

**VOLUME II: GENDER, ETHNICITY, AND
DELINQUENCY IN HAWAII**

Prepared By:

**Meda Chesney-Lind, Principal Investigator
Lisa Pasko, Project Coordinator
Nancy Marker, Educational Specialist
Amy Joy Matsen, Research Assistant
Kristina Lawyer, Research Assistant**

**Center for Youth Research
Social Science Research Institute
University of Hawaii at Manoa
2424 Maile Way Room 704
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822**

Report No. 419 January 2005



This Youth Gang Response System (YGRS) project report was funded by the Office of Youth Services (OYS) of the Department of Human Services (DHS), State of Hawaii.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Hawaii's Youth Gang Response System (YGRS) was created by the Hawaii State Legislature in 1990. Since that time, the organization has supported many gang prevention/intervention activities. This report is funded by the State of Hawaii's Office of Youth Services (OYS), however, its conclusions are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the funding agency.

Part of the financial support for the YGRS was distributed to the Social Science Research Institute's (SSRI) Center for Youth Research. Included in SSRI, the University of Hawaii Youth Gang Project (YGP) performs research, completes evaluations, and serves as the technical consultants to the YGRS. The YGP has showcased its research at numerous conferences both locally and nationally, and has also published twenty-two reports including a number of academic journal articles.

Although it would be impossible to identify all of the individuals who frequently support the University of Hawaii Youth Gang Project, a handful needs to be recognized. We would first like to acknowledge the continued and excellent support the Office of Youth Services staff, in particular Todd Motoyama, Jessica Kim, Carl Imakyure, Keith Yamamoto, and Sharon Agnew. Without their backing, ambition, and cooperation, YGP's research could not have been completed. Many thanks also to Department of the Attorney General for their assistance with the arrest trends and Juvenile Justice and Information Services data. Without the support and kindness of the Family Court and its employees, it would have been impossible to tell the stories of youth involved in our juvenile justice system. In particular, we would like to thank the Honorable Judge Frances Wong, Parents and Children Together (PACT), Palama Settlement, Coalition for a Drug Free Hawaii, Housing Services at Mayor Wright Housing and other individuals shared invaluable information for our research. Gratitude must also be given to John Gartrell at the Social Science Research Institute and the University of Hawaii's Center on the Family for their support with the Hawaii Student Alcohol, Tobacco, and Drug Use survey data. Although for anonymity purposes, their names cannot be listed, our great appreciation to the many fine professionals in the fields of youth services and prevention who agreed to be interviewed and provided great insights into the lives of young people and our communities.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This volume examines the various dynamics of gender, race/ethnicity, and delinquency in Hawaii and policies and programs for girl delinquency prevention.

Initially, we address this question by taking a look at arrest trends in Hawaii. As measured by juvenile arrests, Hawaii's juvenile crime problem is no more serious than a decade earlier. This correlates with national trends in juvenile arrests as well. Arrests of youth for serious crimes of violence and index property crimes show decreases (some remarkable) in the past ten years. After an upward trend for arrests of youth for drug offenses during the decade, this past year had a 22 percent decline, resulting in a 14.9 percent decline since 1994. What continue to be problematic for Hawaii are arrests for status offenses. Status offenses are 29.3 percent higher than the national percentage, with girls comprising nearly 60 percent of runaway offenses alone. As consequence, this trend produces challenges to a juvenile justice system used to dealing with male law violators.

Using Juvenile Justice Information System (JJIS) data, we then analyze gender and racial/ethnic differences in referrals to Family Court. Overall, juveniles were most frequently referred to Family Court for status offenses and not for serious law violations. Boys were more often referred to Family Court for law violations, while girls were more often referred for status offenses. Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian girls and boys had the most arrest referrals for every crime group category. Looking at gender and ethnicity combined, Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian and Filipina girls had the most arrests referred to Family Court while Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian and Caucasian boys had the most. Samoans were also over-represented in Family Court referrals, representing 1.6 percent of the general population but making up more than double that (nearly 5 percent) in Family Court referrals.

Interview data from key informants of juvenile justice and at-risk youth in Hawaii provides an important additional perspective on the challenges Hawaii faces with marginalized youth. Looking at juveniles' pathways to delinquency, several gender differences emerged. Overall, girls' histories more frequently include sexual abuse and assault, unhealthy relationships with older boyfriends, oppressive family environments, and psychological problems, with such problems frequently diagnosed as depression and

bipolar disorder. For boys, peer group dynamics that require them to “prove” how brave and tough they can be appear to be a main feature of their delinquency. Academic failure, mental health problems such as Attention Deficit Disorder, and troubled families are also a part of boys’ delinquency.

Finally, we review national examples of gender specific programming and with recommendations for Hawaii’s youth and girls, in particular. It calls attention to the need for a specialized focus on the unique problems of girlhood in Hawaii and suggests that the state must head in this direction.

CHAPTER I
JUVENILE ARREST TRENDS IN HAWAII
By Nancy Marker and Meda Chesney-Lind

Introduction

Juvenile arrest trends are one measure of the juvenile crime problem. When used in combination with other sources of data, they create a picture of the level of delinquency in Hawaii and its comparison to the nation. Using a ten-year period, the Youth Gang Project (YGP) annually reviews and analyzes the Hawaii and national findings. These findings are an asset to those who work in the youth services and are responsible for policy and programming which address delinquency and gangs.

National Trends, 1994-2003

Arrests continue the trend reported in reports in recent years. This 1994-2003 national trend for crime rates, in general, is lower than anytime since 1973. Nationally, juvenile crime, as measured by arrests of youth under 18, decreased 17.5 percent between 1994-2003 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2004). Violent crime arrests were down 32.5 percent, and property crimes decreased 38 percent, for an overall index crime decrease of 37.2 percent. Arrests for drug abuse violations increased 18.7 percent slightly less than the increase for adults 22.4 percent. The status offense of running away decreased 42 percent. Arrests for carrying and possession of weapons by juveniles decreased 40.8 percent.

Juvenile arrests accounted for 16.6 percent of all arrests nationally in 2003, less than reported in the previous year (18.2 percent).

Some variations appear by gender in the juvenile arrests trends. Boys had 70.6 percent of all arrests for juveniles. The total number of juvenile arrests for females under age 18 had a decrease of merely 3 percent in the ten-year period while arrests of juvenile males dropped by 22.4 percent. With more serious index crimes, both males and females arrests were lower in 2003 than in 1994. Yet males showed a sharper decline in arrests for these types of offenses—down 36.1 percent for violent crime and 43.7 percent for property crime while female arrests were down 9.9 percent for violent crime and 21.1

percent for property crime. Males and females showed similar declines for the percentage of arrests for runaway—down 44.3 percent for males and 40.2 percent for females. However, the trend for drug abuse violations arrests was upward—13 percent for boys and 56.3 percent for girls. Girls had a greater increase in “other assaults” (physical fights) arrests in the ten years—35.9 percent compared to 1.2 percent for boys.

An interesting gender difference is that juvenile males were 15.2 percent of arrests for males of all ages but juvenile females were 20.7 percent of all female arrests. Arrests of girls were 4.9 percent of all arrests in both 1994 and 2003 while boys’ arrests were 14.6 percent in 1994 and 11.7 percent in 2003. A review of these numbers suggests to some observers that the “crime drop” seen in the last decade of the twentieth century was largely a drop in the arrests of boys for serious crimes, particularly crimes of violence fueled by the crack epidemic and the ensuing gun violence associated with this phenomenon, while arrests of youth for less serious offenses, particularly assaults, have increased as a result of a focus on youth violence in and around schools (Chesney-Lind and Irwin, 2004).

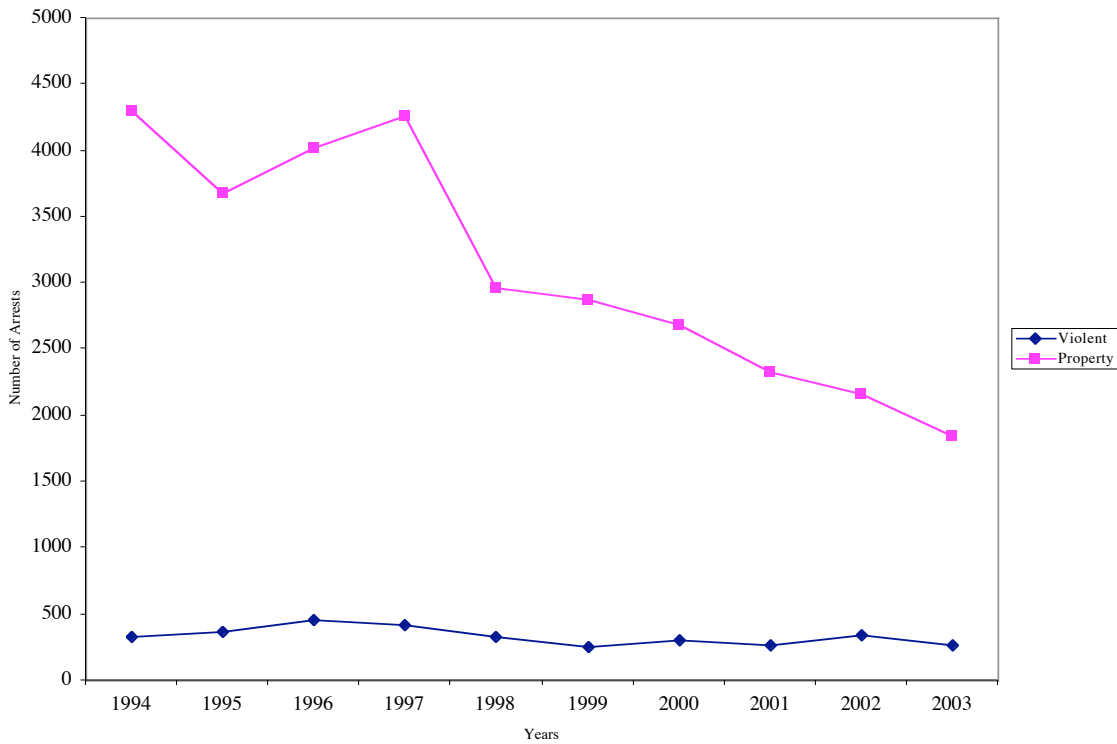
Trends in Hawaii, 1994-2003

Overall, juvenile arrests in Hawaii are down 43 percent, at the lowest number of arrests in the decade. Nationally, the comparable figure was only 17.5 percent indicating that, if anything, the juvenile crime drop is more marked in Hawaii. The drop in arrests in the state foreshadows Hawaii’s crime trend generally. Aside from a slight increase in 2002, arrests for juvenile crime have declined every year during the ten-year period (Department of the Attorney General, 2004). For index crimes--the more serious offenses—the 2003 figure declined 54.7 percent over the previous 10 years (Chart 1). This is an even more remarkable decline than the national findings--a 37.2 percent decrease. In the past year, there was a slight decrease (5.2 percent) in the total number of youth arrests (Department of the Attorney General, 2004).

Youths arrested for violent offenses (murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault) accounted for 2.2 percent of all juvenile arrests in the state. Index property crimes—burglary, larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson—resulted in 16 percent of the arrests. Part II offenses (all others such as “other assaults,” vandalism, drugs

possession or sales, weapons violations, offenses against family members and the status offenses of runaway and curfew), were 82 percent of the arrests. Half (51 percent) of the Part II offenses arrests were status offense arrests and they accounted for 42 percent of all juvenile arrests.

Chart 1: Juvenile Arrests for Index Offenses in Hawaii, 1994-2003



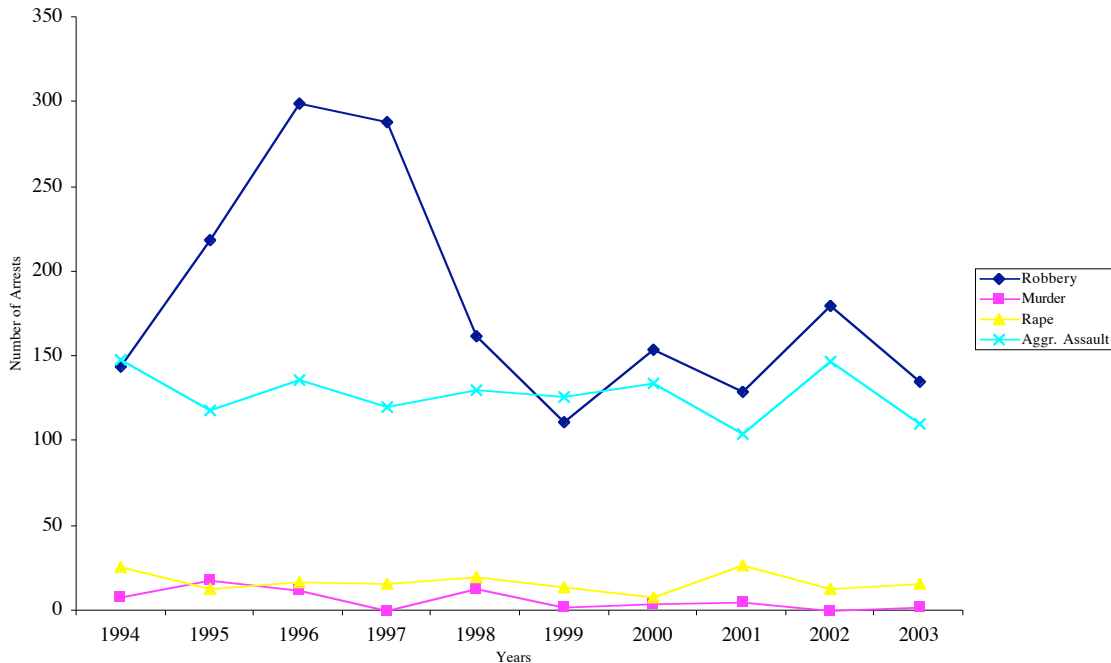
Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

As seen on Chart 1, arrests of youth for violent offenses, robbery arrests decreased 6 percent since 1994 but have declined significantly since a dramatic peak in 1996. This decrease is far less steep, though, than the national trend; the nation as a whole showed a 36.2 percent decrease for the same period (FBI: 2004: 274). Chart 2 shows each of the index violent crimes and reveals that aggravated assault arrests decreased 26 percent in the decade. Arrests for forcible rape and murder fluctuated over the ten-year period. Violent crimes arrests have declined 19.3 percent since 1994 but remained steady in the past year. Other assaults which are included in Part II offenses declined 21.4 percent since 1994 although slightly higher in 2003 than for four other

years in the decade. Nationally, a different picture was seen with these offenses increasing by 10.3 percent (FBI, 2004: 274).

