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The Impact of Juvenile Curfew Enforcement on Crime Statistics

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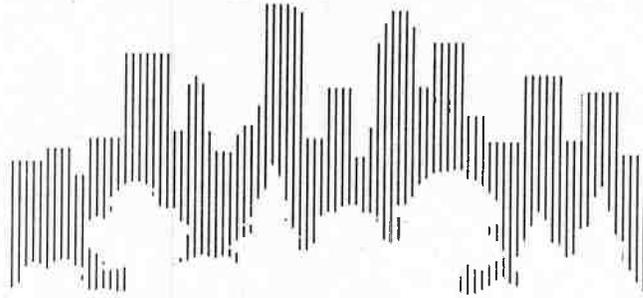
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**MASTERS IN SOCIAL WORK
THESIS**

Kevin Orron Thomas

**The Impact of Juvenile Curfew Enforcement
on Crime Statistics**

1996

**MSW
Thesis**

**Thesis
Thomas**

**The Impact of Juvenile Curfew Enforcement on Crime
Statistics**

Kevin Orron Thomas

Augsburg College

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK
AUGSBURG COLLEGE
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This is to certify that the Master's Thesis of:

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has been approved by the Examining Committee for the thesis requirements for the Master of Social Work Degree.

Date of Oral Presentation: December 11, 1996

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The Impact of Juvenile Curfew Enforcement on Crime Statistics

Study Focus: Research

Kevin Orron Thomas

November, 1996

While America's overall crime rate is in decline, juvenile crime is on the rise. One strategy to help prevent and reduce this phenomenon is the enforcement of a nocturnal juvenile curfew. In a five year period (1990-1994), fifty percent of major American cities took legislative action to enact a curfew ordinance for the first time, or revised an existing ordinance. The purpose of this study was to examine the enforcement of curfew as it related to the reduction or prevention of juvenile crime. The study analyzed selected crime statistics from two city's comparing and contrasting pre and post curfew enforcement time periods. The study findings indicated that curfew enforcement made a significant impact on crimes of vandalism and overall juvenile arrests. The study findings were inconclusive as to the relationship between curfew enforcement and the distribution of crime by month.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Overview

This chapter contains the statement of the problem and the purpose and rationalization of the research study.

Statement of Problem

In recent years the nation's overall crime rate has declined, yet criminal acts committed by youth have escalated, especially acts involving violence. Empirical evidence is in ready supply detailing both increases in the magnitude and severity of juvenile crime. For example, an ongoing national study found that by the age of 17, 36% of African-American males and 25% of white males have committed one or more serious violent crimes (such as aggravated assault, rape, or robbery) (Sabransky 1995). By age 18, the prevalence of serious violent offending increased to 40% and 30% respectively (Sabransky 1995). Such a large proportion of youth committing serious crime constitutes a significant problem.

The U.S. Department of Justice reported:

The number of criminal offenses committed by juveniles increased 26 percent between 1988 and 1992 to nearly 1.5 million cases. The largest increase recorded during the four year period (1988-1992) was for crimes against persons, which rose 56 percent. Criminal homicide increased by 55 percent, accounting for 2,500 cases in 1992; forcible rape increase by 27 percent, reaching 5,400 cases; robbery rose by 52 percent to 32,900 cases; and aggravated assault rose by 80 percent

to 77,900 cases. Overall, the typical offender in 1992 was younger than his 1988 counterpart. Youths under the age of 16 were responsible for 62 percent of offenses against persons, 64 percent of property offense cases, and 39 percent of drug offense cases in 1992 (Sabransky 1995).

Increases in Juvenile Crime Rates

According to the Minnesota Criminal Justice Information Systems (1994), juvenile crime went up 10.8 percent compared to a 6.2 percent increase for adult population between the years of 1992-1993. Furthermore, the report goes on to state that juveniles made up 26 percent of all arrests, 45 percent of all part one offenses (serious crimes), 65 percent of arson, 60 percent of vehicle thefts, 44 percent of burglaries, and 48 percent of all larceny in the State of Minnesota in 1993. Interestingly, the juvenile population ages 5-17 make up only 19 percent of the total population in Minnesota (County and City Data Book 1994). The seven county metropolitan area has reported a dramatic 266 percent increase in assaults by juveniles between 1972 and 1992.

