focus which the authors have observed is often intuitively or consciously used by probation workers and others who work directly with the runaway. A questionnaire was developed and information was sought with respect to

- (1) how runaways and non-runaways saw their problem solving capacities,
- (2) how both these groups saw themselves as getting along in school—academically and with their teachers and peers,
- (3) how they felt about their families and how they thought their families felt about them, and
- (4) whether they perceived a selected number of persons in their environment as supportive.

There were also questions designed to secure certain identifying information.

A boy or girl who had been living at home but had left home without parental permission was considered to be a runaway. A number of youth-serving agencies, their functions ranging from law enforcement and detention to "hot-line" crisis intervention, were contacted in the summer of 1971, and through these agencies a sample of 57 adolescents, 20 boys and 37 girls who had run away that summer, was obtained. All the boys and girls had come to the attention of these agencies because of the runaway episode. All the runaways lived in Montgomery County but only those who were between the ages of 12 and 18 were included in the study. A second sample of boys and girls who had never run away was obtained by visiting a number of public schools known to have populations of both runaways and non-runaways. In this phase of the study 68 non-runaways, 25 boys and 43 girls, participated. By making the selection of the aforementioned samples in the manner described the researchers hoped to reach comparable populations of both runaways and non-runaways. In both the runaway and non-runaway samples at least 92 per cent of those asked freely participated in the study. The questionnaires were self-administered and confidential. Teachers, counselors, and youth workers encouraged participation but results were mailed directly to the researchers in envelopes sealed by the respondents.

THE RUNAWAYS AND NON-RUNAWAYS

Demographically, runaways and non-runaways were comparable in most respects, at least for the fourteen identifying questions considered important by the researchers. For eleven of these questions no significant difference between runaways and non-runaways was found.¹⁷

For example, runaways and non-runaways did not differ in such family situation variables as number of children per family, sibling composition and constellation, parents' occupations and income levels, and employment or unemployment of either parent. Of the three families supported at least in part by public assistance or unemployment compensation two were in the runaway sample. The composition of the two samples in terms of sex also was not significantly different even though girls were slightly over-represented.

There were, however, some differences between runaways and non-runaways for three of the identifying variables. Runaways tended to be older than non-runaways; they tended to be found in vocational and non-academic programs of their respective schools; and, significantly more often, they came from homes where one of their natural parents was absent. With due regard to the possible implications of these factors the following comparisons may now be made of how runaways and non-runaways saw themselves as coping with their problems and interacting with their environment.

FINDINGS

The findings with respect to runaways and non-runaways may best be summarized by listing, with some amplification, those responses in which significant differences occurred.

In terms of how runaways and non-runaways felt about running away and the problems they were having, runaways as contrasted with non-runaways had:

- (1) a greater tendency to feel like running away when upset* and, perhaps as a logical consequence,
- (2) they tended to feel they got into trouble more often.*

¹⁷ A significance level of .05 was used throughout this study as a measure of "difference" or as an indicator of "tendency." The statistical test used was chi-square.

*Indicates differences beyond a .01 level. All other differences reported are for probability values between .01 and .05.

Of the runaways 72 per cent, as contrasted with 46 per cent of the non-runaways, reported that when upset they felt like running away at least "some of the time." The proportion of runaways who felt they got into trouble "all" or "most" of the time (44 per cent) was more than three times as high as that of non-runaways.

As for attitudes about school, teachers, school counselors, and academic achievement generally, runaways, when contrasted with non-runaways, reported:

- (1) poorer grades in school*,
- (2) less interest in a college education*,
- (3) a greater degree of difficulty in getting along with teachers whom they tended to see as disinterested*,
- (4) a lower degree of helpfulness on the part of school counselors* and
- (5) less liking for school*.

Almost 33 per cent of the runaways reported that they had received "poor" or "very poor" grades as compared to no more than 5 per cent of the non-runaways who checked these categories. Perhaps, quite realistically, the interest in a college education was therefore similarly disproportionate. In terms of rapport with teachers and counselors, most striking was the high proportion of runaways, 33 per cent, who said that they could get along with no more than just a "few" teachers. Only 8 per cent of the non-runaways felt this way about their teachers. Not surprisingly, 54 per cent of the runaways as contrasted with only 21 per cent of the non-runaways said that they did not like school.

Regarding the way current home situations and relationships with parents were perceived, runaways, when contrasted with non-runaways, had a greater tendency to feel:

- (1) less at ease in their home,
- (2) less "warm" towards their mothers as well as fathers*,
- (3) that neither mother nor father were "warm" in relation to them*, although there was no implication that a sibling was preferred,
- (4) that they were punished excessively and undeservedly and
- (5) that the relationship between their parents was an unhappy one*.

The climate of warmth and acceptance in the home is perhaps best captured by the feeling of 75 per cent of the runaways that they seldom or never felt at ease in their home. This compares with only 6 per cent of the non-runaways who said that they had such a high degree of discomfort about their home situations. This finding may also be seen in context with the one about the absent natural parent in the runaway home.

The last major category about which questions were asked pertained to environmental supports which runaways and non-runaways perceived as more or less available to them. In this connection, the difficulties, either imagined or real, which runaways saw themselves as having in approaching their teachers, school counselors, and parents, have already been mentioned. In view of this, it might be expected that the runaway would be more drawn to his peers. This was indeed what runaways reported. There was, however, the additional finding that non-runaways tended to be freer than runaways in approaching a wider variety of significant persons in the environment, especially adults. In terms of responses to questions asked, runaways, as contrasted with non-runaways, tended to evidence a greater tendency to:

- (1) turn to their peers when in trouble*, and
- (2) restrict their approach to a boy or girl friend rather than also turn to teachers, parents, or ministers.