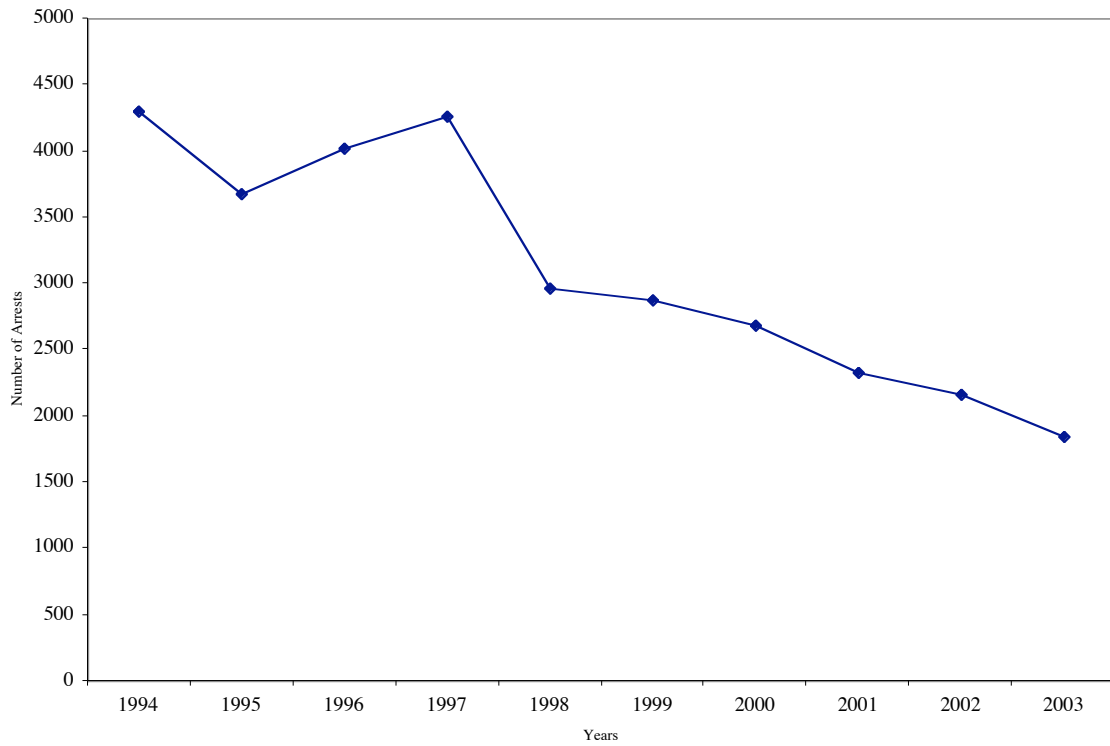
Chart 1 also shows that property index offenses fueled the decrease in index crime offenses (-54.7 percent) by declining 57 percent over the ten-year period, starting with the largest drop between 1997 and 1998 (23 percent). In the past year, the property crime arrests decline was 14 percent (Chart 3). During this time, arrests for violent offenses decreased 19 percent (Chart 2). All serious property crimes declined over the ten-year period with the lowest number of arrests in all four offenses in 2003 (Charts 3 & 4). Burglary arrests are down 62.5 percent since 1994 and motor vehicle thefts arrests are 50.4 percent lower. As with the others, larceny-thefts are the lowest in 10 years, down 57 percent. Nationally, arrests of youth for property crimes also decrease, but by a less dramatic amount (38.0 percent) (FBI: 2004: 274).

Chart 2: Juvenile Arrests for Part I Violent Offenses in Hawaii, 1994-2003



Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

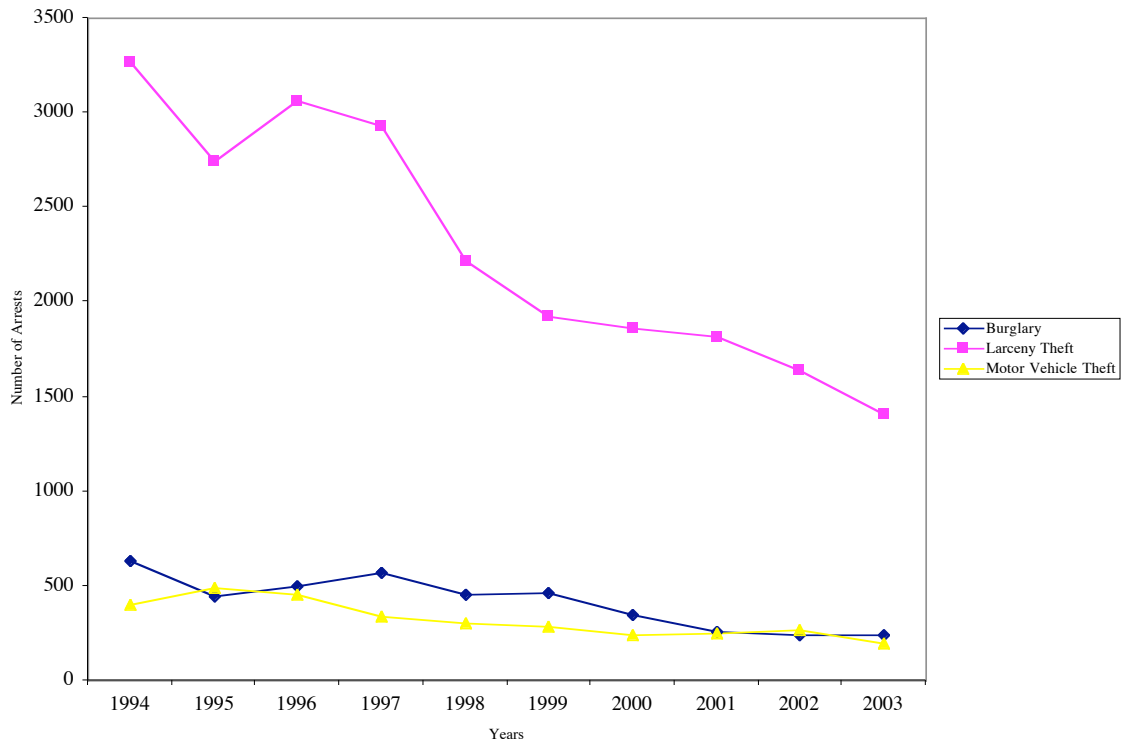
Chart 3: Juvenile Arrests for Part I Property Offenses in Hawaii, 1994-2003



Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

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Chart 4: Juvenile Arrests for Part I Property Offenses in Hawaii, 1994-2003



Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

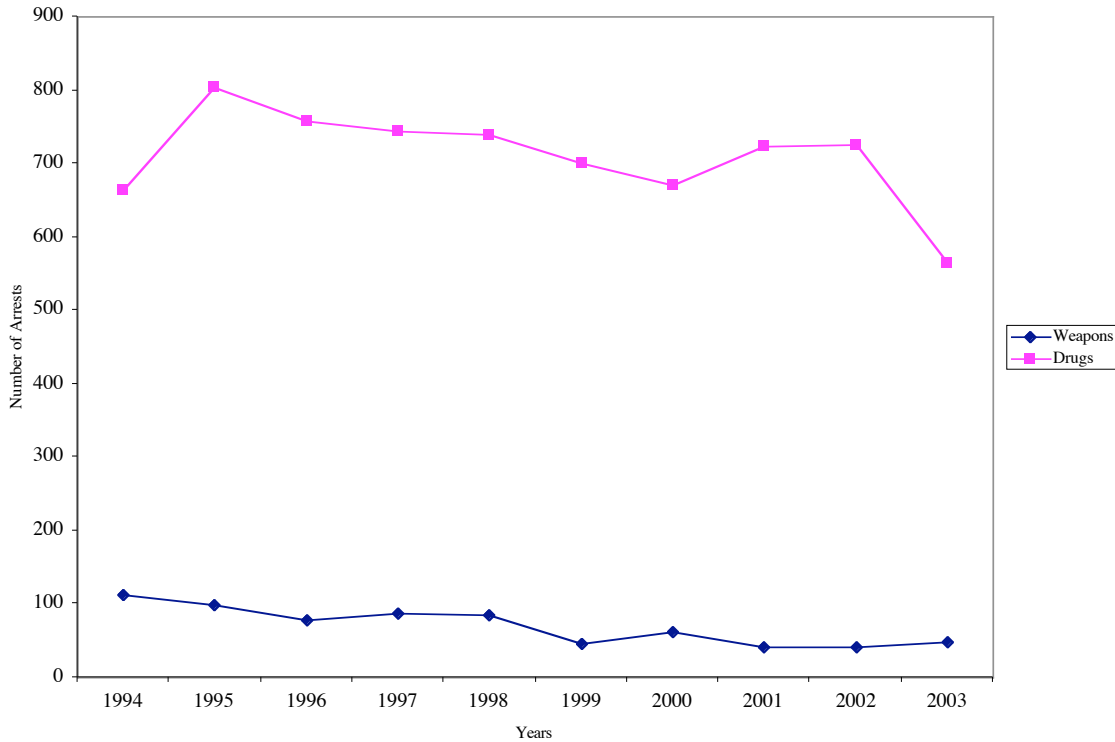
Weapons and Drug Offenses

Arrests for weapons offenses declined 57 percent in the decade. Nationally, a similar, though smaller decrease was seen: 40.8 percent (FBI, 2004: 274).

Drugs arrests (manufacturing/sale and possession combined) decreased 15 percent. This is contrary to the pattern seen nationally, where an increase of 18.7 percent was seen (FBI, 2004: 274). After a drop in drug arrests since 1995, the Hawaii trend edged upwards in 2002 but declined again (22 percent) in 2003 (Chart 5). Nearly 82 percent of drug offense arrests in 2003 were for marijuana possession. Marijuana possession arrests were the lowest in the decade with an 11 percent decline in the past year and 16 percent lower than in 1994.

Weapons offenses arrests remained steady in recent years and are less than half of what they were in 1994.

Chart 5: Juvenile Arrests for Weapons and Drugs in Hawaii, 1994-2003

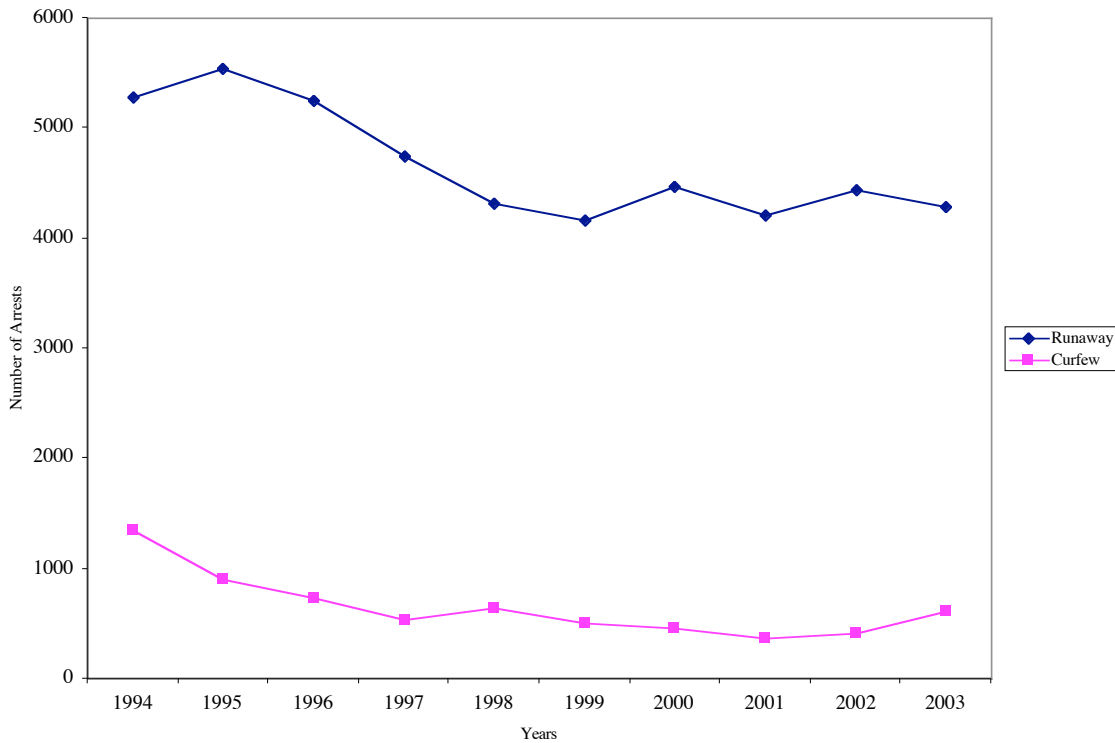


Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii*, 2003. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

In 2003, there were 4,906 arrests statewide for running away and curfew, accounting for 50.9 percent of juvenile arrests for Part II Offenses, and 41.8 percent of all juvenile arrests. These show no change from the pattern seen in 2002. A combination of these two status offenses shows a decline in arrests of 26 percent since 1994.

