

# UNDERSTANDING JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DELINQUENCY

PART

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# 1

## HISTORY OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

### LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter you should be able to:

1. Identify how society's perception of children and of their culpability for deviant behavior has evolved over time.
2. Discuss the origins of the juvenile court.
3. Explain the concept of *parens patriae* and how it has been incorporated into the juvenile court system.

## INTRODUCTION

In 2022, Philadelphia police arrested a 12-year-old boy and charged him with murder in the carjacking of 70-year-old Chung Yan Chin. The boy, along with two teenagers, knocked Chin to the ground and repeatedly kicked him in the face and head. Chin suffered serious injuries and died three weeks later in a city hospital. Charges against the three boys included murder, robbery, conspiracy, and weapons violations. They also faced other charges, including tampering with evidence for removing the car's license plate after it was stolen. Although the newspaper, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, named all three young defendants in an initial story, it dropped the name of the 12-year-old from later reporting, citing his young age. One of the teenage suspects, Qiyam Muhammad, 16, remains at large at the time of writing.<sup>1</sup>

The notion of how to handle juveniles who commit violent crimes has varied over the centuries. In the wake of a 2012 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Miller v. Alabama*, federal Judge Raymond Jackson found that Lee Boyd Malvo's (aka the Beltway Sniper) life sentences were inconsistent with the Eighth Amendment's prohibition on cruel and unusual punishment.<sup>2,3</sup> The *Miller* decision held that it was unconstitutional to sentence anyone to life in prison without the possibility of parole for crimes committed while they were juveniles. *Miller* represented an expansion of the court's reasoning in the 2010 case of *Graham v. Florida*,<sup>4</sup> in which the justices formally recognized fundamental differences between the neurological development and mental capacity of adults and those of juveniles. In *Graham*, the court held that modern "developments in psychology and brain science continue to show fundamental differences between juvenile and adult minds."

Compare the story of Malvo to that of John Dean, who, at 8 years of age, was publicly executed in England for having set fire to a courtroom in the town of Abingdon in 1629. Justice Whitelock, the judge who sentenced the child to death, is reported to have found evidence of



A carjacking in progress. Do you agree with the decision of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* to retract publication of the name of a 12-year-old involved in the murder of a 70-year-old man during a carjacking?

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cunning, revenge, and malice in the arson case.<sup>5</sup> The difference in judicial outcome between the case of Malvo and that of Dean is due to almost 400 years of cultural and legal development—a period of time in which Western societies came to recognize crucial differences between adults and juveniles. Today, most countries acknowledge the special status of children, and the legal systems of Western societies treat children separately from adults, acknowledging their relatively undeveloped reasoning capacity, and their inherent ability to change as they mature. The execution of children, however, continues today in some parts of the world. ISIS, with its medieval interpretation of the Koran, is reported to have beheaded or crucified dozens of children in areas under its control over the past few years for “crimes” such as not properly fasting during Ramadan.<sup>6</sup> The practice of executing children also continues today in a number of countries with established legal systems, most notably Iran and Saudi Arabia.<sup>7</sup>

This chapter will explore the historical background of the juvenile justice system in America, beginning with early shifts in perception of the role of the child and the rights of the state. Sanctions developed to meet the special needs of juveniles will be discussed, including institutional reform and the development of a separate juvenile court system.

## CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF CHILDREN OVER TIME

### LEARNING OBJECTIVE

- 1.1** Identify how society’s perception of children and of their culpability for deviant behavior has evolved over time.



Unknown child laborer in Mollohan Mills in Newberry, SC. How have views of children changed over time?

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Today's treatment of justice-involved youth in the United States is the result of changes in legislation and practice over the past 150 years. American understanding of children originated in the child-rearing practices and values brought to the New World by English Puritans in the late 1600s. Early practices were harsh by the standards of today, and the belief that justice-involved youth should be treated separately from offending adults took nearly 200 years to develop.

