

2009 Youth Delinquency Prevention Report Card



NORTH CAROLINA'S SYSTEM OF SUPPORTIVE PROGRAMS and services for at-risk adolescents is fragmented, and young people most in need of services are falling through the cracks. By age 16, few protective services are still available. Some youth whose needs have gone unmet end up in the adult criminal justice system, which provides little or no assessment of needed services, family involvement, treatment or structured education.

Key Findings of the Youth Delinquency Prevention Report Card:

- Most youth are positively engaged in their communities and, despite the inevitable questionable choices of adolescence, make the transition to adulthood successfully.
- Most adolescents in the juvenile justice system enter with special needs that, it appears, are not being successfully addressed by the state's human services and education systems. The juvenile justice system may be the first place at-risk children's needs are identified and treated.
- The overall juvenile crime rate has been steadily declining for years, and the vast majority of crimes committed by youth in both the juvenile and adult systems are nonviolent.
- Youth of color are disproportionately represented in the juvenile justice system. More data analysis is needed to understand why.
- More youth in North Carolina are processed in the adult criminal justice system than in the juvenile system.

The first-ever Youth Delinquency Prevention Report Card examines data on adolescents — those with healthy development, those at-risk, and those who are already involved in the criminal justice system. Statewide data are presented for the most recent year available (usually 2008) with a comparative year (usually 2005) where possible.¹ The report card reveals that data collection on at-risk and criminal justice system-involved adolescents in North Carolina is incomplete.

The goals of the Youth Delinquency Prevention Report Card are to encourage better data collection on all at-risk children across the state and across systems, and to monitor how systems are serving children.

ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

The transition from childhood to adulthood is exciting — full of newfound independence and responsibility. School graduations, Bar and Bat Mitzvahs, communions, Quinceañeras, and sweet sixteen parties are all emblematic of our society's pride and delight in the thrilling growth and hopefulness that is adolescence. These first, crucial steps toward adulthood are when youth begin testing their abilities and the skills they have acquired in childhood.

The transition to adulthood is also challenging. Physiological changes mean that adolescents seek thrills, and they more willingly take risks than at any other period of their lives.² At the same time, adolescent brains are still developing and do not yet have the architecture in place that will eventually allow them to temper risk-taking behavior, evaluate costs and benefits and fully grasp the consequences of their actions.³ Since adolescents' brains and bodies are still growing and developing, they need loving but firm guidance from responsible adults.

As children become more independent, the positive influences of community members outside the home, such as teachers, coaches and clergy, become more important. The support and guidance adolescents receive from responsible adults during this vulnerable period of rapid change helps them become engaged, productive adult members of society.

Despite the pitfalls of adolescence, most youth in North Carolina make their ways into adulthood successfully. Most of them participate in extracurricular activities, a majority of them graduate high school in four years, and a full quarter of older teens volunteer their time in some way. Youth who are involved in the community, succeed in school and participate in activities are more likely to become healthy, productive adult members of society.⁴

Positive Youth Development Traits

	2003	2007
Percent who volunteer (16- to 18-year-olds)	23%	31% (2006)
Percent who participate in extracurricular activities at school	61.6%	62.4%
Percent who complete high school in four years	n/a	69.5%

Sources: Volunteer Rates: Tabulation from the Current Population Survey, Annual Volunteer Supplement analyzed by Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement. 2007. "Youth Volunteering in the States: 2002 to 2006." Participate in extracurricular activities: N.C. Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS), 2003 Q97 and 2007 QN108. "Do you participate in any extracurricular activities at school (such as sports, band, drama, clubs, SOX, etc.)?" Four-year high school completion rate: N.C. Department of Public Instruction, 2006-2007.

However, ALL adolescents make mistakes during this transformational time of life — some more serious and with more lasting consequences than others. It is largely whether or not a child is supported by a web of responsible adults, healthy peers, positive programs and supports that determines the severity of those mistakes and their longer-term implications.