The number of arrests for running away has declined since 1994 (down 18.7 percent) but has remained constant (slightly more than 4,000 arrests a year statewide) since last year--a slight decline of 3.2 percent in the past year. Curfew arrests are less than half of what they were in 1994 (down 54.5 percent) but slightly increased between 2002 and 2003. Nationally, even starker declines were seen, however, with arrests of youth for runaway decreasing by 42 percent and curfew by 0.7 percent (FBI, 2004: 274).

Chart 6: Juvenile Arrests for Status Offenses in Hawaii, 1994-2003



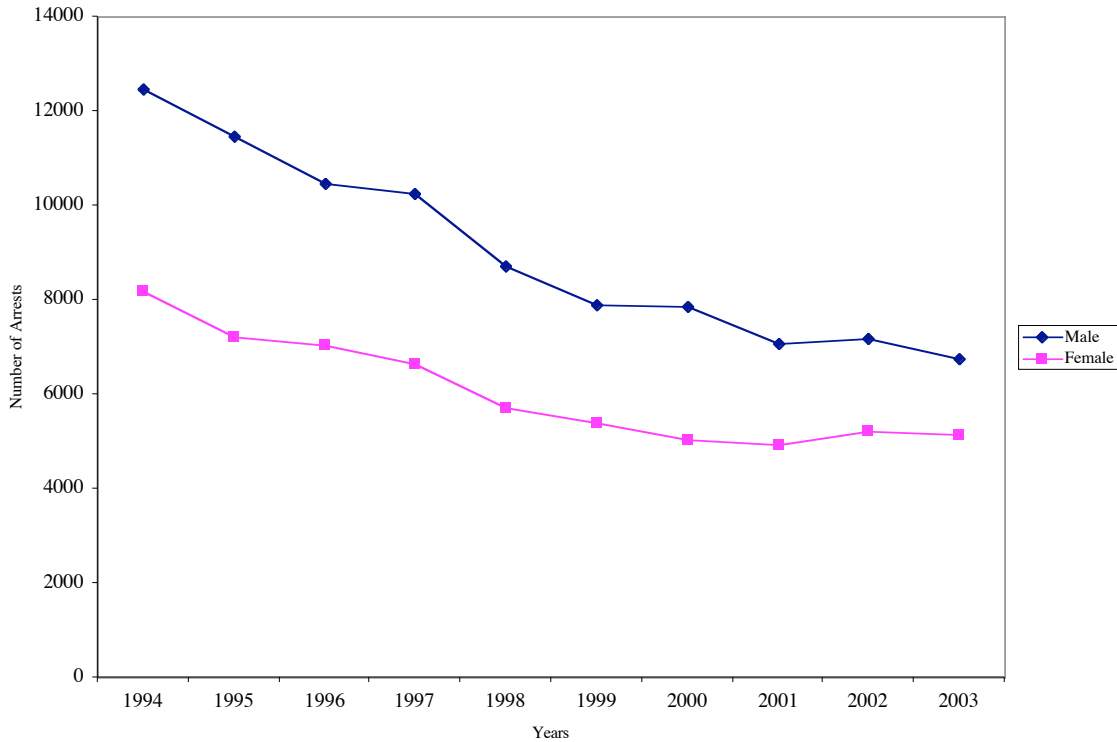
Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

Arrests by Gender

Hawaii has experienced a steady decline of male arrests in the decade; as a result, 2003 reported the lowest number of male arrests in the entire decade after a decrease of 46 percent. Female arrests also declined but more slowly, by only 37 percent. Nationally, much the same pattern can be seen, with arrests of boys decreasing by 22.4 percent compared to an only 3.0 percent decrease in girls' arrests. Again, as noted earlier, this suggests that as more youth are picked up for less serious offenses (like minor assault), proportionately more girls will be arrested. Moreover, Hawaii has not seen the steep decreases in the arrests of girls for status offenses that were seen nationally. As a result, girls' arrests account for nearly two fifths (42 percent) of overall juvenile arrests compared to only 29 percent nationally.

Juvenile males accounted for 58.9 percent of the arrests for Part 1 Index offenses and 56.3 percent of the arrests for Part II Offenses in 2003. Again, girls account for a large proportion of all those arrested for Part II offenses (43.7 percent) because of the gendered pattern seen in status offense arrests (Charts 8 & 9).

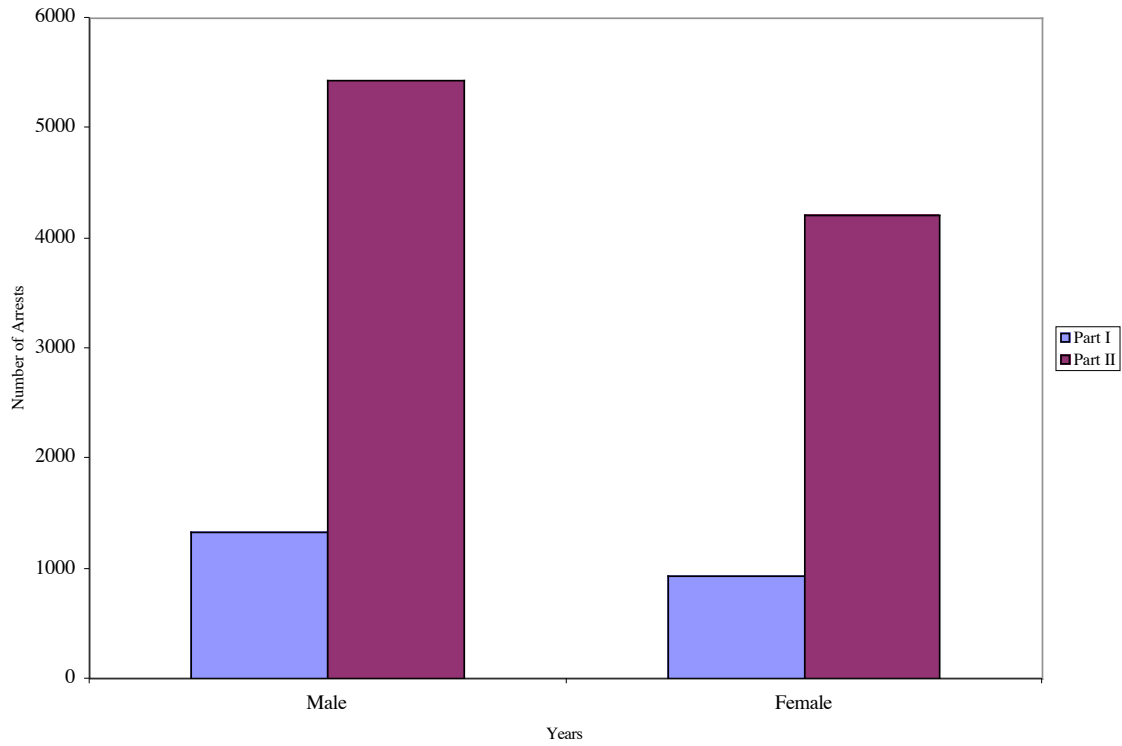
Chart 7: Juvenile Arrests in Hawaii by Gender, 1994-2003



Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

Because of the significance of status offense arrests in Hawaii's juvenile crime picture, arrests of girls in our state have always been higher than the national average. Arrests for males and females overall indicate that girls make up only a slightly higher percentage of arrests now than 10 years ago—43.2 percent in 2003 compared to 40 percent in 1994.

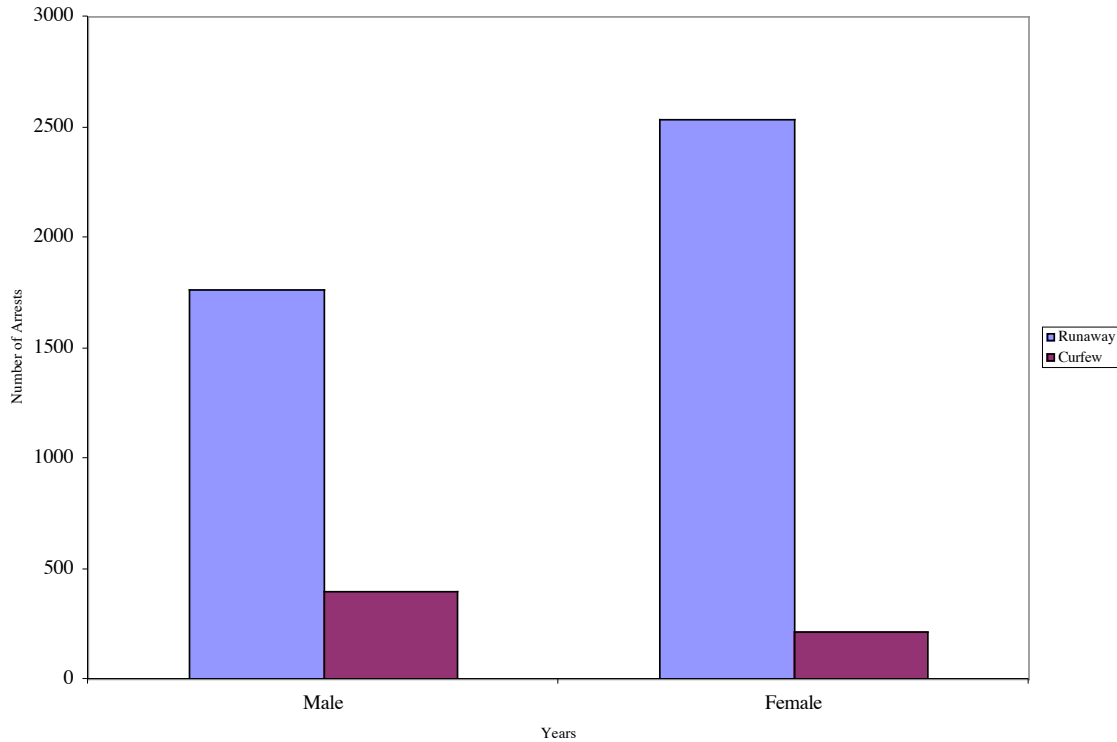
Chart 8: Juvenile Arrests for Part I and II Offenses by Gender, 2003



Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

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Chart 9: Status Offenses in Hawaii by Gender, 2003



Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

Almost three quarters (70.8 percent) of youth arrested for drug offenses were males as were 93.8 percent of those arrested for weapons offenses.

Females accounted for 29.5 percent of “other assaults” and 43.1 percent of “offense against family members/children.”

When turning to the two status offenses for which we have data, females are arrested more for running away and males more for curfew. In 2003, girls were 59 percent of those arrested for runaway, identical to the percentage for girls arrested for runaway nationally. Ten years ago, 62.7 percent of the runaway arrests in Hawaii were arrests of girls, therefore indicating a small downward trend for this arrest discrepancy between boys and girls.

Males are arrested more for Part 1 and Part II offenses. In 1994, females were 33.6 percent for Part I and 41.4 percent of the Part II Offenses. In 2003, females were arrested for 41.1 percent of the Part I (Index) Offenses 20.6 percent of the Part II

Offenses. Chart 8 above shows a shift in the 10-year period with the male-female ratio of these two categories of crime.

Summary

Like the U.S. mainland, Hawaii's juvenile crime problem, as measured by juvenile arrests, is no more serious than a decade earlier. Indeed, arrests of youth for serious crimes of violence as well as index property crimes show decreases (some dramatic) in the last decade.

After an upward trend for arrests of youth for drug offenses during the decade, this past year had a 22 percent decline, resulting in a 14.9 percent decline since 1994. Also, Hawaii's arrest rate for status offenses is 29.3 percent higher than the national percentage for status offenses. These trends produce challenges to a juvenile justice system used to dealing with law violators, mainly boys.

References

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- Federal Bureau of Investigation (2004). *Crime in the United States, 2003: Uniform Crime Reports*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Dept. of Justice, 2004. Taken from FBI web site <http://www.fbi.gov/ucr> Tables 32, 33.

CHAPTER II
GENDER AND RACIAL PROFILE OF ADOLESCENTS
REFERRED TO FAMILY COURT:
ANALYSIS OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE INFORMATION SYSTEM DATA
2001

By Lisa Pasko

Introduction

The Juvenile Justice Information System (JJIS), housed in the State of Hawaii Department of the Attorney General, is the branch in the Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division for the development, maintenance, and implementation of a statewide database on all juvenile crime and delinquency. JJIS facilitates cooperation among all agencies that work in such juvenile matters. These agencies include county police department, family circuit courts, all county prosecutors' offices, and the Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility (HYCF). Because of the participation and coordination of these agencies, information on every juvenile who enters the justice system is available. JJIS summarizes the information on juvenile offenders in separate datasets: arrests, referrals to Family Court and detention, and incarceration at Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility. JJIS data allow for a global assessment of all juveniles who enter the juvenile justice system. They permit us to see the frequency and series of arrests for each juvenile in the system and gender-racial and rural-urban differences in arrests and in referrals to Family Court.