It was not until the 16th and 17th centuries that scholars and medical experts began considering childhood as a period of life that should be treated differently than adulthood. Around that time, some enlightened individuals came to see children as a group that should be shielded from what they saw as the sins of the world, and given education and training that could later benefit them as adults. In addition, as life expectancy grew due to medical advances, the general care of children began to change in regard to nutrition, exercise, and lifestyle. Soon England began to legislate ages of culpability, and laws were passed recognizing that youths under the age of 7 should not be held responsible for criminal activity; those ages 8 to 14 should be held responsible only if it could be shown that they understood the repercussions of their actions; and children ages 14 and over were considered adults and fully subject to criminal sanctions. However, it was not until the 19th century that the criminal justice system of the Western world began to change its handling of justice-involved youth.

## IN THE MEDIA 1.1

### CHANGING VIEWS OF ADOLESCENTS

Cultural views of adolescents have changed considerably over time. Hundreds of years ago, children were seen as young adults and treated as fully grown for the purposes of criminal punishment. In early England, for example, children under the age of 10 were hanged for such simple crimes as stealing a spoon. Although progressive views of children developed slowly, by the end of the 19th century in America, children were seen as a special category of persons deserving of unique protections. Changes in the law continued through the 20th century, when the rights of children were increasingly recognized by the courts. Finally, in the 21st century, the U.S. Supreme Court accepted neuroscientific findings that depicted the adolescent brain as one that is still developing and malleable—meaning that, unlike adults, children (even those who commit serious crimes) could likely still be saved from a life of career criminality through proper handling and treatment. The changing view of adolescents can be seen across generations of Americans living today, and these changes can be documented in a number of ways.

#### Putting It Into Action

To complete this active learning exercise, document the changing view of children over time in American society by (1) identifying changing portrayals of children in the mass media and (2) interviewing multiple generations of living Americans. To accomplish the former, explore early and mid-20th century feature-length films available on the internet in which children have central roles or that focus on the lives of children (these can be located through searches for “historical views on adolescence,” “early movies starring children,” and the like). Create a written record of your perceptions of how views of children can be seen changing over time in American film.

For the second part of this assignment, interview at least three generations of Americans, asking questions about children. The questions might be something like, “What do you think the place of children in society should be?” “How should children be treated?” “How should children who break the law be handled?” Record their answers.

Submit to your instructor the materials you have collected when asked to do so.

## Children and the Criminal Justice System

Prior to the 19th century, Western criminal justice systems treated children like adults—and in some cases even more harshly. In Colonial times, the Puritans saw the family as the cornerstone of the community, and they believed that parents should be allowed to punish their children as they saw fit. If corporal punishment or other sanctions by the parents did not have the desired effect, disobedient children could be sent to community officials for more punishment, based on the same rules used for adults who have offended. This could even mean sentencing children to death, though this was rarely done. Since the criminal justice system did not have uniform standards to deal with juveniles, some children were punished quite severely and others not at all. Courts had the option of invoking **nullification**, which meant refusing to enforce sanctions against children due to the dearth of common-law standards and statutes applicable to them.

In the early 19th century, American industries attracted immigrants who often joined the ranks of the poor when they arrived. As cities grew and crime became a bigger problem, authorities developed vocational training programs to help the poor learn marketable skills. Many of these programs were directed at poor children in particular, because the young were viewed as more malleable.

### CASE STUDY

#### *INGRAHAM V. WRIGHT*, 430 U.S. 651 (1977)

In October 1970, assistant principal Solomon Barnes administered corporal punishment to Roosevelt Andrews and 15 other boys in a restroom at Charles R. Drew Junior High School, located in Dade County, Florida. Andrews had been accused of tardiness, and when he resisted paddling, he was struck on the arm, back, and across the neck. Five days later, Principal Willie J. Wright removed James Ingraham and other disruptive students from the classroom and paddled many of them in his office. When Ingraham refused to allow paddling, Wright called Barnes and another assistant principal to hold Ingraham while he paddled him 20 times. Ingraham's mother later took him to the emergency room for a hematoma.