SUPPORTS AND SERVICES FOR YOUTH

Youth require the guidance and mentoring of responsible adults to make good choices and to successfully remedy bad ones. Fostering positive youth development, especially for adolescents with extra needs, requires a system that can identify potential problems early and address them effectively. Youth who have mental health or substance abuse issues and/or who are struggling with low performance or acting out in school are crying out for extra support. Many of these youth have been abused or neglected, and nearly all have lacked supportive, loving adult mentors outside the home to help guide them.⁵ Unfortunately, some youth who are most in need of supportive services are falling through the cracks of state and local systems. The number of services available in the mental health system for children is insufficient to meet the current need.⁶ Youth out of school have few safe, adult-supervised places to go, and suspension and drop-out rates remain high.

In addition, the majority of children entering the juvenile justice and delinquency prevention system arrive with prior issues that have been largely unaddressed.⁷ The following data compare children in the general North Carolina population with data on youth collected between their intake and disposition. While not representative of all youth in the system, these needs assessments by juvenile court counselors provide rich data with which we can begin to understand youths' needs and whether the state's services meet them. The data reveal that youth being processed in the juvenile justice system have more child welfare, mental health, substance abuse and education issues than youth in the general population.

Child Welfare

General Population	2003	2007
Percent of children in Division of Social Services custody	<1%	<1%
Youth Assessed by Juvenile Court Counselors	2005	2008
Percent with parents unwilling/unable to supervise	39%	34%
Percent with prior history of running away	22%	23%

Sources: Percent of children in DSS Custody: Authors' calculations based on number of children in custody from Duncan, D.F., Kum, H.C., Flair, K.A., Stewart, C.J., and Weigensberg, E.C. (2009). NC Child Welfare Program. Retrieved May 28, 2009, from University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Jordan Institute for Families website. URL: <http://ssw.unc.edu/cw/> and total population of children from American Community Survey, PUMS Data, 2007; Percent with parents unwilling/unable to supervise and Percent with prior history of running away: N.C. DJJDP 2005 Annual Report and 2008 Annual Report. Reflects needs assessment on youth between intake and disposition in the juvenile justice system.

Children who are abused or neglected are more likely to act out as adolescents and are less likely to have a protective network of engaged adults.⁸ A 2001 study found that, "being abused or neglected as a child increased the likelihood of arrest as a juvenile by 59 percent."⁹ Less than 1 percent of children in the general population are in the custody of the Division of Social Services, while a third of adolescents entering the juvenile justice system have parents who are either unwilling or unable to supervise them. Additionally, nearly one in four has a prior history of running away from home, which can indicate abuse or other difficulties at home.¹⁰

Children who have been abused and neglected are also more likely to develop mental health needs or substance abuse issues that often, when not addressed effectively, draw them into the juvenile justice system.¹¹ Though the percentage of youth entering the juvenile justice system with substance abuse and/or mental health needs seems to have improved slightly in recent years (following the trend in the general adolescent population), the fact remains that a third of these youth have substance abuse issues and nearly two-thirds have mental health needs, as compared with much smaller percentages in the general adolescent population. Data are not even collected statewide on how many unduplicated children are served by the mental health and substance abuse treatment systems, or how many children are waiting for services.

Mental Health

General Adolescent Population	2003	2007
Percent of high school students receiving mental health services	Data not available	
Percent of high school students reporting "feeling blue"	30.6%	26.9%
2006		
Doctor or health professional has told parent that child suffers from depression or anxiety (14- to 17-year-olds)	10.2%	
Youth Assessed by Juvenile Court Counselors	2005	2008
Percent with mental health needs	67.8%	62.3%

Sources: *Feeling blue*: N.C. YRBS 2003 Q23 and 2007 QN23, "During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row that you stopped doing some usual activities?." *Doctor or health professional has told parent that child suffers from depression or anxiety*: CHAMP Survey, 2006. *Percent with mental health needs*: Special data request to N.C. DJJDP, N.C. JOIN, March 24, 2009. Reflects needs assessment on youth between intake and disposition in the juvenile justice system.