The Minnesota Crime Survey found that 62 percent of women and 25 percent of men are afraid to walk alone at night within a mile of their home, as well as 21 percent of Minnesota residents expecting to be threatened or attacked in the coming year. When asked whom they fear the most, the overwhelming response was youth. (United Way Minneapolis 1995).

Strategies to Reduce Juvenile Crime

Current measures to slow the escalation of serious juvenile offending include binding juveniles over to adult court and administering adult type punishments. These efforts, however, are not likely to decrease public fear of crime or for that matter, to deter a significant number of chronic juvenile offenders. Prevention measures are typically rooted in deterrence; therefore, a serious crime must occur before the criminal justice and social welfare agencies will act. An unanticipated byproduct to this approach is that it may actually increase fear of crime, due largely to the reactive operation of criminal justice personnel.

More pronounced in terms of extent, frequency, rate of occurrence, and victimization are those crimes and delinquencies committed by youth in large numbers, to include acts such as vandalism and larceny. While these crimes are seemingly more mundane and receive less attention from lawmakers and the media, on whole they compose the bulk of victimization's and police responses to citizen complaints of juvenile activities (Uniform Crime Reports 1993).

Strategies aimed at reducing the extent of non-violent juvenile criminal activities have been in short supply and available only in piecemeal fashion. Moreover, preventative strategies are often overshadowed by efforts to deal with

chronic violent juveniles. When attempted, these efforts take the form of drug prevention programs in schools or juvenile court referrals. While the residual effects of such programs may have some impact on the juvenile crime problem, it is unlikely that they will reduce public fear or significantly slow the rising tide of criminal activity.

Other types of behaviors associated with juveniles (such as hanging out on street corners), are not necessarily criminal or delinquent but are often associated with crime and fear of crime. To the average citizen, youth assembling on corners late at night (particularly in front of businesses) portray an area as dangerous, disordered, and to be avoided if possible. These groups of youth can interfere with legitimate business and social activities and often times are more than just a nuisance to the residents of the community; they are perceived as a threat.

A Cities' Response to the Problem

In response to this growing concern over juvenile crime and victimization, the City of Fridley (a first ring suburb of Minneapolis) began actively enforcing curfew in May 1995.

The city council granted \$50,000 dollars to fund Project Safety Net which is a three part program including a late night drop off center for youth in violation of curfew, a recreational-based drop in center, and outreach/follow up services for youth and their families needing additional support.

The late night drop off center was created to enable a comprehensive curfew enforcement process. Traditionally, curfew was not enforced due to the complexity, and time consuming realities of a police officer's job duties. Simply put, an officer did not want to get "tied down" for what could be hours with a curfew violator when he/she had duties of a higher priority in the community; on the streets. Many an officer has termed the enforcement of curfew as "baby-sitting" until a parent or responsible adult could be contacted to pick up the child. The drop off center, staffed by social workers, would provide a vehicle in which the officer would drop off the youth in violation of the status offense, fill out the citation, and return to work. Leaving the contacting of the parents, a youth interview/assessment, family counseling or mediation, transportation of youth to home or placement, and follow up/referral services to the center's staff.

In June 1995, the City of Columbia Heights contracted with Fridley for Project Safety Net's services. Upon the implementation of an Anoka county wide curfew in October 1, 1995, the City of Coon Rapids opted to join in contracting for services. There are several other cities (along with Anoka County Social Services and Sheriff's Department) who have expressed interest in this program. As of January 1, 1996, 460 youth and their families have been served by the drop off component of Project Safety Net. A recent citizen

survey found that 90% of residents of Fridley were in favor of continuing the active enforcement of curfew(Fridley Survey 1995).

Purpose and Rationale of Study

The reason for this study is based on the need to examine the enforcement of curfew as it relates to the reduction or prevention of juvenile crime. There is very little research on the effectiveness of curfew enforcement.

Although there are many experts in the law enforcement field who hold that curfew enforcement is an essential tool towards helping decrease juvenile crime as well as juvenile victimization(Garnett 1994), there is little evidence (save a 1977 study with a one month observation period) supporting or rejecting such claims. The sparse information found in the literature includes qualitative studies (anecdotal in nature), professional rationalizations, and pure opinion. Yet cities and counties across the country are increasingly adopting curfew ordinances restricting youth activity.

While qualitative and anecdotal reasoning can be credible, it would seem prudent (if not ethically imperative) to find substantive, quantitative evidence linking curfew enforcement with decreasing juvenile crime.