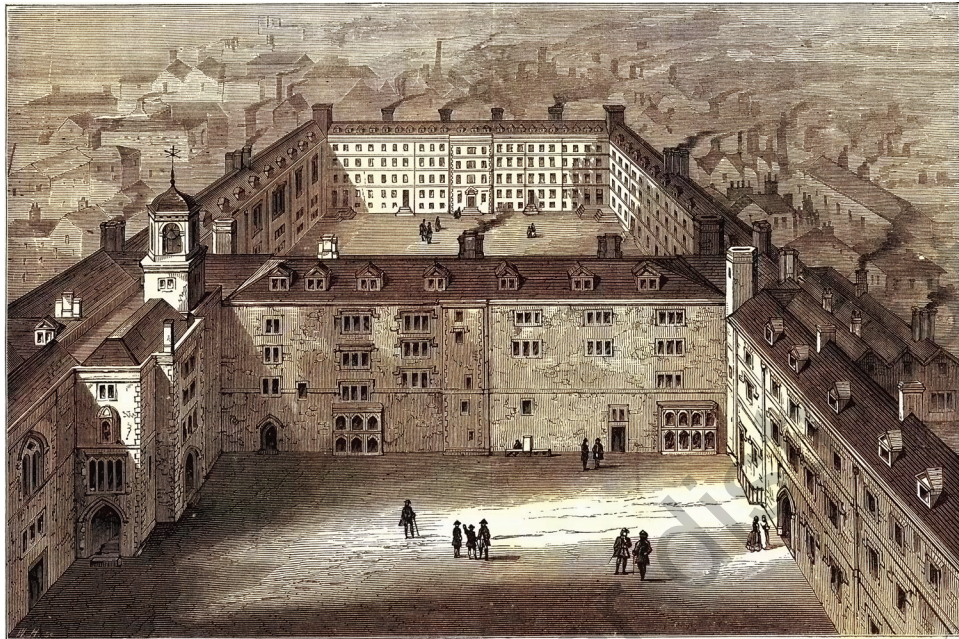
Ingraham and Andrews filed suit against the school administration, as well as the Dade County School System, for deprivation of constitutional rights and damages from corporal punishment. The suit was dismissed, stating there was not enough evidence to go to jury. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit reversed the decision, holding that the students' treatment violated the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments, and noting that the students were denied due process. An en banc court later rejected the Fifth Circuit ruling and confirmed the original decision.

In a decision written by Justice Lewis Powell, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Eighth Amendment does not prevent corporal punishment in schools and due process was not violated in the Dade County case. However, Justice Powell warned against severe corporal punishment in schools and recommended that school staff use restraint when administering punishment to students.

1. Do you agree with the final ruling?
2. What legal rights should juveniles have?
3. In your opinion, would this ruling be the same today?

## Houses of Refuge

Programs for impoverished children actually originated in England. **Bridewells**, founded in London in the mid-16th century, housed poor and justice-involved youth and worked to train them in specific skills. Reformatories opened in the United States in the early to mid-1800s and



Nineteenth-century bridewells, such as the one featured here, became home to many offending individuals. What purpose did bridewells serve?

Sepia Times / Contributor

followed this general model. The purpose of the reformatory was to instill a strong work ethic in its charges. During this era, criminological theory began attributing crime to poor living conditions, and some reformers called for changing offending individuals' environment as a way to change their behaviors.

In America, new **houses of refuge** offered skills training, education, discipline, and religious teaching to juveniles in an attempt to change the direction of their lives. The thinking was that these facilities could make up for what poor families had failed to provide. By learning the value of hard work and useful skills, these youths could become productive members of society. The courts would give errant youths indeterminate sentences in houses of refuge, and the houses would then develop individualized improvement plans for each child. After only a few months, some children would be deemed reformed and released, while others might be held for years. However, confinement generally ranged from 6 weeks to 2 years.

Life in these facilities was entirely institutionalized. On arrival, each child was given the same haircut and the same clothing as the others. They followed a strict schedule, and lessons involved reciting material in unison. Those thought to be troublemakers were given a diet of bread and water, and even more severe punishment involved solitary confinement without food.