Substance Use

General Adolescent Population	2003	2007
Percent of high school students receiving substance abuse services	Data not available	
Percent of high school students reporting using cocaine in their lifetime	8.3%	7.0%
Percent of high school students reporting using methamphetamines in their lifetime	6.6%	4.7%
Percent of high school students reporting using marijuana in the past 30 days	24.3%	19.1%
Youth Assessed by Juvenile Court Counselors	2005	2008
Percent with substance abuse needs	37.5%	34.0%

Sources: *Reporting using cocaine, methamphetamines and marijuana*: N.C. YRBS 2003 and 2007, "Have you ever used cocaine one or more times during your life?"; "Have you ever used methamphetamines one or more times during your life?"; "During the past 30 days, have you used marijuana one or more times?" *Percent with substance abuse needs*: Special data request to N.C. DJJDP, N.C. JOIN, March 24, 2009. Reflects needs assessment on youth between intake and disposition in the juvenile justice system.

Children who do not succeed in school or who have discipline problems in the classroom often end up in the juvenile justice system.¹² Nationally, there has been an increase in referrals to the juvenile justice system from schools, and evidence points to an increase in the use of law enforcement to address school discipline issues.¹³ In North Carolina, School Resource Officers (SROs), police officers permanently assigned to provide coverage to a school or set of schools, have been employed by 113 of the 115 school districts.¹⁴ The question remains unanswered whether North Carolina's increase in school crime reports is related to the presence of law enforcement at schools.

The short-term suspension and drop-out rates of the overall population – both used as proxies for having problems in

school – have remained relatively steady over the past few years, with a little more than 200 suspensions per 1,000 students and close to 5 percent of students per year dropping out of school.¹⁵ In contrast with the general population, more than 60 percent of youth entering the juvenile justice system have had serious problems in school.

Education

General Population	2005	2008
Short-term suspension rate (per 1,000 students)	218	215
Drop-out rate (per 100 students)	4.7	5.0
Reported incidents of school crime	10,107	11,276
2008		
Percent of School Resource Officers (SROs) employed by a sheriff or police department	95%	
Youth Assessed by Juvenile Court Counselors	2005	2008
Percent with serious problems in school	59%	61%

Sources: *Short-term suspension rate and Drop-out rate*: Special Data Request to N.C. DPI, March 20, 2009. *Reported incidents of school crime*: Special Data Request to N.C. DPI, March 20, 2009. *Percent of SROs employed by a sheriff or police department*: Census of School Resource Officers, 2008, N.C. DJJDP Center for the Prevention of School Violence. *Percent with serious problems in schools*: N.C. DJJDP 2005 Annual Report and 2008 Annual Report. Reflects needs assessment on youth between intake and disposition in the juvenile justice system.

As children get older, they spend less time at home and more time in the community, but many communities do not have enough organized activities to meet adolescents' needs. The data regarding afterschool programs are not strong, but available information on state and federally-funded programs identify 514 programs in the state. This does not count programs run by privately-funded agencies, or community-based or faith-based organizations.

Approximately 25,000 youth, or 2.6 percent of the 10- to 17-year-old population in the state, are served in programs contracted through Juvenile Crime Prevention Councils (JCPCs), the local services arm of the DJJDP.¹⁶ It should be noted, however, that limited state funding artificially caps the number of youth served through JCPC-funded services that aim to reduce risky adolescent behaviors and prevent delinquency. Many more adolescents could likely benefit from these programs if funding allowed.

After-school Programs

General Population	2007
State- and federally funded after-school programs in N.C.	514
Children served in after-school programs in N.C.	39,580
2005 2008	
Youth admissions to Juvenile Crime Prevention Councils	25,970 24,425

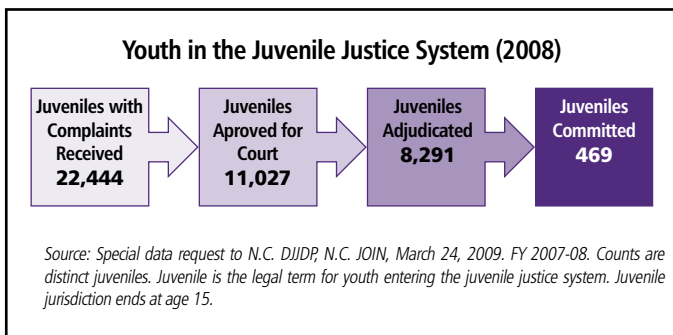
Sources: *After-school Programs*: N.C. Center for Afterschool Programs, Special Data Request, June 3, 2009 of state and federally funded after-school programs. Includes Support our Students, 21st Century Community Learning Centers, Governor's Crime Commission, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and The Collaborative Project Young Scholars Programs (YS). Note: Data year for SOS and GCC programs is 2008, TANF 2008-2009 data, DPI 2006-2007 data, YS Spring 2008 Data. *Youth Admissions to JCPCs*: Special data request to N.C. DJJDP, N.C. JOIN, March 24, 2009.