YGP analyzed the 2001 JJIS data, paying specific attention to those juveniles who were arrested and referred to Family Court. This chapter summarizes our findings.

JJIS Analysis—Family Court Referrals

In 2001, 11,014 arrests were referred to Family Court. The most common arrest offenses referred to Family Court were status offenses (4897, 44.5 percent of all offenses) and petty misdemeanors (2324, 21.1 percent) and the least common were A and B felonies (108, 1 percent of all offenses, and 262, 2.4 percent respectively). The following table shows the distribution of offenses referred to Family Court.

Table 1: Arrests Leading to Family Court Referral, 2001

	Number	percentage
Felony A	108	1 percent
Felony B	262	2.4
Felony C	827	7.5
Misdemeanor	2120	19.2
Petty misdemeanor	2324	21.1
Status Offense	4897	44.5
Probation Violation	476	4.3
Total	11014	100 percent

Race and Gender—Arrests Referred to Family Court

An examination of gender and ethnicity differences in referrals to Family Court yields several interesting findings. Overall, boys were overwhelmingly referred to Family Court for law violations, while girls were more often referred for status offenses. Boys committed 86 percent of all felony offenses, 72 percent of misdemeanors, 71 percent of petty misdemeanors, and 80 percent of probation violations that were referred to Family Court. On the other hand, girls made up 55 percent of status offenders referred.

An examination of gender and ethnicity differences shows that Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian and Filipina girls had the most arrests (1340, 850 respectively) referred to Family Court while Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian (2276) and Caucasian boys (1440) had the most. Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian girls and boys had the most arrest referrals for every crime group category. For status offenses specifically, Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian girls had the most status offenses (852) than any other group, followed by Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian boys (699) (see Table 2).

Filipina (608) girls were also frequently referred for status offenses, while Caucasian girls were more frequently arrested for status offenses (512), misdemeanors (120) and petty misdemeanors (158). This is also true for Caucasian boys as well (479, 324, 362 arrest referrals respectively).

**Table 2: Juvenile Arrests Referred to Family Court:
Crosstabulation of Race, Gender, and Offense Severity, 2001**

Gender	Caucasian	Samoan	Hawaiian /Part	Filipino	Japanese	Other ethnicity
Girls						
Felony B	6	0	11	7	1	3
Felony C	33	2	44	27	13	32
Misdemeanor	120	40	211	84	27	115
Petty Misdemeanor	158	39	188	110	40	128
Status offense	512	83	852	608	179	431
Probation violation	15	2	34	14	3	27
Total	844	166	1340	850	263	736
Boys						
Felony A	22	13	34	10	2	27
Felony B	26	29	110	23	8	38
Felony C	144	21	203	122	60	126
Misdemeanor	324	90	545	214	78	272
Petty misdemeanor	362	79	562	234	124	300
Status offense	479	76	699	399	134	445
Probation violation	83	3	123	69	17	86
Total	1440	311	2276	1071	423	1294

Ethnicity, Gender, and Circuit Court location

Looking at the ethnic and gender distribution of arrest referrals across the state, we see that the most referrals came from Oahu (5502), followed by Big Island (2447), Maui (1829), and Kauai (1236) (see Table 3). In all circuit courts, Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian boys and girls were most frequently referred (33 percent of all referred juveniles), with some exception on Maui, where Filipina girls' arrests (202) were as frequently referred as Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian girls' arrests (202). On Oahu, Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian boys and girls represent 31 percent of all Family Court arrest referrals for the island. On Big Island, they represent 32 percent, on Maui, 35 percent, and on Kauai, 41 percent.

Overall, Hawaiians/Part-Hawaiians are nearly 40 percent of all juvenile arrests in Hawaii for 2001 (Department of the Attorney General, 2002). It appears, therefore, that

most of the courts are not referring all Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian juveniles who are arrested. However, what is important to also note is that Hawaiian/Part Hawaiians comprise only 19 percent of the general population. Therefore, these arrests signify a disproportionate representation in the juvenile population referred to Family Court (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Likewise, Samoans, representing 1.6 percent of the general population, make up more than double that (nearly 5 percent) in Family Court referrals (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). They also comprise 5 percent of all juvenile arrests in Hawaii, suggesting that most Samoan juveniles who are arrested are also subsequently referred to Family Court (Department of the Attorney General, 2002). Additionally, on Oahu, Filipino(a) juveniles (the second most represented group in that circuit court) comprise 17 percent (416) and Caucasians represent 16 percent (370) of Family Court arrest referrals, while on the Big Island, Caucasian juveniles (292) comprise 27 percent of referrals and Filipino(a)s, 12 percent (152). Filipino(a)s comprises 22 percent of the general population and Caucasians comprise 39 percent (Census 2000). For the entire state, Filipino(a)s comprise 15.4 percent of all arrests and Caucasians make up 20.1 percent, signifying that arrests of these two groups ended mostly in Family Court referrals.

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**Table 3: Juvenile Arrests Referred to Family Court
Crosstabulation of Gender and Race by Circuit Court, 2001**

Gender	Oahu	Maui	Big Island	Kauai	Total
Girls					
Samoan	153	4	9	0	166 (2 percent)
Hawaiian/Part	724	202	282	132	1340 (12 percent)
Filipina	462	202	86	100	850 (8 percent)
Caucasian	383	191	224	46	844 (7 percent)
Japanese	177	33	37	16	263 (3 percent)
Other ethnicity	468	62	157	49	736 (6 percent)
Boys					
Samoan	298	0	13	0	311 (3 percent)
Hawaiian/Part	981	429	497	369	2276 (21 percent)
Filipino	479	192	205	195	1071 (10 percent)
Caucasian	493	333	429	185	1440 (13 percent)
Japanese	239	43	120	21	423 (4 percent)
Other ethnicity	645	138	388	123	1294 (11 percent)
Total	5502	1829	2447	1236	11014

Individuals Referred to Family Court

In 2001, the total 11,014 arrests referred to Family Court were committed by 4755 juveniles. Each individual had an average of 2.3 arrests for the year, with 54 percent of the juveniles having only one arrest referral. Oahu referred 2387 juveniles, Maui 811, Big Island 116, and Kauai referred 441 juveniles to Family Court (see Table 4). Of juveniles sent to Family Court, 1502 were Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian, 852 Filipino, 986 Caucasian, 296 Japanese, 223 Samoan, and 896 other ethnicity. Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiian

juveniles constituted 32 percent of individuals referred.

Table 4: Juveniles Referred to Family Court Crosstabulation of Ethnicity by Circuit Court Referral, 2001

Ethnicity	Oahu	Maui	Big Island	Kauai	Total
Samoan	213	1	9	0	223 (5 percent)
Hawaiian/ Part	751	252	332	167	1502 (32 percent)
Filipino	416	171	152	113	852 (18 percent)
Caucasian	370	246	292	78	986 (21 percent)
Japanese	176	35	70	15	296 (6 percent)
Other ethnicity	461	106	261	68	896 (18 percent)
Total	2387	811	1116	441	4755 (100 percent)

First Offense Severity and Gender

Looking at referred juveniles’ first offenses, Table 5 shows that Oahu and Maui had more felony offenses referred than the other circuits (209 and 83 respectively, compared to Big Island’s 69 and Kauai’s 41). Big Island and Kauai had more probation violation referrals than the other islands (72 and 47 respectively, compared to Oahu’s 6 and Maui’s 25 probation violation referrals). Table 5 also shows that, overall, girls committed fewer law violations in their first offense. Only 1 percent of all referred juveniles were female felony offenders, while over 6 percent were male felony juvenile offenders. Male juvenile misdemeanor and petty misdemeanor offenses made up 33 percent of the total first offense severities referred, while female misdemeanor offenders only comprised 14 percent of the referrals.

Status offenses made up the majority of juveniles’ first offense referral. On Oahu, 48 percent of juveniles referred to Family Court had a status offense as their first offense.

On Big Island, it was 46 percent, Maui 38 percent, and Kauai 24 percent. On Oahu and Maui, more girls (624 on Oahu, 161 on Maui) than boys (515, 146) had a status offense for their first referral. On Big Island and Kauai, girls (257 on Big Island, 49 on Kauai) and boys (258, 57) were somewhat equally referred for status offenses, with boys having slightly more referrals than girls on Kauai. Despite this, gender is significant (chi square=308.75; $p < .00$) when predicting who will be referred for status offenses more frequently (see Table 5). Overall, girls had 1091 first offense referrals to Family Court for status offenses, compared to boys' 976 referrals.

Table 5: Juveniles Referred to Family Court: Crosstabulation of Gender, First Offense Severity, and Circuit Court Location, 2001

Gender	Oahu	Maui	Big Island	Kauai	Total
Girls					
Felony B	6	2	3	0	11
Felony C	29	9	8	6	52
Misdemeanor	138	46	57	39	280
Petty Misdemeanor	167	94	68	41	370
Status offense	624	161	257	49	1091
Probation violation	2	5	15	11	33
Total	966	317	408	146	1837
Boys					
Felony A	20	3	7	1	31
Felony B	43	12	9	5	69
Felony C	111	57	42	29	239
Misdemeanor	342	112	119	93	666
Petty misdemeanor	386	144	216	74	820
Status offense	515	146	258	57	976
Probation violation	4	20	57	36	117
Total	1421	494	708	295	2918

Table 6: Status Offense by Gender for First Arrest Family Court Referral, 2001

Status offense	Girls	Boys
Yes	1091	976
No	746	1942
Total	1837	2918

Pearson's Chi Square 308.75; df 1; $p < .00$

Juvenile Case Records

In order to determine what factors have a significant effect on the frequency of Family Court referrals, YGP further analyzed the 2001 JJIS data, using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS), or multiple regression. The model examines the direct effect of offense severity, race, gender, as well as the interaction between gender and circuit court location on the number of cases each juvenile has. Of particular interest to this study is: 1) a ‘gender-varying’ effect of circuit court location and 2) the effect of race and ethnicity on number of case records for an individual juvenile in the system.

Dependent and Independent Variables. The number of case records (i.e. how often a juvenile was referred to Family Court) was used as the dependent variable in the model. This study utilizes demographic and offense-specific variables as independent variables in the analysis. One limitation of this study is the absence of any variables which are traditionally used to operationalize socioeconomic status, such as parents’ occupation, educational level, and income. Therefore, we were unable to analyze that effect.

Summary of Results. The overall explanatory power of the model is .02, which means it explains only 2 percent of variation in the dependent variable, number of cases per individual. Despite this limitation, several interesting findings emerge. The most explanatory variables in the model are found in the offense severity and interaction variables. With status offense as the reference variable, Felony A, misdemeanor, and petty misdemeanor were significant variables. Felony A had more case records (1.19) than status offenses. This is not a surprising result, as we would expect Felony A offenders to appear before Family Court more times than other juvenile criminals and delinquents. Misdemeanor and petty misdemeanor offenders had fewer referrals than status offenders to Family Court, suggesting that with exception of Felony A offenses, status offenses have the most case referrals. Additionally, the variable “misdemeanor” had the third highest explanatory power (beta= -.068) in the overall model. Felony B and C were not significant variables.

With regards to ethnicity, Filipino was significant. When all other variables are controlled, if a juvenile is Filipino (in comparison to being Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian), that juvenile will have fewer records. Although the other ethnicity variables were not significant, what is interesting to note is that all other ethnic categories had fewer records than Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiians.

Gender was not a significant variable by itself, but interaction variables—gender and circuit court—were. In other words, when controlling for everything else affecting whether a juvenile will have more or fewer case records in Family Court, being a boy or being a girl did not affect the number of case records a juvenile has. Some interactive variables did have explanatory power, however. Boys from Kauai had significantly more cases than boys and girls from other circuit courts (.878) and that variable had the most explanatory power in the entire model (beta=.080). Additionally, girls from the Big Island had significantly fewer case records (-.511), with that interaction variable having the second most explanatory power in the model (beta=-.054).

In summary, the biggest predictors of increase in a juvenile's records were first offense severity, with status offenses having more records than the other severity categories, with the exception of Felony A cases. Hawaiians/Part-Hawaiians had more cases than other ethnic groups, significantly more than Filipino(a)s. Girls from the Big Island had fewer numbers of cases while boys from Kauai had the most.

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Table 7: OLS Regression, Dependent Variable: Number of Arrests per Individual Referred to Family Court, 2001

Independent Variables	B	Standard Error	beta
Constant	2.538	.105	
First Offense Severity (<i>status offense=0</i>)			
Felony A	1.19*	.478	.036
Felony B	.320	.303	.015
Felony C	.235	.168	.021
Misdemeanor	-.451**	.106	-.068
Petty misdemeanor	-.676**	.098	-.110
Probation Violation	.158	.230	.010
<i>Ethnicity</i> (<i>Hawaiian=0</i>)			
Samoan	-.204	.193	-.016
Caucasian	-.053	.109	-.008
Filipino (a)	-.224*	.114	-.032
Japanese	-.091	.168	-.008
Other ethnicity	-.130	.112	-.019
Gender (<i>M=0</i>)	.188	.112	.034
Interaction Variables (<i>Oahu=0</i>)			
Kauai girls	.018	.236	.001
Maui girls	-.238	.172	-.022
Big Island girls	-.511**	.157	-.054
Kauai boys	.878**	.172	.080
Maui boys	.066	.140	.008
Big Island boys	.138	.124	.019
Adj R square .02			n=4754

*p<.05, ** p<.01

Summary

An examination of Family Court referrals from the 2001 JJIS data has led to the following main conclusions:

- Juveniles were most frequently referred to Family Court for status offenses and not for serious law violations. Status offenses comprised 44.5 percent of all offenses with serious law violations making up less than 11 percent.
- Boys are more often referred to Family Court for law violations, while girls were more often referred for status offenses.
- Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian girls and boys had the most arrest referrals for every crime group category.
- Looking at gender and ethnicity combined, Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian and Filipina girls had the most arrests referred to Family Court while Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian and Caucasian boys had the most among all groups examined.
- Samoans are also over-represented in Family Court referrals , representing 1.6 percent of the general population but making up more than double that (nearly 5 percent) in Family Court referrals.
- The biggest predictors of which juveniles have the highest number of case records were offense severity and circuit court. With the exception of A felons, though, status offenders had a higher number of case records. Girls from Hawaii County had fewer case records, while boys from Kauai had more.