Houses of refuge were opened in the largest cities of the early United States: New York (1825), Boston (1826), and Philadelphia (1828). In the 1830s, more than 20 more facilities were built, and 40 more in the 1840s. Most of these institutions housed male juveniles, with capacity ranging from 90 in Lancaster, Massachusetts, to 1,000 in New York. Often these houses were built next to workhouses and jails for adults, giving the youths a chance to interact with career criminals and to learn from them.

Many of these houses eventually lost sight of their original purpose and lapsed into mere institutions of control. Residents were overwhelmingly boys, who had little contact with girls and were held under a strict military model, with uniforms, drilling, and corporal



punishment. These boys might be sent into communities on apprenticeships to learn skills, but they were often put on isolated farms or ships, where many were ignored, beaten, and forced to work long hours.

Houses of refuge became, in effect, a type of prison. Though they were meant for youths, many facilities began accepting adults who were impoverished or criminal. Many soon became overcrowded, and the initial goals of moral education and training were forgotten. To deal with overcrowding, reformers built **cottage reformatories**, which were small facilities that mimicked a large family. On farms removed from the criminal enticements of the cities, surrogate parents were supposed to provide a nurturing environment focused on education, discipline, and training.

By mid-century, reformers began to rethink this harsh system in hopes of improving the juveniles' chances of reintegrating into adult society. In Massachusetts in 1841, the concept of probation was introduced. Probation involves release of an offending individual from detention following a period of good behavior, but under supervision in the community. Instituted first for adults, probation was seen as both a way to rehabilitate offending individuals and a way to cope with overcrowded jails.

John Augustus, whom some refer to as *the father of probation*, developed a community supervision system for hundreds of adults convicted of nonviolent offenses. This process, which initially depended on volunteer probation officers, became so successful in Massachusetts that it came to be supported by the state government. In 1869, the Massachusetts Board of Charities implemented probation for justice-involved youth as well. It was a different system than we have today, with probation officers used as aids to juvenile court judges rather than as community overseers. Such early probation officers would assist judges with adjudication decisions and help determine placement of youths and arrange for apprenticeships.

Despite innovations like probation, 19th century systems continued to be overcrowded, and justice-involved youth were often mixed in with dangerous offending adults. Soon state legislatures



Youth activists in the United States in the early 1900s protest child slavery. How do contemporary views of children differ from those of the past?

Public Domain

reduced funding, forcing many institutions to cut services. This created custody and control issues. Facilities came to be plagued with insurrections, arson, sexual misconduct, and truancy.

Female juveniles constituted a very small proportion of the justice-involved youth population. They were often housed in the same institutions as male offending adults, and meager resources were dedicated to their care. In the mid-19th century, however, a few institutions dedicated to reform emerged, such as the Lancaster State Industrial School for Girls in Massachusetts. Females held there were generally from poor immigrant families and were put in a cottage atmosphere, where they were instructed on parenting, housework, and other important feminine qualities of the time. Some graduates went on to marry and have children. However, much like male juvenile facilities, Lancaster became overcrowded, and its focus shifted from reform to control and discipline.