Summary

While the nation's overall crime rate is in decline, juvenile crime is on the rise. One strategy to help prevent and reduce this phenomenon is the enforcement of a nocturnal

juvenile curfew. As there is a lack of empirical data on the effectiveness of curfew enforcement, this study sought to study the impact of juvenile curfew enforcement on juvenile crime statistics.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Overview

This chapter will review the literature on a number of issues related to the topic of juvenile curfews. The literature review is divided into four sections. This section begins with a historical review of curfews to include a look at curfew issues through the popular press, followed by a discussion of related research studies on curfew, a look at legal perspectives on curfews (to include an overview of social control theory and the juvenile status offenses), concluding with a discussion of specific municipality curfew enforcement effectiveness.

Historical Review

According to American Law Reports (1974), curfew regulations have been said to have been brought into England by William the Conqueror, and the name is said to have come from the French word "courvre feu", for covering the fire. Originally the curfew was used to require, at a given signal or a given time, that the fires in homes be covered or protected for the night, but the Conqueror used it to require the English to be off the streets or away from a given area at a prescribed time in order to prevent their gathering together.

In this country, before the War between the States there were curfew laws in southern towns to designate when slaves could be on the streets. Curfew legislation aimed at juveniles received its first substantial support in the latter part of the nineteenth century. By the turn of the century, approximately three thousand municipalities and villages had adopted juvenile curfew ordinances. Interest in such curfews waned until the Second World War when working parents in the armed services or working in the war plants, often at night, again brought into vogue curfews aimed at preventing juveniles from roaming the streets or loitering in public places. The 1990's have brought a renewed interest in "getting tough" on juvenile crime and using the enforcement of curfew as a means to prevent and control the increase in youth lawlessness(Watzman 1994).

A Look at Curfew Issues Through the Popular Press

As mentioned earlier, there is surprisingly little academic research on curfews. However, there is a plethora of information in the popular press (newspapers, magazines, and non-scholarly journals). The following is a summary of some of the issues and patterns pertaining to the use and enforcement of curfew:

1. The initial decision to adopt a curfew law, or to enforce an existing one, is often presented as a means of limiting both the opportunities for minors to carry out crimes and the opportunities for minors to become victims. Incidents of gang violence and late night drive by shootings that involve innocent minors as victims were often mentioned as the types of crime a curfew is aimed at preventing(Helfand 1993; Rossmiller 1993; Weizel

1994; Valentine 1994; Danielson 1994).

2. There is also some indication of a "domino effect", whereby communities feel pressured to adopt curfews, not as means of curbing violence within their jurisdictions, but as defensive response to keep from becoming a late night haven for out of town teenagers avoiding the curfew laws adopted by their home municipality (Balaza 1993; Danielson 1994).
3. Both the increased enforcement of existing curfews and the implementation of new ones are often accompanied by special police training and extensive community education (Fairbanks, 1994).
4. Whereas most curfew laws apply to the entire jurisdiction, cities such as Denver, Phoenix, and Orlando have opted for, and courts have upheld, curfews that apply only to limited hot spot areas of the city (Rossmiller 1993; Kwok 1993; Fairbanks; 1994).
5. There are three distinct patterns of curfew enforcement:
 - a. The first is when there is no special curfew enforcement policy; regular police officers simply enforce curfews as any other city ordinance (Balaza 1993; Urban 1994).
 - b. The second pattern of curfew enforcement involves normal enforcement augmented by periodic curfew sweeps by police officers. These sweeps usually come out of sustaining citizen complaints about youth or in response to a series of high profile late night crimes involving youths in one or two areas in the city (Helfand 1993; Lalonde 1994; Meadow 1994).
 - c. The third pattern involves saturation tactics that dedicate large numbers of officers to curfew enforcement for long periods of time, usually the summer months, but sometimes a month or more. Long term saturation tactics tend to be used in cities such as New Orleans, El Paso, Phoenix, and Minneapolis, where curfews have been adopted as an emergency response to public outrage over crisis levels of youth violence (Kwok 1993; Cooper 1994; Danielson 1994).
6. Staffing the special curfew units needed for long

term saturation enforcement necessitates either increased resources for additional officers, taking officers from patrol duties, or the redeployment of officers from special units. All three of these options are expensive. Further, the use of special unit personnel has been criticized as a misuse of highly trained officers (Kwok 1993; Cooper 1994; Danielson 1994).