These data appear to indicate that there are gaps in state systems regarding identification, assessment and treatment of youth with therapeutic needs and that a significant number of North Carolina children may be alone during the high-risk hours after school (3-6 p.m.).¹⁷ Some gaps are likely due to a lack of coordination among state agencies (which results in youth not being tracked as they move from system to system and county to county) and the lack of a well-organized, well-funded process for determining the effectiveness

of services and programs. Until these issues are remedied, children will continue to fall through the cracks and wind up in the system of last resort — the juvenile justice system.

JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION SYSTEM

The North Carolina juvenile justice system is structured to provide developmentally-appropriate services, treatment and punishment.¹⁸ North Carolina has employed an array of tools in its delinquency prevention efforts through its JCPCs, the local service delivery system that works to prevent juvenile delinquency by providing young people with appropriate services and other alternatives. Juvenile complaints are filed against approximately 2 percent of the adolescent population of North Carolina annually.¹⁹ Of those youth with complaints against them, about half are approved for court, 37 percent are eventually adjudicated and a mere 2 percent — fewer than 500 children — are committed to Youth Development Centers (YDCs). Youth with complaints that are not approved for court are either dismissed or diverted into rehabilitative community programs funded by the JCPCs.



Disproportionate Minority Contact

During adolescence, youth of all races become involved in delinquent behavior, but youth of color are overrepresented in the juvenile justice system.²⁰ Youth of color in North Carolina are about as likely as white youth to have a juvenile complaint approved for court, but are more than 1.5 times as likely to be admitted to a detention center and more than four times as likely to be committed to a secure institution. The data show that disproportionate minority contact (DMC) is at its highest at the most serious stages of the juvenile court process — commitment to YDCs and transfers to adult court.

Rates of Involvement in the Juvenile Justice System of Youth of Color vs. White Youth

	Youth of Color: White Youth (2008)	Data Explanation
Complaints Received	2.5:1.0	Youth of color are 2.5 times as likely to receive a complaint as white youth.
Complaints Approved for Court	1.1:1.0	White youth and youth of color enter the court system at approximately the same rate.
Detention Admissions	1.7:1.0	Youth of color are 1.7 times as likely to be held in a detention center as white youth.
Adjudication Findings	0.94:1.0	Youth of color and white youth are adjudicated at approximately the same rate.
Disposition	1.0:1.0	Youth of color and white youth enter disposition at the same rate.
Youth Development Center Commitments	4.1:1.0	Youth of color are more than four times as likely to be committed as white youth.
Adult Court	6.9:1.0	Youth of color are seven times as likely to enter adult court as white youth.

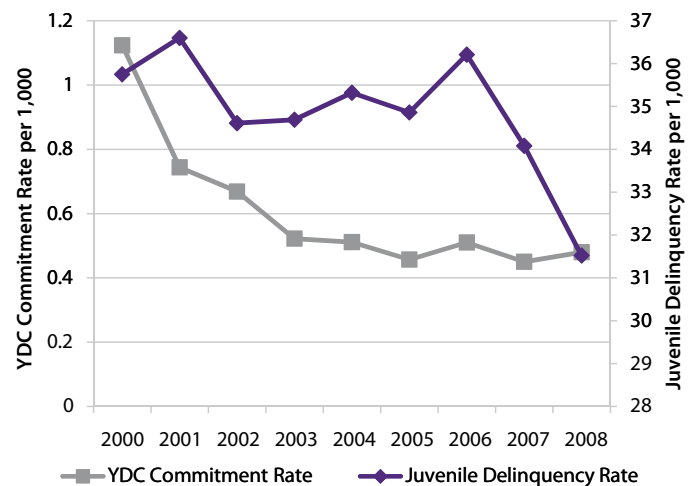
Source: Special data request to N.C. DJJDP, N.C. JOIN, March 24, 2009. FY 2007-08.