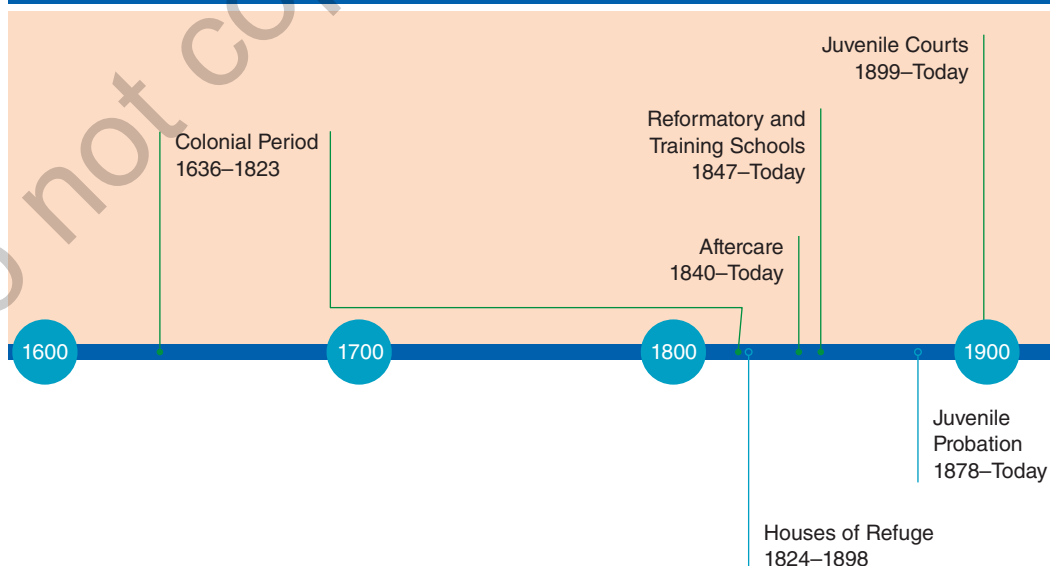
## CREATION OF THE JUVENILE COURT

### LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1.2 Discuss the origins of the juvenile court.

In America in the late 19th century, immigrants flooded into cities, often settling in impoverished areas, and delinquency rates mushroomed. Lacking community organization and collective efficacy, youths in low-income areas joined criminal enterprises. In the **Progressive Era** (1880–1929), middle- and upper-class reformers were concerned about these developments and pushed for changes in how juveniles were managed. A widespread **child savers** movement began, and individuals such as Louise Bowen and Julia Lathrop set out to restore the values of the American family by rescuing delinquents from the streets, emphasizing respect for parental authority, and domesticating young women to make them ready to become wives and mothers (see Figure 1.1).

FIGURE 1.1 ■ Timeline of Juvenile Court Development



Enforcing mandatory schooling, regulating working conditions, and implementing a juvenile justice court system were some of the most prominent Progressive reforms. Many jurisdictions began experimenting with separating juveniles and adults in the court system. In 1870, Massachusetts established separate court dockets, hearings, and records for children under age 16. Colorado operated a quasi-juvenile court in the late 1800s, and New York provided separate trials for juveniles beginning in 1892. In 1899, the first fully separate juvenile court was created in Cook County, Illinois, which includes Chicago.

The Cook County Juvenile Court was established through legislation reflecting a new attitude that children should be treated differently due to their undeveloped cognitive and emotional status. This court operated in a less formal manner than adult courts, discouraging what could be interpreted as intimidating features such as opposing attorneys, adversarial testimony, and merely objective legal terminology (see Table 1.1). Judges shifted from indifferent disciplinarians to a paternal and caring role, providing justice-involved youth with resources rather than formal punishment.

The new juvenile courts, charged with handling people under the age of 16, were expected not only to reform youths who had committed criminal acts but also to give assistance to those in poor living conditions.

These courts could deem the child-rearing practices of poor immigrant families deficient and remove their children from the home, sending them to public institutions.

Cook County and other new juvenile courts used a probationary model, which meant keeping most of their charges in the community rather than having them serve time in a correctional facility. Probation officers could act in a positive, mentoring role for youths who might otherwise be subject to criminal influences. The government began paying probation officers, and in 1912, the U.S. Children's Bureau was established to oversee the juvenile justice system, including probation officers.

The juvenile courts also expanded their authority. In 1903, Illinois legislation allowed the juvenile justice system to intervene with **status offenses** such as curfew violations and



A typical juvenile court. How does juvenile court differ from adult court?

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**TABLE 1.1** ■ Juvenile Justice Versus Adult Court System Terminology

Juvenile Justice System	Adult Court System
Custody	Arrest
Petition	Indictment
Hearing	Trial
Adjudication	Conviction
Commitment	Sentence
Justice-involved youth	Offending adult

incorrigibility, in addition to their existing mandate to deal with youths engaged in criminal acts or subject to dependency and neglect findings. These early courts accumulated a long list of delinquent behaviors (see Table 1.2). In 1909, the first court-affiliated guidance clinic was created in Chicago by William Healy, a leading supporter of the juvenile court. Healy called on the courts to individually assess each youth and to identify the interventions needed. By 1931, more than 200 guidance clinics were created to assist the juvenile justice system.