7. Some jurisdictions have found that curfew enforcement can also entail significant costs in terms of the number of officer hours involved in processing curfew violators. This seems to be more of a problem when officers are required to take a curfew violator to the station and wait with the youth until their parent(s) arrive. To minimize the officer hours involved with processing curfew violators, some jurisdictions have established special late night centers staffed by recreation workers or counselors (Balaza 1993; Barnum 1994; Danielson 1994).
8. In some jurisdictions, parents must go to court and face fines, mandatory counseling, or both if their child is a repeat offender (Helfand 1993; Urban 1994; Valantine 1994; Walz 1994).
9. It is estimated that as many as 1,000 American cities use curfews to prevent delinquency and protect juveniles (Savage, 1994).
10. 85,354 youths were arrested for violating curfew in 1993. That was nearly double the 43,340 arrested for robbery, more than the 75,315 arrested for motor vehicle theft, and 29% less than the 119,678 youth arrested for all violent crimes (Uniformed Crime Reports, 1993).

Legal Perspectives on Curfews

Municipal curfew ordinances often have been challenged on constitutional grounds, usually by the local chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union (Cahill 1984; Horowitz 1991; Scherr 1992; Jordan 1993). The primary objections are

that curfews violate the Equal Protection Clause by setting up a suspect classification based on age, and that they result in selective enforcement to the detriment of minority youth(Harvard Law Review 1994).

Curfews have also been challenged on the grounds that they infringe on the fundamental rights of free movement and free association, and of family privacy of child rearing(Jordan 1993). Another argument is that curfews violate due process rights through seizure of persons by police without probable cause and through forced confessions in answering police questions(Horowitz 1991). However, when curfew ordinances have been held unconstitutional, it has been because of the vagueness and overreach, not because of any violation of equal protection guarantees, fundamental rights or due process(Horowitz 1991; Scherr 1992).

To ensure the constitutionality of their curfew ordinance, as well as to protect against challenges, cities have carefully drafted their ordinances to include the following exceptions for youth if they are: (a) accompanied by a parent or guardian; (b) on errands at the direction of their parents without detour; (c) involved in interstate travel; (d) working at a job or going to or from a job, again without detour; (e) involved in an emergency; (f) attending a supervised school, religious, or recreational activity; or (g) exercising first amendment rights of free speech, assembly or religion(Click 1994).

Perhaps the most compelling legal argument in defense of curfews was **Bellotti v. Baird 443 u.s. 622 (1979)** which maintained that children's rights are not coextensive with adult's rights in all situations (Scherr 1992). Although this specific case focused on a minor's constitutional right to abortion (determining the constitutionality of requiring pregnant minors to obtain both parent's permission or judicial permission to have an abortion), it has been used to uphold juvenile curfews as well. In **Bellotti**, the Supreme Court cited certain juvenile characteristics that preclude them from having the same innate rights of their adult counterparts. These characteristics include: The child's peculiar vulnerability; the child's inability to make critical decisions in an informed, mature manner; and the importance of the parental role in child rearing (pg 170). Using **Bellotti**, nocturnal curfews have been upheld in Colorado, Texas, Florida, and Massachusetts (Jordan 1993; Simpson 1993; Harvard Law Review 1994).

Curfew as Social Control

A curfew is a social control mechanism. Proponents of curfews argue that they serve as a tool for both the police and parents. Common assumptions underlying curfews are:

- (a) Human beings must be controlled if society is to be orderly and safe,
- (b) Society has a consensus on a set of appropriate values and behaviors, and
- (c) absent internally motivated voluntary compliance, people can be forced to comply through external

control mechanisms (Holman and Quinn 1992).

In high crime communities, curfews are thought/believed to protect nondelinquent youth from crime and to deny delinquent youth the opportunity to engage in crime. In low crime communities, they provide the police with the means to disperse late night crowds of juveniles, to stop and question youths during curfew hours, the intent of both strategies is to keep youths off the streets.

For parents, curfews provide support and legitimization for restrictions on the late night activities of their children. Without curfews, it is more difficult for parents to place restrictions on their children when other youth in the neighborhood are out late (Sabransky 1995).