This phenomenon of DMC has been recognized in states across the nation.²¹ Many states, including North Carolina, are beginning to collect very detailed data regarding DMC, making it more possible to trace where in the process the biggest increases in DMC occur and why the increases occur. Several initiatives are underway in North Carolina that will likely provide these important insights, including the work of the Governor’s Crime Commission to address DMC in four demonstration counties, and ongoing data collection and analysis through a collaborative effort of NC-JOIN at DJJDP and the Governor’s Crime Commission.²²

Public Safety

Despite sensational media reports playing up particular incidents of youth crime, the data demonstrate that juvenile delinquency is declining. In the past decade, North Carolina’s juvenile justice and delinquency prevention system has reorganized in an attempt to better treat and rehabilitate troubled youth. The number of youth committed to state institutions (YDCs) has been intentionally lowered, in favor of treating youth in the least restrictive settings possible — smaller, more therapeutic programs and services located closer to home. This shift has not resulted in an increase in juvenile crime. In fact, the crime rate has dropped steadily and is currently at an eight-year low.

Juvenile Delinquency Rate vs. YDC Commitment Rate (2000-2008)



National research demonstrates that serving youth in the least restrictive settings possible increases the likelihood that they will be

successfully rehabilitated and not recidivate.²³ The North Carolina data (see graph above) suggest that serving more youth in their communities and fewer in state institutions has not been a public safety risk.

Not only has the juvenile crime rate been on the decline, but since 2000, more than 75 percent of all juvenile offenses committed in a given year have been status offenses — offenses that are only a crime because the youth is under age 18 (i.e., truancy, running away, etc.) — and minor misdemeanors. At 2-3 percent of all juvenile offenses, the rate of violent juvenile crime has remained low over time. The low rate of violent crime holds true for both youth in the juvenile justice system and youth in the adult system, as shown in the chart below.

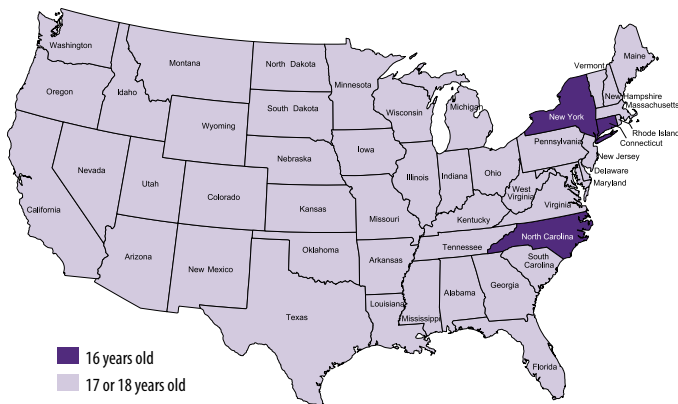
Youth Crime by Offense Class

Crimes Committed by Youths sent to:	Juvenile System		Adult System	
	2004	2008	2004	2008
Misdemeanors (also includes status offenses in juvenile system)	76%	76%	80%	84%
Non-violent felonies and serious misdemeanors	22%	22%	18%	13%
Violent felonies	2%	2%	2%	3%

Sources: *Crimes in Juvenile System: N.C. Special data request to N.C. DJJDP, N.C. JOIN, March 24, 2009. For juvenile offense classes, misdemeanors include status, infraction and Class 1, 2, 3; non-violent felonies and serious misdemeanors include Class F-1, A1; and violent felonies include Class A-E. Crimes in Adult System: FY 2004-08 N.C. Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission, FY2007/2008 Felony and Misdemeanor Simulation Data. For adult offense classes, misdemeanors include Class A1, Class 1, 2, 3; non-violent felonies and serious misdemeanors include Class F-1; and violent felonies include Class A-E.*

Offenses committed by youth ages 16 to 18 currently processed in the adult criminal justice system are not dissimilar from offenses committed by youth in the juvenile justice system. However, North Carolina remains one of only three states in the nation that automatically prosecute 16- and 17-year-olds in the adult system, regardless of the severity of their crimes, with no option to be waived into the juvenile system.