The transition to juvenile courts, however, was far from seamless. Many initial court employees—including judges, probation officers, and clinicians—were untrained volunteers, some court proceedings were not even recorded, and some courts meted out especially harsh sentences.

**TABLE 1.2** ■ Examples of Delinquent Behavior Found in Early Juvenile Codes

Habitual truancy	Consumption of liquor
Begging	Running away from home
Use of vile/obscene language in public	Engaging in immoral conduct in public
Associating with immoral persons	Curfew violations
Running away from a state institution	Visiting a house of ill repute

## PARENS PATRIAE AND THE JUVENILE COURT

### LEARNING OBJECTIVE

- 1.3** Explain the concept of *parens patriae* and how it has been incorporated into the juvenile court system.

Early juvenile courts often forcibly removed children from their homes in the belief that doing so was in the best interest of the child. Opponents argued that this approach violated a juvenile's basic rights as well as the rights of parents to manage their home as they saw fit, but proponents said the benefits to the child outweighed the loss of parental rights.

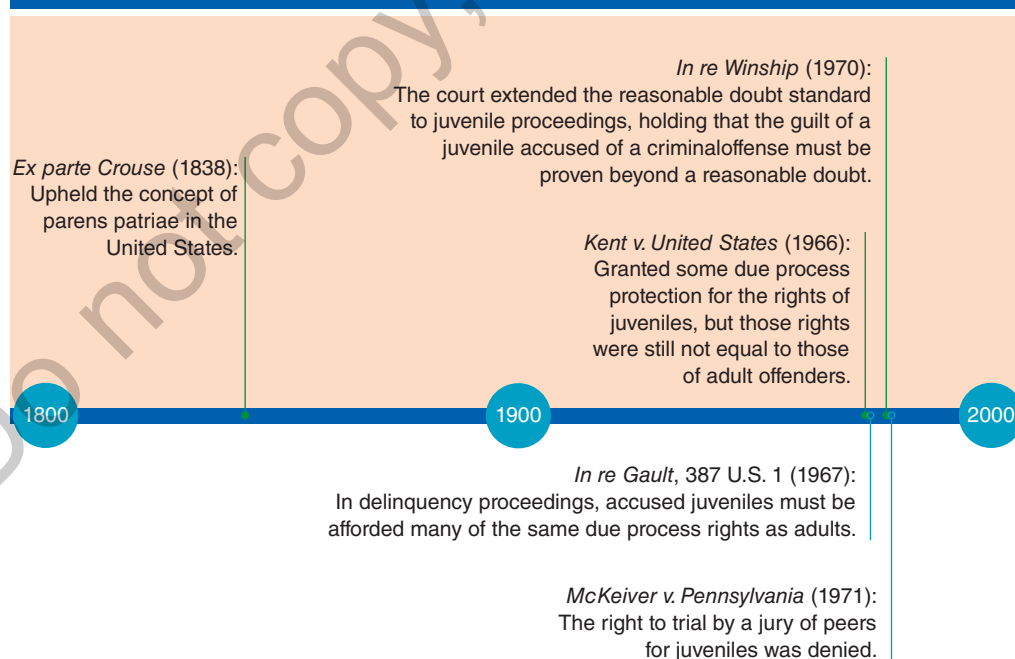
Proponents cited an English legal standard set in the Middle Ages called *parens patriae*—a Latin term for “parent of the nation.” *Parens patriae*, which became the guiding principle of the juvenile court, made the court the children’s guardian. As far back as 1838, American courts upheld the doctrine of *parens patriae* in the case of *Ex parte Crouse*, which involved the incarceration of Mary Ann Crouse at the request of her mother but without the approval of her father (see Figure 1.2). The father argued his daughter deserved a jury trial, but the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled that the state had the power to intervene, no matter the reason, if it could provide help that the family could not provide. The court stated:

[The state] has a paramount interest in the virtue and knowledge of its members, and that of strict right the business of education belongs to it. That parents are ordinarily entrusted with it, is because it can seldom be put in better hands; but where they are incompetent or corrupt, what is there to prevent the public from withdrawing their faculties, held as they obviously are, at its sufferance? The right of parental control is a natural, but not an inalienable one. (*Ex parte Crouse*, 1838)

Critics of the *Crouse* decision contended that the state offered the child nothing more than incarceration, while the father could have provided education, training, and nurturing care. Indeed, this argument prevailed in the 1870 ruling of the Illinois Supreme Court in *People v. Turner* (1870), which upheld parents’ rights to care for their children without government intervention. The court stated:

In our solicitude to form youths for the duties of civil life, we should not forget the rights which inhere both in parents and children. The principle of the absorption of the child in, and its complete subjection to the despotism of the State, is wholly inadmissible in the modern civilized world. The parent has the right to the care, custody, and assistance of his child. The duty to maintain and protect it, is a principle of a natural law.

**FIGURE 1.2** ■ Historical U.S. Supreme Court Cases in Juvenile Justice



In subsequent decisions, however, most jurisdictions ignored *Turner* and followed the standards set in *Crouse*. In the 1905 case of *Commonwealth v. Fisher*, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court settled the issue of child and parental rights by citing the intent of intervention—that is, by explaining why the courts needed to intervene. It said:

There is no probability in the proper administration of law, of the children's liberty being unduly invaded. Every statute which is designed to give protection, care, and training to children, as a needed substitute for parental authority, and performance of parental duty, is but a recognition of the duty of the state, as the legitimate guardian and protector of children where other guardianship fails. No constitutional right is violated.

The Pennsylvania court ruled, in effect, that a child not only might *need* court intervention but in fact had a *right* to intervention. As a result, juvenile courts were given the freedom to deal with juveniles as they saw fit, and parents had virtually no legal recourse to defy them.

The legal standard established by *Fisher* went undisputed for decades. In the 1960s, however, the U.S. Supreme Court altered the treatment of justice-involved youth in a series of rulings. Its 1966 *Kent v. United States* decision granted some protection for the rights of juveniles, but their rights were still not found to be equal to those of adults who have offended. To this day, juveniles are treated as a special class of persons and courts still have the ability to intervene on their behalf in many circumstances.

## NAVIGATING THE FIELD 1.1

### PARENS PATRIAE AND THE JUVENILE COURT

In 1899, the Cook County (Illinois) Juvenile Court opened its doors. The court, which was the first of its kind in the country, was based on the classic principle of *parens patriae*. *Parens patriae* is a Latin term that this chapter says means “parent of the nation.” However, phrases from antiquity, such as *parens patriae*, are not always easy to define, and their definitions often vary from one source to another.

#### Putting It Into Action

Use the internet to search for other definitions of *parens patriae* (and possibly other spellings). Gather those definitions into a single file. Add to the file your comments on what you think the significance of the varying definitions might be for juvenile court philosophy.

Submit that file to your instructor when asked to do so.

## SUMMARY

### LO 1.1 Identify how society's perception of children and of their culpability for deviant behavior has evolved over time.

It was not until the 16th and 17th centuries that scholars and medical experts began to think that children should be treated differently than adults. Prior to that time, children as young as 5 years old could be forced to perform hard physical labor, often at the behest of their caregivers. In addition, they could be punished for criminal offenses in the same

manner as adults. With the advent of Enlightenment thought, however, increasing recognition was given to the emotional and physical needs of children. England began legislating ages of culpability and enacted laws that protected young children. These new laws did not hold young children to the same standards of responsibility as older teenagers or adults. With this change in mindset, the methods of handling justice-involved youth changed and began to move toward rehabilitation rather than punishment.

**LO 1.2 Discuss the origins of the juvenile court.**

The child saver movement, which began in the late 1800s, advocated rescuing justice-involved youth from the streets and providing them with social services—instead of punishing them harshly for problem behaviors such as running away from home. The first juvenile court in Cook County, Illinois, was built around a less formal and less adversarial model than adult courts. In addition, the state of Illinois extended the jurisdiction of the court to manage dependent and neglect cases as well.