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CHAPTER III

GENDER AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN HAWAII: AN EXAMINATION OF CASE FILE AND INTERVIEW DATA

By Lisa Pasko

Introduction

Nationally every year, girls account for over one quarter of all arrests of young people in America (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2002, p.239). At the close of the 20th century, disturbing differences arose in arrest trends for boys and girls. Whereas boys' arrests have decreased since 1992, girls' arrests have increased by more than 18 percent, with the largest increases occurring in simple assault, drug abuse, and liquor law violations (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003, p.239). These offense categories now account for 28 percent of girls' total arrests. In 2001, girls accounted for 18 percent of overall violent crime committed by juveniles and 16 percent of drug abuse violations—a respective 6 percent and 4 percent increase since 1992. Most troubling for girls are arrests for drug abuse offenses—a 200 percent increase since 1992 (compared to boys' 110 percent increase). In addition, overall female Family Court caseloads grew by more than 80 percent between 1988 and 1997, with girls' drug offense cases rising 106 percent (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2002, p.239).

In Hawaii, girls' arrests account for nearly two fifths (42 percent) of overall juvenile arrests (compared to only 29 percent nationally) and represent 40 percent of juvenile cases referred to Family Court (Department of the Attorney General, 2003). While most of these arrests and institutionalization can be attributed to status offenses and dependency and neglect cases, girls also account for nearly one-third of “other assaults” and “offenses against the family,” respectively. Additionally, girls in Hawaii now represent over one-quarter of juveniles arrested for drug law violations (Department of the Attorney General, 2003).

Although girls account for only 16 percent of the Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility (HYCF) population, their experiences and life histories differ dramatically from the boys. Female HYCF wards are more likely to be at risk for suicide (76.9 percent, versus 56.9 percent for males) and more likely to have escaped from home or other

programs (83.3 percent, versus 54.6 percent) (Department of the Attorney General, 2001). In addition, whereas boys are more likely to have used alcohol (83.4 percent, versus 72.7 percent), girls are more likely to have used “ice” (46.2 percent, versus 29.8 percent).

In Hawaii, the lack of information about girls’ lives and delinquency is particularly problematic. The young women who find themselves in the juvenile justice system either by formal arrest or referral may not be adequately noticed. Because girls are no longer invisible in arrestee and detained populations, YGP took a further look at gender differences in delinquency in Hawaii. This chapter presents the primary findings.

Methodology

In cooperation with Family Court, YGP gathered case file information on approximately 100 juveniles (40 percent girls) in detention. Family Court maintains extensive files on every youth the Court encounters. Each file contains four main sections of research: legal/criminal history (outlining the details, circumstances, and explanations given by prosecutors, defense, and youth for each delinquent and criminal act), social history (including psychological assessments, race, socioeconomic status, family history/dynamics, drug use, gang involvement, peer relationships, and juvenile’s personal statements about their lives), educational background (containing report cards, attendance records, teacher assessments, and examples of assignments), and the juvenile justice response (detailing the programs performed, time spent in Detention and youth correctional facility and the behavior record for each youth). Additionally, Detention represents a diverse population of juvenile offenders, in terms of offense history as well as offenders’ residences. On any given day, 20-25 percent of the juveniles at Detention come from the outer islands.

The populations under study were selected by Senior Court Family Judge Frances Wong. Judge Wong chose one weekday population in 2001 and one weekend day population in 2002 for review. YGP gathered the data over 2003 and 2004, in order to track progress and pathways of those youth chosen.

In addition to the case file data, YGP also performed interviews of people who work in the juvenile justice system and/or are familiar with delinquent and at-risk youth.

In order to gather respondents' most subjective feelings about juveniles and their experiences working with youth, unstructured, open-ended interviews were used. The interview protocol contained questions regarding the role of gangs, drugs, family stressors, educational problems in the lives of Hawaii's youth, and areas for policy and programming improvements (see Appendix A for loosely-structured interview instrument). The subjects for this study included Detention workers, probation officers, teachers, counselors, social workers, psychologists and outreach workers who encounter and deal with delinquent and at-risk youth. This study completed a total of 22 interviews in Oahu and Big Island communities. Almost half of the interviewees worked in rural areas.¹

The following sections summarize the major themes discovered in the case files and throughout the interviews. Sample case study stories and interview comments are provided throughout the text. Overall, girls' main risk factors are social (and occasionally geographic) isolation, histories of unhealthy dependent relationships, history of sexually risky behaviors, lack of appropriate male role models, history of abuse and trauma, high representation of dependent older male relationships, high representation of mental health issues, and over-representation of mental health problems. For boys, similar areas include high representation of mental health issues, geographic isolation, family dysfunction, and peer associations that encourage risk-taking behaviors.

Psychological differences and problems

The data reveal several key gender differences in psychological problems and make-up. First, girls were described as internalizing stressors and having higher reports of borderline personalities, identity problems, depression, bipolar disorder, self-injurious behaviors, such as cutting, suicidal ideation and attempts. While nearly all boys and girls in the Detention files (95 percent) have had some history of trauma or neglect, girls' trauma more often takes the form of sexual abuse, which can result in continued risky and unhealthy associations and sexual behavior. A couple interviewees illustrate:

¹ "Urban" in this study includes the metro Honolulu area from Pearl City to Hawaii Kai. All other areas/islands are considered rural.

“When we got the girl, she was placed in a program. She was seventeen years old. She was removed from her family at the age of three, and I think a lot of it was physical and sexual abuse and neglect. Basically, we were her 49th placement. She had been in multiple foster homes, multiple group homes, in and out of detention, almost in every residential program in the State of Hawaii. In her early years, she had been sexually and physically abused in her foster home,” (Intake Coordinator for therapeutic group homes, speaking about one of her cases).

“We have girls that are raped and family chooses not to follow through, press charges or do anything to protect the girl. Nothing happens.....A lot of our girls that become involved in the justice system have interesting and unusual sexual behavior and it is a kind of risk taking that is challenging,” (Special education teacher in a rural community in Hawaii).

A common theme expressed by those who work with girls is that girls’ sense of self is often determined by the perceptions of others. Finding limited accepted avenues to be assertive, girls tend to engage more in group thinking and are swayed by boyfriends and girlfriends. How they gain status and power within their peer group is determined by their peer group associations. This cognizance of relationships can lead to higher verbal and emotional displays as well as more passive and relational aggression and manipulation. As one social worker in urban Hawaii related, one reason for this “manipulation” is that girls may be more mindful of their actions’ consequences to the relationships that are important to them: “What may appear as manipulation is actually protection of family and friends.” Another interviewee also explains,

“Girls seem to need more ongoing social and emotional support, whereas boys seem to need more structure and more cognitive behavioral skills. Girls need to be taught more assertiveness and some skills, but they need more emotional support, in terms of understanding, being known that they are listened to and heard. They are more talkative. Where boys are not, they just need it pretty cut and dry,” (School psychologist in a rural Hawaii community).

For girls, school provides a social support and fabric that gives girls the support they need. One social worker in urban Hawaii said this is the reason why “some runaway girls still attend school.” If this school support breaks down (because of bullying or social isolation at school) or if the girls are persuaded by peers/boyfriends not to attend school, then truancy becomes a problem.

Case file illustration of the aforementioned themes:

Tammy is a Hawaiian/Filipina/Spanish 16-year-old girl with a history of depression, cutting², crystal methamphetamine induced mood disorder. Her face is partially paralyzed from a previous accident when she was younger. Tammy ran away off and on during her entire first year of high school. She has had four previous runaway charges as well as admitted drug use (marijuana, “ice”) and states she does drugs more often when she is on the run. The last offense that brought her to DH was abuse of a family member. She threw a shoe at her aunt when the aunt tried to stop her from running away. The police were called as she was trying to run. Aunt pressed charges and Tammy was detained (aunt was watching her while parents were in Vegas). Tammy also has a history of sexual abuse and risk-taking behavior. During one counseling session, Tammy “recognized that drugs are given to her by sellers to get her high and then the sex happens.” Two years prior, she was sexually assaulted while on the run.

For boys, externalizing social and psychological stressors, being more aggressive, and being less willing to discuss problems were cited as problems for boys. As one urban social worker claimed, “boys tend to be more ‘I’ based, more independent thinkers and not as relationally concerned. Boys do a lot of things for themselves and girls do a lot of things to affect their social environment.” In addition, academic failure, attention deficit disorders, and early trauma, especially the death of a parent and physical abuse, are also common themes in male delinquents’ lives.

“Yeah, the majority of them do have some academic issues. For most of them school is the one place they do have some consistency and stability. But again, a lot of our kids bounce around from school to school to school, so that makes it difficult to make friends.

² “Cutting” is a form of self-mutilation or self-inflicted injury.

But a lot of these kids, I mean if you are moving ten or twelve times in a year, you're going to go to ten or twelve different schools," (Intake Coordinator for therapeutic group homes).

Another stated reason for boys' delinquency is the need to prove one's "manliness." This in part can explain why boys more often fail out of school and are truant: excelling academically is not considered "manly" while at the same time, doing poorly and suffering the consequent shame, embarrassment, and self-deprecation are also emasculating. A few interviewees explain:

"Girls have a more difficult time getting along with each other, so we frequently had to sit down and do mediation with the girls to talk about issues girls have. For boys, is that when we pull them away from their population, away from their home boys, or whatever they call it, they do not have to maintain that macho, tough guy image. So we have a youth from a gang in Halawa housing and at the same time we may have somebody from KPT or Kam4 where generally they would be rivals. But you take one of them out of their group environment and put them here, they do not have to maintain that image anymore. So they seem to get along better. I was talking to one youth who had come here, and before he came we had heard horror stories about him. And again take him away from his environment, and he admitted that there was not much pressure here to behave in a certain way," (Alternative education project coordinator for adjudicated youth).

"Half of these boys wanna show they're men, that they know what's going on, that they are the 'it' thing. Somehow they don't know how to do it in the manner that.....tells the other person that that's the message that they're sending forth. So instead of doing that thing, they'll sit quietly and then once in awhile they'll say something stupid, or they'll just pick up a pencil or paper and throw it, or they will just punch a wall and walk out. Instead of explaining themselves...the lack of ability to express," (Case manager in a youth program).

“Yeah, they want to be rugged too. Because that is the only way they can get recognition. Because they cannot get recognition in school, [are not] popular in the school,” (Outreach worker in rural Hawaii).

Family environments/Community environments

Virtually all case files (95 percent) and interviews explained that delinquent youth, especially chronic ones, suffer from several generations of poverty, educational failure, inadequate housing, inadequate employment, and drug use. Immediate family may be imprisoned or dead. When the family has myriad problems, the family has limited ability to supervise juveniles.

“There is either no parental involvement and if there is a parent that is existing in the home, it is not a strong enough parent that can provide the structure or consistency or the nurturing to maintain a safe environment conducive to learning, whether it is appropriate social skills or encouraging academic achievement or otherwise. I think the second is accessibility of things out there in your particular community. The community out there, when you are in a depressed location, there are other factors to deal with,” (Current special-ed teacher/former outreach worker in a rural area).

“Because parents are unable to supervise they do not see half of what is going on and when they do hear something after the fact: one, there is not much they can do about it but two, they get overly angry and try to deal with the situation that way. Parents are, I do not want to say naïve, but they think the kids are doing what they are telling them to do and that is really not the case,” (Urban at-risk counselor/teacher).

In addition, family remains very important and can supersede any school or job responsibilities. Even when family is very troubled, youth must show loyalty to them. This impedes youth’s ability to plan or see a future.

“Their sense of self comes very much from the family. So, in some way, for a youth from a family with a troubled history to look for themselves for a different path, is a rejection of the family,” (Rural special education teacher).

Samoa culture and delinquency

When speaking particularly to gender differences in Samoan delinquent youth, interviewees claimed that culture plays a key role. For boys, Samoan pressure to conform may lead the boys on a path away from academic success and one toward delinquency. In comparison, Samoan girls resist traditional gender Samoan culture/values that may lead them to have less freedom than their brothers, more supervision, and more burdensome family caretaking responsibilities. As girls want what their brothers have in terms of freedom, consequent status offense (such as running away and curfew violations), self-injurious behaviors, more risk-taking activities (such as drug use), and simple assaults occur. Several interviewees explicate this theme:

“Another issue....kids outright rejecting their culture... Now there are several girls that I have worked with in school have talked very negatively about being Samoan, they do not want anything to do with being Samoan. I think it is traditional values (that they are resisting), being the mom and taking care of the family and that kind of stuff...Some of the Samoan girls are some of the ones who are getting more aggressive,” (Urban former outreach worker/current school counselor for girls).