Age at which Offenders Enter Adult Court Jurisdiction (2008)



Source: N.C. Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission Report on Study of Youthful Offenders, March 2007. Note: Connecticut passed legislation to raise the age to 18 in 2007 and is currently working toward implementation.

Drawing a line at the arbitrary age of 16 puts North Carolina out of sync with the rest of the nation and with research on adolescent development.²⁴ It is noteworthy that in North Carolina, more youth are processed in the adult criminal justice system than in the juvenile system, even though older youth are no more likely to commit violent crimes than younger youth.

Youth in the Juvenile Justice and Adult Criminal Justice Systems

	2004	2008
Youth in the juvenile system	25,186	22,444
Youth in the adult system (16- and 17- year olds)	32,926	Data not available

Source: Youth in the juvenile system are those youth with a complaint: 2004 data from N.C. Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission Report on Study of Youthful Offenders, 2008 data from special data request to N.C. DJJDP, N.C. JOIN, March 24, 2009. Youth in the adult system are those youth processed in the adult system: 2004 data from N.C. Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission Report on Study of Youthful Offenders, March 2007. Data are not publicly reported or annually analyzed on the number of youth in contact with the adult criminal justice system.

The DJJDP publishes annual reports presenting data on the youth in its care (most of whom are under 16 years old).²⁵ Detailed breakdowns by race and ethnicity, gender, geography, offense and age are available to help policymakers and service providers understand who is being served in the juvenile justice system. Comprehensive annual data on 16- and 17-year-olds moving through the adult system, however, are much less readily available, and no assessments of their conditions and needs are done unless they are convicted. As a result, the state lacks comprehensive annual data on more than half of the criminal justice system-involved youth in the state.

CONCLUSION

North Carolina has done an admirable job of building a system of supportive programs and services for young at-risk children. As children age, however, their needs evolve, and the state's system of protective services thins. Mental health and substance abuse services for youth are inadequate, subsidized after-school care ends at age 12 and the number of after-school programs for adolescents during off hours is insufficient. Outreach to parents and caregivers declines, and schools are increasingly left to deal with all manner of developmental, emotional and behavioral issues that reach far beyond academic instruction.

Many at-risk children do not receive adequate assessment and treatment services before winding up in the juvenile justice system. What should be the system of last resort is too often where children's needs are first identified and addressed. Once children reach the age of 16, a time when they need considerable support and guidance, North Carolina's justice system treats them as adults — ejecting them from the protective services system so completely that comprehensive data are no longer collected regarding their needs.

Most adolescents in North Carolina are well-adjusted and successful. Those who lack the necessary supports for positive development, however, are struggling. Youth need additional positive programs proven to prevent delinquency or to get them back on track after criminal acts. Better coordination and data-sharing among child-serving state agencies, perhaps through creation of state and local divisions of youth services, could improve service provision for at-risk children. Finally, collecting more and better data on all at-risk adolescents could help policymakers and direct service providers better understand and support this population of children in transition to adulthood.