The remaining hypotheses which were not supported, in that no significant differences between runaways and non-runaways were found, follow. Most runaways and non-runaways felt that:

- (1) they could handle their problems most or all of the time,
- (2) they got along with their siblings most or all of the time,
- (3) they had "many" or a "great many" friends, and
- (4) that they could find someone to listen to them.

DISCUSSION

Reference was made earlier to the tendency of much of the previous research to take the position that runaways were either suffering from various kinds of psychopathological conditions or that they were simply responding to situational circumstances. This research indicates, however, that there are a complex

of factors involved and that an overly narrow focus on either the person or his situation is insufficient as a basis for understanding and helping runaways. The adolescent runaways who participated in this study did not reveal evidence of severe psychopathology. Indeed, both runaways and non-runaways seemed to have reasonably high self concepts. An indication of this is the finding of what appears to be a high measure of self-confidence on the part of both runaways and non-runaways in that both groups were quite positive about their problem-solving capacities and their relatedness to friends. Thus, in this sense, it may be possible to view the runaway act as a situational response and a positive aspect of coping in which support is sought from peers rather than from the adult-dominated environment of the family or school. Yet, this distancing from adults may also be seen as pointing to the existence of personal problems, if not severe psychopathology. The absence of role models or the lack of access to them, either very real in the numerous homes where there was an absent parent, or, at least, perceived, may be seen as affecting the runaway's developing sense of identity. And also, his difficulties in meeting age-appropriate expectations in school may suggest a low degree of motivation going beyond more basic stresses usually encountered in the course of learning.

At home the runaway as contrasted with the non-runaway, seemed to sense a lack of warmth, inappropriate or overly harsh discipline, and an unhappy relationship between his parents or parent and step-parent. Moreover, the distance and uncommunicativeness between the runaway and his parents seemed to reflect prevailing attitudes in the runaway's home. In many instances, the absence of one of the parents could be seen as another factor having bearing on the friction which existed. The perspective which these findings shed on the runaway's inclination to solve his problem outside the home is therefore important and it would be well to consider this aspect of the runaway's home life in any helping effort.

In school the picture of the runaway as a frustrated, defeated, and unhappy person emerges. That runaways, by design or default, tended to be placed in vocational programs seemed to make little difference. Tangible rewards such as grades and less tangible relational ties with teachers or counselors, were seen as essentially lacking as a source of satisfaction. Runaways, to a greater degree than non-runaways, tended to feel that their teachers and counselors had little interest in them and were of little help with problems. No doubt some of the runaways' reaction can be attributed to their evident reluctance to make the first move in approaching any adults, not only teachers and school counselors, but also their ministers and even their parents. In their responses, runaways thus revealed a pattern of distrust of adults further aggravated by frustration in obtaining help when there was trouble. Whether the help needed or obtained was accessible, timely, and appropriate is a question to which all youth-serving agencies might well address themselves.

The apparent avoidance of adults was further complemented by one of the more striking findings in this study about the nature of the runaway's relatedness to his peer culture. While both runaways and non-runaways saw themselves as having many friends, an expectable finding in reasonably "normal" adolescent populations, the runaway's reliance on peers for help was particularly marked. A relevant point here is that despite the fact that the runaways in this study tended to be older than the non-runaways, they denied themselves or were denied access to adults who could presumably be helpful because of either professional expertise or, simply, the knowledge acquired by life experience. Even were one to take the extreme position that both professional knowledge and personal life experience are irrelevant in a fast-moving society, it would be difficult to envision a situation in which certain environmental supports are obtainable without some adult intervention. The question of how the runaway can obtain medical care, employment, legal services, or housing, to mention only a few problems, must therefore remain unanswered unless changes in current methods of service delivery are contemplated.

Perhaps one way of extending support to the adolescent runaway would be to reach out to him through his peer group. Pertinent here is also the role played by siblings whose influence, it was found, may be more important than is generally realized. The runaways in this study indicated that they do seek out people who will listen to them but that those who listen are mostly peers. Professional intervention may, therefore, be well applied when support is given to self-help sources

such as walk-in, "hot-line," or crisis centers. Such support should also be extended to halfway houses, which already seem to be appearing in increasing numbers. In essence, styles of help focused on a combination of personal and situational factors peculiar to the runaway need to be further developed and tested.

CONCLUSION

This study has concerned itself with aspects of the question of why adolescent boys and girls run away. Although the research is necessarily limited to those runaways who came to the attention of the cooperating agencies in the relatively affluent suburban county in which both authors were professionally active, there were no indications that the adolescents who participated in this study were unrepresentative of adolescents living in other such counties. In this connection, the relatively high proportion of girl runaways should also be noted.

The approach taken in this study was that to understand and help the runaway, a broad perspective comprising understanding of the person, his problems, and his situation is necessary. This point of view seemed to be supported by the way the adolescents in this study saw the circumstances associated with their running away. Despite evidence suggesting that the runaway saw the runaway act as compounding his problems, he appears to be reluctant to approach adult authority figures, whether parent or professional, for help. From this finding and others certain inferences were drawn, including the suggestion that in both research and practice additional attention should center on the runaway's siblings and peers. Also, the need to intensify reaching-out efforts and to experiment with new styles of service delivery was underscored.

RUNAWAYS¹

(By Lillian Ambrosino)

"Everyone, everywhere wants to run away from something.

"For some, the thought of running away is nothing more than an escapist fantasy; for others it can be dispelled with a change of pace or routine. But for some, there is no alternative but to take physical leave of an unbearable situation. They run away, usually in secret and in warm weather, to cut the ties that hurt. They run to hide, to escape, to forget, to follow a dream . . . to begin. Taking such leave can be a cry of pain or a sign of health seeking surface."

¹ Beacon Press, Boston, Text copyright 1971 by Lillian Ambrosino.