“It’s just dealing with their home, because a lot of girls have, they’re, they’re the ones who gotta take, especially older girls, yeah? They gotta take care of the house, they gotta take care of younger siblings, they gotta take care of everybody. It’s their job. The girls have a lot of home responsibility, which a lot of times they get really resentful,” (Teen project coordinator in urban housing project).

“In some situations, the mother will be a single parents and have too high of expectations and will be too hard on the girl and will not give her freedom, will want her to be home all the time.....not having boyfriends, and maybe see a suicide attempt there that will bring her into the system,” (School psychologist, rural).

Other interviewees discuss how this family environment can lead girls to escape by “acting out like boys”:

“I know that girls are getting into fights not just in school, but in the community. They have own gangs and mix kava (like boys),” (Project coordinator in rural Hawaii).

“The girls are very open and bold. What I mean by bold is the way they dress, the way they look, how opinionated they have become in comparison to when I was growing up. They’re very aggressive and assertive. We come from a culture where women are, they don’t come up to the forefront. They don’t assert themselves. They are more in the back. It’s all seems to be in a cultural sense,” (Polynesian case manager in an urban youth offender program).

Speaking specifically about Samoan boys, one interviewee illustrates the need to fit in, sometimes to one’s own detriment:

“The Samoan culture, I’m wondering to some degree whether it plays here, that you don’t want to stick it out, no matter how talented you are, you still want to travel with the pack, you’ll accept recognition here and there and then you do something to make yourself less noticeable, make yourself more mediocre. So, if you’re athletic you stand out and you get this MVP award, you do something stupid and people go, ‘yeah, I knew it’ you know, it’s just you’re part of a crowd, and then you’re not sticking out completely. We talked to some about going to Iolani and they shake it off, “No, I want to go to Farrington,” (Samoan outreach worker, urban housing project).

Case file illustration of aforementioned themes:

Pam is a 14-year-old Polynesian girl who has history of running away, third degree assault, and abuse of family member. She has been in detention three times for running away and curfew violations. She has a history of academic failure, ADHD, and depressive disorders. When she was younger, her dad died, and while her mother contends she was never close to him, Pam cites this event as very traumatic in her life. In an apology letter to her mother, she explains that her running away (the offense that brought her to detention) is in response to having limited freedom and too many family responsibilities.

Delinquency, sexual exploitation, and survival strategies

Girls' delinquent activities reflect their place in the home, school, and community. Girls' delinquency more often includes shoplifting things they feel are needed to maintain appearance, breaking curfew/truancy/running away occasionally due to boyfriends, and simple "assault" on household members when they are not allowed to leave house.

"Girls maybe shoplift but they are not going to break in or they are not going to steal a car as often as boys are. In terms of substance abuse, they maybe are not going to be selling drugs, that has typically not been an issue. Girls get placed in residential placements due to suicidal behavior, running away, emotionally acting out, whereas boys seem to (get placed) because they get busted for doing things like stealing cars and selling drugs," (Psychologist, rural school).

For girls, sex and associations with older men serve as unhealthy escapes and survival strategies. Older boyfriends provide what family cannot, including a "father figure," attention and material belongings. They also provide an escape from crowded and abusive households. The "payment" the girls make is a sexual one, where she leaves one abusive environment in exchange for another. Sexually transmitted diseases and pregnancy become problems. Sexual exploitation by the older boyfriend's friends and consequent drug-addiction also become problems once the girls are in that environment.

"Younger girls are cheaper. They're cheaper dates. The younger girls or young women see the older male as potentially having stuff, having the ability to buy them things they didn't grow up with or that they don't have the ability to buy on their own, you know?" (Urban housing project, youth project worker).

The families do not always frown upon girls' sexual relationships with these men and do not press charges. This may be because the older boyfriend may be a friend of the family or may live in the home and contribute to the household.

“I just heard about.....she’s 15 now and she’s gonna give birth this month by an older 30 year old guy. And she’s this sweet....she is not one of those mature 15 year olds, she’s a little girl 15 year old and it’s oh...he’s living with her family. I mean, it’s like, it’s condoned by the family. I believe this guy is contributing to their household so of course the parents are not gonna, you know.....” (Project coordinator, housing project).

Another outreach worker explained that in some areas, especially the jobless, isolated areas in Hawaii, teenage girls in the family become an economic commodity: An unintended consequence of new welfare limits makes a family addition (teenage girl’s baby) a way to continue receiving much-needed government assistance. Once the girls run away to the streets, sex becomes a way to secure a place to stay as well as to get money, such as with prostituting and fronting goods for the pimp.

“You know the safety, having someone to call your boyfriend. I am sure it is where he takes care of her and she would do what he wanted and it was not a healthy relationship...They are hooking up with the guys that are going to take care of them, where she loses all her power and control because he becomes very dominating and very controlling and it makes me mad. That is the one thing on the streets that makes me rage, you know, I cannot believe that I am watching this, this really bright young lady who is just being totally manipulated and controlled,” (Urban outreach worker, about girls on the street).

Case file example:

Penny is a 16-year-old Part-Hawaiian female with a history of depression with self-injurious behavior. She has a history of running away, truancy, probation revocation, and polysubstance abuse for 2 years. She made a suicide attempt after her boyfriend began seeing a new girl. She lives with her biological dad and step mom, abandoned by mom recently due to mother’s drug problem and physically abusive boyfriend. She reports her father normally disciplines all the children with physical abuse. After her mother abandoned her last year (due to her mother’s ongoing drug problem), she went to live with her father, stepmother, and 3 other siblings in a studio apartment. She sneaks

out of the house to see her older boyfriend, committing probation violations when she does. She is sexually active with her boyfriend (and his friends) and uses “ice” when with him. Because her continuous drug use and status offenses, she was sent to HYCF until she was placed in a therapeutic group home on Kauai.

For boys, gender also matters. Delinquency takes the form of “masculinity” challenges and displays—ways to show bravado—as explained by a couple of interviewees.

“I think boys do more daring types of crimes. I can give you an example of a group [of boys] here at [high school]. At the time there was really high graffiti, and the boys would talk about where they went, they went up to a water tower up the Pali and they would go on this bridge and they would try to outdo each other. The girls were not really into it,” (School counselor in rural Oahu).

“The boys are so much more willing to lash out, I mean, you will see the things in the community that the boys will do, you know, they’ll vandalize, they’ll do graffiti, they’re more willing to try drugs, they’re more, you know, willing to take those risks out there,” (Urban housing project, youth project worker).

Once boys run away, their delinquency is also “gendered.” Boys more often steal backpacks, take wallets from tourists, rob, and sell drugs. Because boys need such resources to trade for places to stay, more boys stay in emergency shelters than do girls, explained one former outreach worker. Girls, on the other hand, use medical services more often. “This is to maintain their appearance as they get older because girls on the street are getting younger and younger,” explained one former outreach worker.

For boys, younger girlfriends that can be easily manipulated and passed around are status symbols. Sex becomes a way to gain status within their peer group. One counselor working with at-risk and adjudicated youth stated that one masculinity challenge for boys is to see how many girls they can get pregnant. Sexual risk-taking behavior also ends up with young fatherhood problems.

“A lot of young fathers because they don’t have any economic resources, they move in with the girl’s family and feel disempowered. Where do they go after that? It’s safe to say that it feels less manly to move in with the girlfriend’s family,” (Project coordinator for at-risk boys program, former Waikiki outreach worker).

While some boys prostitute in Waikiki, this is not as common as with the girls. When boys do, it can be stigmatizing and problematic, once they end up in Detention.

Case file example:

Manny is a 15-year-old Filipino boy who has a history of criminal property damage, abuse of family members, “ice” [crystal methamphetamine] use, running away, and prostitution. Parents are from Philippines, married, with average income and some college background. Manny admits feeling like he has little in common with his parents. He “admittedly is homosexual and appears to have difficulty in dealing with others who do not accept him.” He fights with family members, and this gets him arrested. Manny said he likes to dress up as a woman. While in DH, Manny admits to feeling threatened because he is outwardly gay.

Rural versus urban delinquency

As plantations closed in rural Hawaii communities, consequent informal social control and positive relations also dissolved. Living with desperate living conditions, high unemployment, communities experienced an increase in joblessness, drug and alcohol use, and less friendly relations. One police officer explained that the land that was once used by youth to hunt and hike was replaced by developed gated homes. The land and their activities were taken away. As idleness, the lack of opportunities increased, and geographic isolation became problematic, so did the resulting breakdown in traditional values, crime and delinquency in these areas.

“I have one student who is literally five miles away from where the bus picks her up. There is no lighting, there are no paved roads, dirt road with lots of potholes, and to get to the bus stop, her mother does not have a car, so she has to walk. And I give her a lot of credit when she actually shows up,” (Special education teacher in a rural area).

“The youth today are more aggressive as opposed to assertive. A lot are non-compliant to adult authority.....so I think respect, a Hawaiian value, hui’i, goes a long way and I do not see it evident in the school system today,” (Teacher in a rural community).

Partly out of idleness, partly out of economic desperation, boys steal cars, sell drugs, and commit other types of delinquent and criminal acts.

“One big problem we faced in Wahiawa area was that a lot of these youngsters used to work in the pineapple fields in the summer. Maybe 50 percent did. But Dole went into long term kind of fruit. Now, when they go into year long harvest, they do not need to hire the kids in June, July, and August, so that cut down on the kind of work they kids did,” (Outreach worker in a rural area).

The geographic isolation also becomes problematic once the juveniles are placed on probation. As one juvenile probation officer explained, “you cannot put kids on probation with mandatory intensive drug treatment when those services are not available [in their communities].” It is difficult for juveniles in rural areas to complete their probation when the nearest services can be up to an hour away, and parents have no way of taking them there.

In urban areas, there also exist similar strains of poverty, but instead of geographic isolation, social isolation and overcrowded competitive environments are more problematic. In addition, while some areas in rural Hawaii cannot receive cell phone reception and some homes run on generators, urban communities have to deal with impact of technology. One social worker explained that cell phones lend themselves to more delinquency—a juvenile can say they are in one place but actually be in another. Technology leads to a faster paced culture, a demand for immediate gratification, combined with a socioeconomic status that does not lend itself to legitimate avenues for success.

“Parents work a few jobs and make money to provide kids all this expensive stuff they are not ready for and kids do not have the work ethic. That they did not earn themselves

and therefore it means nothing and then they just want more and more. And they are getting more and more out of control and the parents are trying to control them by giving them more stuff,” (Outreach worker in an urban area).

“I think youth in the past could have more delayed gratification, could set more long term goals and work toward those goals. I think now with everything being at such a fast pace, a lot of our students have a hard time setting long term goals. It is more ‘I want this right now’ so it is harder I think for them because they are so used to getting things so instantaneously so it is harder to think ten years down the line,” (Teacher, rural area).

Case file example:

Kenny was raised by his older uncle who adopted him after natural mother gave him up at 3-weeks old. His uncle admits to giving him everything, except discipline, to compensate for being abandoned. Kenny has a history of criminal property damage, running away, and fourth degree theft. He went to California to live with his aunt (currently divorced from his uncle), but “oppositional defiant” behavior caused his aunt to send him back to Hawaii. His uncle calls the police frequently when Kenny misbehaves. His last offense, punching a wall when he was angry, sent him to detention on a criminal property damage offense.

Conclusion

The pathways to boys’ and girls’ delinquency vary in several ways. Both boys and girls experience challenges in their communities and home lives. Overall, girls’ histories more frequently include sexual abuse and assault, unhealthy relationships with older boyfriends, oppressive family environments, and psychological problems, with such problems frequently diagnosed as depression and bipolar disorder. For boys, peer group dynamics that require them to “prove” how brave and tough they can be appear to be a main feature of their delinquency. Academic failure, mental health problems such as Attention Deficit Disorder, and troubled families are also a part of boys’ delinquency.

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CHAPTER IV

GENDER SPECIFIC PROGRAMMING

By Amy Joy Matsen

“Gender-specific programs let me know that even in a man’s world, a lot can be accomplished by women, and someday it might not be a man’s world.”

--Participant, Harriet Tubman Residential Center

Introduction

This chapter addresses the need for gender-specific programming in youth correctional facilities and residential treatment centers. Girls are almost always invisible when programs for delinquency are created. Currently, treatment for juvenile offenders is primarily developed using information from studies with all male samples (Thompson, 2002). This chapter focuses on six different programs nationwide that are excellent models of what gender-specific programming should look like. The chapter concludes with recommendations and additional resources for girl-focused programming in Hawaii.

Gender-Sensitive Programming

Girls entering the juvenile justice system often find themselves placed in programs that were created for delinquent boys (Marks, 1999; Bloom, 2001). Male delinquents have more privileges, more space, more equipment and better treatment than their female counterparts (Bloom, 2001). Many policy makers have struggled for gender *equality* in juvenile delinquency treatment programs. Because of the stereotype that young female offenders are less dangerous than boys, specific needs go unaddressed. Such specific needs include programs addressing sexual abuse, battering, teenage pregnancy, single parenthood, and disparities in educational, vocational, and employment opportunities (Bloom, 2001).