ENDNOTES

- 1 The data from the N.C. Department of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (DJJDP) represent fiscal year data except where noted. Data are rounded to the tenths place except when sources provide the data rounded to the ones. Per current understanding of adolescent development, adolescents are defined in this report card as 10 to 18 year olds, except where data notes indicators are reported for specific age groups.
- 2 Act 4 Juvenile Justice "Adolescent Brain Development and Juvenile Justice Fact Sheet," available online at: http://www.act4jj.org/media/factsheets/factsheet_12.pdf.
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- 5 Child Welfare Information Gateway. 2008. "Long-Term Consequences of Child Abuse and Neglect Fact Sheet." Available online at: http://www.childwelfare.gov/pubs/factsheets/long_term_consequences.cfm#behav.
- 6 North Carolina Division of Mental Health, Developmental Disabilities, and Substance Abuse Services 2006 Budget Overview available online at: <http://www.ncleg.net/documents/committees/JLOCMH-DD-SAS/LOC%20Minutes%20and%20Handouts/Minutes%20of%202006/LOC%20Meeting%20March%2022,%202006/DMHDDSAS%20March%20LOC%20Presentation%20Show%20Attach.%20No.%205.pdf>.
- 7 Rosado, L. (ed) June 2000. "Special Ed Kids in the Justice System: How to Recognize and Treat People with Disabilities that Compromise their ability to comprehend, learn and behave." In Understanding Adolescents: A Juvenile Court training Curriculum, American Bar Association Juvenile Justice Center, Juvenile Law Center, Youth Law Center, Armstrong, M.L. May 1998. Adolescent Pathways: Exploring the Intersections Between Child Welfare and Juvenile Justice, PINS, and Mental Health, Vera Institute of Justice.
- 8 National Institute of Justice. 2001. "An Update on the Cycle of Violence." Available online at: <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles/nij/184894.pdf>.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 National Runaway Switchboard Statistics on Runaways from Peer-reviewed Journals and Federal Studies, available online at: http://www.1800runaway.org/news_events/third.html#seven.
- 11 Child Welfare Information Gateway. 2008. "Long-Term Consequences of Child Abuse and Neglect Fact Sheet." Available online at: http://www.childwelfare.gov/pubs/factsheets/long_term_consequences.cfm#behav.
- 12 Building Blocks for Youth Fact Sheet: Zero Tolerance available at: www.buildingblocksforyouth.org/issues/zerotolerance/facts.html.
- 13 Annie E. Casey Foundation. 2008. "A Road Map for Juvenile Justice Reform." KIDS COUNT Essay and Data Brief and Christle, Christine, Joliette, Kristine and Nelson Michael. 2005. "Breaking the School to Prison Pipeline: Identifying School Risk and Protective Factors for Youth Delinquency." *Exceptionality* v. 13, n. 2. Pp. 69-88.
- 14 Census of School Resource Officers, 2008. DJJDP, Center for the Prevention of School Violence.
- 15 Suspension data reflect the number of suspensions and not an unduplicated count of students who are suspended.
- 16 American Community Survey, 2007, PUMS data.
- 17 Fox, J. A. (2003). Time of day for youth violence (ages 10-17), 1999. Boston: Northwestern University. Adapted from 1999 National Incident-Based Reporting System data. In *Fight Crime: Invest in Kids, America's After-School Choice: Juvenile Crime or Safe Learning Time*, available online at: http://www.fightcrime.org/issue_aftersch.php.
- 18 For more on the goals of the juvenile justice system see: North Carolina General Statute 7B-1500.
- 19 In 2007, 22,444 youth had juvenile complaints filed against them. (Special data request to N.C. DJJDP, N.C. JOIN, March 24, 2009). The same year, there were 968,596 adolescents between the ages of 10 and 17 in North Carolina (Analysis by Population Reference Bureau, American Community Survey, PUMS Data, 2007).
- 20 Bishop, D.M. 2005. "The Role of Race and ethnicity in Juvenile Justice Processing," in *Our Children, Their Children: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Differences in American Juvenile Justice*. D.F. Hawkins and K. Kempf-Leonard (eds.) University of Chicago Press.
- 21 Carl E. Pope, Rick Lovell, and Heidi M. Hsia. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. "Disproportionate Minority Confinement: A Review of the Research Literature from 1989 through 2001." Available at: http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.org/dmc/pdf/dmc89_01.pdf.
- 22 NC-JOIN is the North Carolina Juvenile Online Information Network. This network is a web-based system that allows DJJDP staff in the State's juvenile justice system to track youth being served by various programs and facilities. More information is available online at: www.ncjjdp.org/statistics/ncjoin.html.
- 23 Center for Juvenile Justice Reform. "Supporting Youth in Transition to Adulthood: Lessons Learned from Child Welfare and Juvenile Justice." Available at: <http://cjjr.georgetown.edu/pdfs/TransitionPaperFinal.pdf>. April 2009.
- 24 For more on the juvenile justice system and adolescent development see: "Putting the Juvenile Back in Juvenile Justice." Action for Children North Carolina, December 2007, Raleigh, NC.
- 25 North Carolina Department of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention 2008 Annual Report available online at: http://www.ncjjdp.org/resources/pdf_documents/annual_report_2008.pdf.

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*N.C. Department of Juvenile Justice
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1300 St. Mary's Street, Suite 500
Raleigh, NC 27605
919-834-6623
www.ncchild.org