**LO 1.3 Explain the concept of *parens patriae* and how it has been incorporated into the juvenile court system.**

In America in the late 1800s, *parens patriae* became the guiding principle of the juvenile court, meaning that the juvenile court could assume the role of parent or guardian for youths who did not come from stable homes or who had parents who were unable to make appropriate decisions for them. Juvenile court principles required the court to make decisions in the best interest of youths in regard to residency, education, and other matters.

### ALEJANDRO'S STORY—AGE 13 YEARS AND 2 MONTHS

Alejandro is 13 years old and currently living with his maternal grandmother in a government housing project in Chicago. Chicago is home to the Cook County Juvenile Court—the first juvenile court in the United States. Alejandro's biological mother, Ana, was born in Guatemala, and struggled with substance abuse her entire life. His biological father wasn't nice to Alejandro, often hitting and beating him with a belt when the man drank alcohol. When Alejandro was almost 13-years-old, his father moved out and has chosen not to have a relationship with him—causing him to sometimes feel alone and rejected; something that he rarely talks about. Although Alejandro doesn't know it, numerous OJJDP-funded studies have repeatedly shown that “trauma experienced during childhood may result in profound and long-lasting negative effects that extend well into adulthood.”<sup>8</sup> (Learn more about how childhood trauma can affect the social and psychological development of children and adolescents from the National Institute of Justice publication, *Examining the Relationship Between Childhood Trauma and Involvement in the Justice System*.)

Alejandro had been placed under the guardianship of both of his maternal grandparents until his grandfather passed away last year, although he had been living sporadically with his mother until removal by Child Protective Services due to yet another failed urinalysis. He has six siblings and is a middle child. Alejandro is in the eighth grade at Falling Water Middle School and currently earns As and Bs in school, especially enjoying his biology class and after-school art class provided by the Boys and Girls' Club near his home. Falling Water Middle School is aging and has limited financial resources, preventing the teachers and administration from providing students (the majority of whom are from racial minority groups) a quality education. Alejandro has been told by his older siblings that this is likely the result of *institutionalized racism*.<sup>\*</sup> He

knows of a middle school in the Chicago suburbs (composed mostly of white students) that just received a new technology lab and new instruments for its orchestra—a fact that supports what he has been told about racism. The idea that racism is alive and well in Cook County is beginning to take root in his mind, and will become firmly established as he grows older.

*Based on the introductory information you have learned about Alejandro, what factors can you identify that place him at risk for delinquent behavior? What protective factors are present?*

\* *Institutionalized racism* is racial inequity that has become normative within institutions and systems of power, such as places of employment, government agencies and social services agencies. Taken for granted by many people, institutionalized racism can assume the form of unfair policies and practices, discriminatory treatment, and inequitable opportunities and outcomes.

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Compare the treatment of youths in the American colonies with that of children of other cultures and countries around the same time. Has the viewpoint of the role of the child changed throughout the world or just in Western societies?
2. Explain the idealistic concept of cottage reformatories. If implemented as intended, would these reformatories be successful in the 21st century? Why or why not?
3. Did the U.S. Supreme Court do an adequate job of defining constitutional rights of juveniles and their parents? Do you agree with the ruling of *Kent v. United States* in regard to the ability of the state to intervene in the lives of children?

## EXPLORING JUVENILE JUSTICE FURTHER

1. Explore the creation and development of the juvenile justice system in your particular state. Make a timeline of the important events that occurred during its development, such as the creation of the first juvenile court or implementation of a juvenile residential facility.
2. Interview an employee of a child social services agency in your area, focusing specifically on their involvement with the juvenile justice system and their satisfaction with the treatment of juveniles in your jurisdiction.

## KEY TERMS

bridewells  
 child savers  
*Commonwealth v. Fisher*  
 cottage reformatories  
*Ex parte Crouse*  
 houses of refuge

*Kent v. United States*  
 nullification  
*parens patriae*  
*People v. Turner*  
 Progressive Era  
 status offenses