Kathy E. Fejes and Darcy Miller in, “*Assessing Gender-Specific Programming for Juvenile Female Offenders: Creating Ownership, Voice, and Growth*,” suggests the following 11 components for excellence in programming for juvenile female offenders: 1) provide emotional and physical safety 2) be culturally appropriate 3) be relationship-based 4) provide positive female role models and mentors 5) address the abuse in girls’

lives 6) be strength-based, not deficit-based 7) address sexuality, including pregnancy and parenting 8) provide equitable educational and vocational opportunities 9) address the unique health needs of females, including nutritional concerns and regular physical activity 10) nurture the spiritual lives of participants; and lastly, 11) involve individual members of girls' families. The highest priority of all these components should be in providing emotional and physical safety through strength-based programs, and addressing abuse in girls' lives (Fejes and Miller, 2002).

Programs should work to empower girls and advocate for change that would benefit them (Chesney-Lind, 2001). This not only means building on girls' innate strengths, creativity, and skills to develop their abilities to assert themselves and empower their voices, but also to challenge and identify the barriers that girls—marginalized girls in particular—face (Chesney-Lind, 2001). Gender-specific programs must always be culturally-specific, since a staggering increase of minority girls are being drawn into the juvenile justice system and it is clear that minority girls have different experiences (Chesney-Lind, 2001). In addition, programming must take place in a safe environment that is conducive to a therapeutic change process (Bloom, 2001).

Effective girls' programming should address/include the following: (not in order of importance)

- Physical and sexual abuse (from parents/relatives, boyfriends, pimps, and others)
- Pregnancy and motherhood
- Specific cultural resources
- Safe environment for open communication
- Anger management
- Individual therapy and counseling/ mental health treatment
- Sexual health education, including risk of HIV/AIDS
- Drug and alcohol dependency
- Unemployment and employment training
- Structured recreation and organized sports
- Mentorship programs

- Gang intervention
- Self-empowerment skills/life skills training
- Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender (GLBT) programs and support groups
- Positive ethnic and gender identity programs
- Leadership development classes
- Women's Studies curriculum
- Group therapy
- Family and friendship development/intervention

Effective boys' programming should address/include the following: (not in order of importance)

- Physical and sexual abuse
- Sexual education, pregnancy, risk of STDs/HIV/AIDS
- Young fatherhood
- Specific cultural resources
- Teen parenting
- Individual therapy and counseling
- Drug and alcohol dependency
- Anger management
- Gang intervention
- Life skills training
- Family/friendship development/intervention
- Victim awareness/Sex offender treatment
- Life/Employability skills
- Positive ethnic and gender identity programs

Addressing Sexual Orientation

Sexuality is a significant issue that should also be frequently explored in juvenile justice institutions but unfortunately is not. Vitka Lee Eisen (2002) explores issues surrounding juvenile delinquents in social institutions who are marginalized for sexual non-conformity---gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender youth. For youth-serving programs that are committed to supporting diverse adolescents, a challenge remains to dismantle dominant ideologies that restrict the ability to create safe environments where girls and boys can explore their identities (Eisen, 2002). Many lesbian and gay youth face tremendous prejudice, harassment, and abuse while in the criminal justice system (Eisen, 2002). During Eisen’s research at the Emerson Center Adolescent Program, she found that staff believed that if girls (more so than boys) were to discuss their bisexuality, other youth were more likely to identify as bisexual as well. Unfortunately, staff represented talking about bisexuality as a contagion, capable of spreading (Eisen, 2002). Gay and bisexual boys experience isolation, endure homophobic slurs, and are in danger of victimization because of their non-conformist sexuality. Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender (GLBT) groups and other support services should be made available to boys and girls while in residential treatment. Eisen suggests that the staff must be aware of their own homophobic attitudes and issues around homosexuality. They must learn how to validate, not shame, youth’s feelings of desire in order to help them as they explore identity, subjectivity, sexuality, and gender, while advancing a gay and lesbian friendly agenda into their environment.

Promising Gender-Specific Programs

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention’s article “*Guiding Principles for Promising Female Programming*” highlights the most effective gender-specific programs in the nation. The following programs are prime examples of what gender-specific programming should look like, and hopefully ones that can be replicated and developed here in Hawaii.³

³ State and non-profit agencies in Hawaii have worked to provide girls’ programming and continue to seek opportunities for funding to implement programs modeled after those deemed effective, e.g., Florida’s P.A.C.E. The Office of Youth Services has provided support and technical assistance to these efforts to advance girls programming and should be contacted for updated information on what is available.

Alternative Rehab Communities (ARC) Harrisburg, PA

The Alternative Rehab Communities (ARC) is a staff-secure residential treatment facility that offers care for girls from 15 to 18 years of age. The ARC opened the Zimmerman Home for Girls in 1981 in response to the Department of Probation's indication that girls lacked resources and options within the juvenile justice system. The staff at the Zimmerman home is all-female (approximately 75 percent African-American, 25 percent Caucasian) who undergo intense, formal, gender-specific training sessions eight weeks prior to working with the girls (OJJDP, 1998).

The girls at the Zimmerman home have various juvenile records and have faced serious risk factors such as substance abuse, dysfunctional families, educational difficulties, gang affiliation, physical and sexual abuse, involvement with older males, and repeated running away (OJJDP, 1998). The girls complete an interview prior to entering the home in order to assess their readiness and willingness in the program and are encouraged to develop their own treatment plan (OJJDP, 1998). Issues related to the individual, family, and school are addressed with specific treatment needs assessed first followed by the development of an individualized treatment program (OJJDP, 1998). Parents are invited to treatment planning meetings and are allowed supervised weekly visits (OJJDP, 1998).

There are many life skills that are targeted for the girls' development. Vocational and technical schools provide girls with twice-weekly career training (in fields ranging from auto repair, to the culinary arts, and cosmetology). Academic skills are addressed in onsite education where girls can work at their own pace. Curriculum includes cultural programming and Women's Studies (OJJDP, 1998). Recreational activities include field trips, basketball, and aerobics (OJJDP, 1998). The program also encourages the development of positive interpersonal skills, conflict resolution, parenting skills (for expectant teen mothers), self-esteem and emotional aspects, personal hygiene, assertiveness and values clarification (OJJDP, 1998). Treatment involves individual counseling each day (to address victimization, parenting, substance abuse) that include specific aftercare plans for each girl's needs such as foster care and reintegration into the community (OJJDP, 1998). There are specialized treatment programs at the Zimmerman

house for rape, sexual and physical abuse survivors. Offender treatment is provided for female abusers and sex offenders and case management is supervised by a staff psychologist (OJJDP, 1998).

Contact information:

Alternative Rehab Communities (The Zimmerman Home for Girls)

2600 Woodlawn St.
Harrisburg, PA
17111

(717) 561-1611

Caritas House for Girls

Pawtucket, Rhode Island

The Caritas House is a long-term residential treatment center with gender-specific services for girls, 13 to 17 years old and is funded by Rhode Island Department of Health (OJJDP, 1998). It is the oldest gender-specific treatment facility in the country and primarily focuses on substance abuse. In addition to the Caritas House, the Corkery House was opened in 1994 to serve young male substance abusers in Richmond, Rhode Island (OJJDP, 1998). Although Caritas House targets girls who are seriously abusing drugs and alcohol, the staff holistically views each girl's experience as part of the dynamic context of total life circumstances, meaning they develop a treatment plan that is based on each girl's specific needs (OJJDP, 1998).

Twenty percent of the girls at Caritas House are African-American and the rest are Caucasian (OJJDP, 1998). Girls are typically referred by the juvenile court and the Department of Children and Youth Services (OJJDP, 1998). Sexual abuse and substance abuse risk factors are specifically targeted. Staff is specifically trained to help girls deal with histories of emotional and psychological abuse and girls that have a lesbian or bisexual orientation (OJJDP, 1998). Girls progress through three stages of treatment: awareness, transition, and community living. They are taught to recognize their strengths, communicate their needs, settle differences, and form healthy relationships that will help them positively connect to others and the world around them (OJJDP, 1998). Families are encouraged to participate in the recovery process through group therapy and relapse prevention programs (OJJDP, 1998). The Caritas House also provides follow-up

support and structured aftercare to help ease the transition into community living (OJJDP, 1998).

Contact Information:

Caritas House
166 Pawtucket Ave.
Pawtucket, RI
02860

(401) 722-4644
www.caritasri.org

Lynn H. Bertram (Director)

Harriet Tubman Residential Center
Auburn, NY

The Harriet Tubman Residential Center is a “step-down” facility (between secure and group home) for girls who are considered first-time offenders (status offenders, minor assaults) (OJJDP, 1998). This home is funded by the New York State Division for Youth and holds up to 25 girls from 15 to 18 years of age (OJJDP, 1998). The ethnic composition changes, but is approximately 40 percent African-American, 35 percent Caucasian, and 25 percent Hispanic American (OJJDP, 1998). The Tubman Center incorporates education with therapy by teaching girls about the accomplishments of women in history and girls come to understand that they possess the power and self-determination to reach their own goals (OJJDP, 1998). The Women’s Studies curriculum teaches girls to overcome sexist messages and take pride in their gender (OJJDP, 1998). There is a resource center that is stocked with more than 1,000 biographical files, books, and videos that teach girls about inspirational women of diverse cultures who have overcome social resistance and other obstacles throughout history (OJJDP, 1998).

The staff includes three men and nine women, who receive 10 hours of gender-specific training before they begin working and at least 120 hours of additional training during the first year of employment (OJJDP, 1998). When girls arrive at the Tubman Center, they are under close supervision and are granted few privileges (OJJDP, 1998). Treatment is individualized, but the following issues are almost always addressed: unstable home environments, poor bonding, depression, physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, domestic violence, family history of criminal involvement and

substance abuse, anger, and negative peer relationships (OJJDP, 1998). Additional treatment components include a program called “*Adelante*” (addresses victimization issues, abuse awareness and personal empowerment), anger management, conflict resolution, independent living skills, and stress management (OJJDP, 1998). As the girls move through the highly structured environment, they earn more freedom by reaching their personal goals and receive individual and group counseling, peer support, and case management (OJJDP, 1998).

Contact Information:

Harriet Tubman Residential Center

6706 Pine Ridge Rd.
Auburn, NY
13021

(315) 255-3481
Inez Nieves-Evans (Director)

P.A.C.E. Centers for Girls

Jacksonville, FL

The Practical Academic Cultural Education (P.A.C.E.) Center for girls is a day treatment program offering comprehensive prevention, early intervention, and high school education for girls from 12 to 18 years of age who are considered at risk of delinquency (OJJDP, 1998). There are 19 P.A.C.E. center locations throughout Florida and they are funded by the Department of Juvenile Justice (OJJDP, 1998). P.A.C.E. opened in 1985 as an alternative to incarceration or institutionalization of delinquent girls (OJJDP, 1998). Each center offers a fully accredited high school program; the founders believe that education is the key to helping girls envision a positive future for them and overcome family dysfunction and life challenges (OJJDP, 1998).

The majority of staff members are female and during their first year, they must participate in 120 hours of training (OJJDP, 1998). Gender-specific adolescent issues make up 60 percent of staff training and each P.A.C.E. Center employs clinicians, teacher advisors, and social workers (OJJDP, 1998). A girl can be referred to P.A.C.E. by juvenile court, teachers, family members, or others (OJJDP, 1998). Most girls have been exposed to a number of risk factors for delinquency, such as physical and sexual abuse

(70 percent), and drug and alcohol abuse (65 percent) (OJJDP, 1998). Sixty-one percent of girls have committed status offenses and 75 percent of girls live at or below the poverty line (OJJDP, 1998). Each girl is assigned an advisor who is on-call 24 hours a day and home visits are granted at least once a month to encourage family participation in the client's treatment (OJJDP, 1998). Girls attend P.A.C.E. classes for six hours a day for five days each week and also participate in community service projects, group therapy, and individual counseling (OJJDP, 1998). Girls learn to appreciate cultural differences, use correct language, make healthy choices regarding sexual activity, drugs, alcohol, and nutrition, career awareness and planning, and learn to solve problems peacefully (OJJDP, 1998).

Through the P.A.C.E. program, girls develop positive relationships, decision-making skills, and a strong self-esteem. Girls complete the program by becoming ready to return to traditional school or by finishing their high school education at the center (OJJDP, 1998). Transitional support and services continue for up to three years after girls leave the PACE program (OJJDP, 1998).

Contact Information:

P.A.C.E. Centers for Girls
2933 University Blvd. North
Jacksonville, FL
32211

(904) 448-8002

Website: www.pacecenter.org/Jax.htm

Lynn H. Bertram (Director)

Life Givers
Fairbanks, Alaska

Life Givers is a residential treatment program for Native American girls, ages 13 to 18, who are parenting or pregnant and who are recovering from substance abuse (usually alcoholism) (OJJDP, 1998). This program is funded by the Center for Substance Abuse Treatment and the State of Alaska (OJJDP, 1998). Life Givers was founded in 1994 in response to an alarming increase in teen pregnancy rates and Fetal Alcohol Syndrome and Fetal Alcohol Affect in infants (OJJDP, 1998). The holistic treatment program is guided by the theory that *culture is healing*. It encourages girls' resiliency

and strength and promotes their spiritual, emotional, mental, and physical health. In addition, it gives them a life philosophy, a support system, and a new lens through which they can view the world (OJJDP, 1998). Fathers are also encouraged to participate in the treatment program.

The all-female staff is required to complete a nine-month self-study course on addictions, gender-specific issues related to female adolescence, substance abuse, parenting, child care, and other topics (OJJDP, 1998). Staff positions include data specialists, teachers, treatment coordinators, nurse educators, child care specialists, night monitors, and mental health specialists (OJJDP, 1998). Most girls that enter the program are pregnant or already parenting, have a history of sexual and/or physical abuse, and are struggling with substance abuse addictions (OJJDP, 1998). Intake begins with an assessment and detoxification and then the girls move through four program phases, each of which is embedded in Native traditions and values (OJJDP, 1998). “New Beginnings” focuses on chemical abuse to recovery, “Balancing” focuses on holistic health, “Family and Community Connections” integrates the father of the child and other family members into the treatment process, and “Sobriety Support” plans for long-term sobriety and relapse prevention (OJJDP, 1998).

Girls focus on cultural history, cultural awareness and cultural diversity by developing intergenerational relationships with Alaskan Native Elders during regular meetings (OJJDP, 1998). Specific issues targeted for development include personal responsibility, parenting skills, goal setting and planning skills, time management, social, life, and vocational skills, health education (including family planning, relationships, and sexuality), and prenatal and postpartum care (OJJDP, 1998). Each participant has individual and group therapy and case management is ongoing (OJJDP, 1998). Infants and toddlers also receive individual development planning, health screenings, well-baby care, and day care (OJJDP, 1998). Follow-up continues for one year and extensive aftercare services are provided for relapse prevention (OJJDP, 1998).

Contact Information:

Life Givers
605 Hughes Ave.
Fairbanks, Alaska
99710

Girls and Boys Town U.S.A.
Staff-Secured Detention Program for Female Juvenile Offenders
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Girls and Boys Town U.S.A. in Philadelphia, created in 1996, is a staff-secure detention home with individualized programs for girls ages 11 to 18 who are waiting for placement by the juvenile court (OJJDP, 1998). Previously known as Boys Town, 80 years ago the program began serving homeless and delinquent boys. In 1979, Boys Town began serving girls and in 1988, gender-specific programming was implemented in order to meet the unique needs of girls (OJJDP, 1998). Here, girls are encouraged to learn about themselves in relation to others, while celebrating their own uniqueness and individuality.

The staff at the Girls and Boys Town U.S.A. is predominately female and male staff members never spend time alone with female clients (OJJDP, 1998). New staff members undergo 120 hours of training before service (OJJDP, 1998). One-third of all training revolves around gender-specific issues such as: attention deficit disorder and hyperactivity in girls, female hygiene and sexual education, pregnancy prevention, eating disorders, sexual acting out, and depression (OJJDP, 1998). More than 90 percent of the girls are members of minority groups and they usually face multiple charges (probation violation and person offenses) (OJJDP, 1998).

Holistic treatment begins at intake, when each girl receives an individual treatment plan that is based on her specific needs, focusing on long and short term goals and life skills (OJJDP, 1998). Group and individual counseling is incorporated which focuses on specific female issues such as self-esteem and victimization (OJJDP, 1998). Reintegration into the community is the key focus of programming and treatment. Sessions with a “family interventionist” focuses on behavioral counseling and problem solving (OJJDP, 1998). Life skills are also targeted at the home, which include social skills, personal hygiene, communication, anger management, goal setting, independent living, and self care (OJJDP, 1998). Girls also participate in career counseling, academic

classes, onsite recreation, and field trips (OJJDP, 1998). Follow-up and aftercare is provided for up to six months after completion of the program (OJJDP, 1998).

Contact Information:

154-160 E. Huntingdon St.
Philadelphia, PA 19125

(215) 739-3742

Salma S. Choudhury (Director)

Website: <http://www.girlsandboystown.org/aboutus/locations/philly/index.asp>

The previous programs recognize the risk and protective factors that are most likely to affect girls. They build positive gender identity development and help adolescents avoid future delinquent behavior. In terms of current programs and policies, the juvenile justice system does not tend to identify and address the specific needs of young women (Bloom, 2001). While there is some overlap between the life circumstances of female and male delinquents, gender-based differences should be taken into consideration by researchers, policymakers, and practitioners here in Hawaii. Extensive research has proven that girls and boys travel different pathways to delinquency. These pathways can be articulated through further analysis and research, as well as the development and implementation of model programs incorporating gender-responsive approaches (Bloom, 2001). When treatment programs are created with the important differences between girls and boys in mind, we can create highly effective interventions and reduce juvenile delinquency (Thompson, 2002).

Lessons for Hawaii

There is a pressing need for programs in Hawaii to specifically address girls' needs. Based on the research previously discussed in this report as well as our review of the aforementioned promising initiatives, the following are suggested components for girl-focused programs in Hawaii.

1) **Comprehensive mental health treatment.** In Hawaii, histories of depression, especially suicidal ideation and self-mutilation, and sexual abuse have been reported common among chronic female juvenile offenders. Nationally, female juvenile offenders

are almost twice as likely to report clinically significant levels of depressive disorders as well as significant traumatic experiences (Trupin, Stewart, Beach and Boesky, 2002). Therefore, girl-specific programs must address such issues and give girls free and comfortable space to discuss prior victimization, especially sexual victimization. These programs should deal with the consequent dearth of appropriate and healthy life skills and problem solving techniques that follow. Effective mental health treatment should also address addiction, physical abuse, neglect, and family problems and the harmful behaviors that can result from traumatic experiences in their homes (e.g. self-harm and self-destructive substance use).

2) **Healthy relationship building.** Data indicate that female juvenile offenders' networks are almost exclusively comprised of older males acting as "protectors" and sexual partners. Girls in treatment and in the juvenile justice system often emphasize sexuality in their discussions of relationships and this can create difficulty in developing friendships with other girls (Riehman, Bluthenthal, Juvonen, and Morral, 2003). Because our research yields similar findings, a component of programming for female juvenile offenders must address healthy relationships and sexual exploitation. Girls' programming should find creative ways for girls to build upon their inner strength, fortify their self-esteem, encourage independence, and educate girls on the dynamics of maintaining meaningful inter- and intra-gender relationships. Included in relationship-building should be sexual education that includes such topics as safe sex practices, STDs, and young motherhood/pregnancy.

3) **Educational and occupational support.** Academic failure and lack of employment options and opportunities are also factors in girls' delinquency. Adequate educational and occupational training can help girls develop a sense of efficacy and empowerment (Chesney-Lind, 2001). It can also help them tackle other life problems, such as inadequate income and housing. In addition, many at-risk girls may engage in delinquent behavior simply because there is little else to occupy their free time (Chesney-Lind, 2001). Providing academic and occupational support can address the issue of idleness in these girls' lives.

4) **Cultural sensitivity.** Minority overrepresentation occurs at all stages of the juvenile justice system. Minority youth are treated more severely, and minority drug

offenders in particular are at increased risk of formal handling, detention, and custody placement (Belenko, Sprott, and Petersen, 2004). Increased attention is needed to implement effective treatment programs that draw on culturally specific resources within the community.

5) **Alternatives to detention and incarceration.** For some girls in the juvenile justice, home life is characterized by poverty, divorce, parental death, abandonment, alcoholism, and frequent abuse. Delinquency becomes a survival strategy. Returning home may not be an option for these girls, and detention and incarceration leaves them feeling angry, distrustful, and resentful of “being punished” for their troubled families (Chesney-Lind, 2001; Weiler, 1999). Alternatives to “punishment” that allow for girls to address the previously mentioned problems in their lives is therefore encouraged.

Previous Research and Additional Resources

For further research and more detail on gender-specific programming and female delinquency, please refer to reports of the Hawaii Girls Project, Volumes 1 through 6. Meda Chesney-Lind was the Principal Investigator for all six reports, from 1998 to 2000. Volume 1 (1997), *Girls at Risk: An Overview of Female Delinquency in the Fiftieth State* addresses local and national trends in girls’ arrests, violence, delinquency, and gang membership, and also looks at girls within Hawaii youth facilities. Volume 2 (1998), *Girls at Risk: An Overview of Gender-Specific Programming Issues and Initiatives* suggests ideas towards building a Hawaii State plan of services for girls and offers profiles of local and national programs for girls. Volume 3 (1998), *Issues of Gender and Ethnicity Among At-Risk Youth in Hawaii: Identity, Ethnic Relations, Aspirations, and Self-Esteem* specifically addresses ethnic relations, conflicts, stereotypes, and self-esteem issues with girls in Hawaii. Volume 4 (1999), *Working With Girls: Exploring Practitioner Issues, Experiences and Feelings* focuses on specific issues among girls and youth workers. Volume 5 (2000), *Programs Matter: Girls’ Offenses and Gender Specific Programming in Hawaii* centers on girls in Hawaii with the most serious problems: those held at the Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility, most of whom are runaways. This volume carefully reviews why running away has specific meanings for girls. It also proposes a culturally appropriate program for Native Hawaiian girls at risk of entry into

the juvenile justice system. Volume 6 (2000), *Ho'om_hala I Na Pua: A Gender Specific and Culture Based Program for Native Hawaiian Girls* suggests a Native Hawaiian approach to the juvenile justice system, focusing on healing rather than punishment.

Volume 6 proposes a gender-specific *and* culturally based program for Native Hawaiian girls. Girls in Hawaii that are held in detention need programs that are culturally grounded and that empower them to realize their voice within their community and in determining their own future. The *Ho'om_hala I Na Pua* program proposal considers how culture drives Native Hawaiian epistemology and how culture functions as a protective factor. The primary goal of the proposed program is to restore female adolescent self-esteem and self-identity. It suggests using conventional programs, such as addiction and abuse counseling and anger management, but complementing them with Native Hawaiian practices, traditions, and customs for Native Hawaiian girls[,] such as Hi'u Wai, a purification ceremony performed at the sea shore. (Refer to Volume 6 of the Hawaii Girls Project for further details.)

Conclusion

Since girls currently account for a high percentage of those we arrest in Hawaii (43.2 percent in 2003), compared to mainland juvenile arrests rates, there is clearly a need to move beyond the needs assessment stage to the program development stage. We have ample evidence that girls in Hawaii face both the same challenges as their counterparts on the mainland, while also negotiating some challenges unique to the islands (such as a tourist economy and its particular crime challenges). Specifically, a tourist related economy creates many “grey” and even legitimate sectors where young women are vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Hawaii’s long standing prostitution problem also involves bar scenes and other sexually oriented businesses that often produce seemingly lucrative opportunities for young girls, only to expose them to drug use, sexual abuse, and other forms of marginalization (Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez, 1983; Pasko, 2002) All these challenges call for a special and high level focus on the unique problems of girlhood in Hawaii, and it is in this direction that the state must head.

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Appendix A

Interviewee Protocol

Personal experience:

For what type of agency (social service, school, law enforcement, juvenile justice, or other) do you work? _____

What is your current position? What past positions have you had working with delinquent or at-risk youth?

How many years of experience do you have in your current position? In your past ones?

Differences in boys and girls and delinquency:

Describe the differences you notice among the boys and girls you see. Different crimes committed? Different needs? Different risks?

What do you feel are the major reasons girls become delinquent? What are the major reasons for boys? How do boys and girls differ in the types of crimes they commit?

Without giving any names, can you illustrate some of the points you mentioned through your own experiences with the youth you have encountered? Can you give a “typical” story of a girl in the system? Of a boy?

Drugs:

Describe the role of drugs in youth’s pathway to delinquency. How does it differ for boys and girls?

Gangs:

What about the role of gangs? How does gang membership differ for boys and girls? How has gang membership changed over the past few years? Do you believe the number of gangs have increased, decreased, or stayed the same over the past ten years? How have gangs changed: More violent or less? More drug selling or less? Younger in composition? You think they are still ethnically based? If there are changes in gangs, what do you think has promoted such a change?

Changes with youth and needed changes in system:

How do youth compare today with past youth? If you have noticed changes, what do you think promoted such change?

Describe improvements you feel are needed in the system (whether it is with police, schools, Family Court, etc). Describe what you feel currently works in the system. What are your current frustrations?

Any final comments?

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE

Youth Gang Project's Gender Differences and Delinquency in Hawaii

Meda Chesney-Lind, Principal Investigator, Youth Gang Project,
2424 Maile Way, Saunders 704, 956-6313

This research project focuses on the different pathways to delinquency in Hawaii's boys' and girls' lives. We are hoping to better understand the lives of youth who end up at Family Court and in Detention. Over the next six months, we are interviewing people—such as outreach workers, judges, police officers, and attorneys—who have experience with troubled youth in Hawaii. Participating in this study can potentially benefit juvenile justice response and programming in Hawaii, but no personal benefit to you can be claimed by this study. This interview will take approximately 30 minutes to one hour. We are asking permission to tape-record the interview session. Therefore, we ask that you refrain from any mention of specific names, including your own, during the interview. The things you say will not be repeated to anyone, except in the final paper, where no names or any identifying information will be used. Your responses will always be kept completely confidential and anonymous. Participation in this research project is entirely voluntary. You are free to say no and end participation in the study at any time. If you feel embarrassed or uncomfortable at any moment, you may stop the interview immediately. At this time, please ask us any concerns or questions about this interview.

I certify that I have read and that I understand the foregoing, that I have been given satisfactory answers to my inquiries concerning project procedures and other matters and that I have been advised that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation in the project or activity at any time without prejudice.

I herewith give my consent to participate in this project with the understanding that such consent does not waive any of my legal rights; nor does it release the principal

investigator of the institution or any employee or agent thereof from liability for negligence.

Signature of Participant

Date

If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions or have comments or complaints about your treatment in this study, contact: Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawaii, 2540 Maile Way, Honolulu, HI 96822. Phone (808) 956-5007. You may also reach the researcher by calling (808) 956-6313.