Social control theories seem to best describe the theoretical underpinning of juvenile curfews. According to social control theorists, delinquent acts result basically from the weakening, breakdown, or absence of effective social controls (Pelfry 1991). Put simply, control theorists say that delinquency occurs because it is not prevented. The prevention of delinquency rests on adequate social controls. These controls are of two types: personal, or inward; and societal and external. Control theory suggests that juvenile delinquency is most likely to occur among those who have few internal or external controls on their behavior. Youth who have not developed respect for themselves, for others, or for conventional society and have not accepted the social norms of society are prime

candidates(Pelfry 1991). Control theory suggests that delinquent behavior can be prevented by increasing the effectiveness of those institutions that have the greatest influence on the socialization and control (family, school, law enforcement, community, etc..) of children. Rather than changing the individual, control theorists seek changes in the aspects of social life that promote or hinder the development of controls. For example, the adoption and enforcement of a juvenile curfew as a means to outwardly prevent and control juvenile delinquency.

Control theory is not without it's critics. Some argue that control theory is wrongly premised on a consensual view of society. That is the theory rests on the assumption that there is an agreement on norms, values, and beliefs in society(Pelfry 1991). Lastly, the theory has some practical problems, the biggest being the difficulty with operationalizing ambiguous or vague "value-laden" concepts such as control, discipline, respect, normal behavior, and effective parenting.

Juveniles and the Status Offense

Every state has some category of non-criminal offenses, such as violating curfew, which only minors can commit. Depending on the state, one who commits such juvenile "status offenses" may be called a MINS, PINS, CHINS (minor, person, or child in need of services or supervision) or an incorrigible or ungovernable youth(Legal Rights of Children

1994).

The concept of the status offense is fairly simple. The Legal Rights of Children defines the "status offense" statute as:

(a) Describing conduct that is illegal for a child to engage in, but not normally illegal for an adult to engage in,

and

(b) applies only to minors, not to adults,

and

(c) involves the commission of an act which does not ordinarily violate state criminal law(pg 200).

Status offenses include curfew, truancy, underage drinking, running away from home, underage smoking, and habitually disobeying one's parents. Again, none of these actions can be committed by adults. It is imperative to make the distinction between juvenile status offenses and juvenile criminal offenses.

These two types of offenses are treated differently by the legal system. Unlike status offenses, where there is no adult counterparts, criminal offenses can be committed by both youth and adults alike. While a youth who has been found guilty of committing a criminal offense may be institutionalized or held in a secure facility, a child committing a status offense may not. The Juvenile Justice Act of 1974 required states to pass laws which required the deinstitutionalization of status offenders(Morris 1992).

These laws play a critical role in how local municipalities who have begun to actively enforce curfew ordinances, handle it's violators. Police departments must have a proactive "system" set up in dealing with curfew violators as they cannot place them in a locked room or cell.

Research Studies on Curfew

Buckhalt, Halpin, Noel, and Meadows(1992) found that there is a direct relationship between student's curfews and their use of drugs and alcohol. Buckhalt et all surveyed all 7th, 9th, and 11th grade students in the 129 public schools in the State of Alabama. A total of 142,767 survey forms were returned for analysis. Students were asked to report the time they are usually required to be home at nights preceding a school day and on weekend nights. The same students were asked questions pertaining their use of drugs and alcohol. The researchers found that students who reported later weeknight and weekend curfews reported greater drug use.

Several studies have shown a direct correlation between the effect of city juvenile curfew ordinances and teenage motor vehicle crashes, injury, and fatalities(Preusser, Williams, Zador, Blomberg 1984; Levy 1988; Preusser, Williams, Lund, and Zador 1990; Preusser, Zador, Williams 1993). Preusser, Zador and Williams(1993) found a 23% reduction in fatal injury for 13 to 17 year olds in

comparing 47 cities with curfews and 77 cities without curfews for the time 9 p.m.-5:59 A.M. time period. These results were identical to a study performed by Preusser, Williams, Lund, and Zador(1990) where they found the same 23% reduction in fatal and non-fatal motor vehicle injuries.

Reports of Curfew Enforcement Effectiveness

The following are reported results of active curfew enforcement gleaned from the literature review. It is important to note that these reports come directly from police departments themselves as reported to a variety of sources from popular press to unpublished city news letters(Hernandez 1992; Garrett 1994; Click 1994; Ellis 1994; Pratcher 1994; Nolan 1994; Soto 1994; Gustavson 1995; Morgan 1995). Since the methodology of each study is unknown, this certainly would not qualify as empirical research. However, the results are compelling and they further demonstrate the need for systematic quantifiable research on this topic.

The following percentages represent a decrease in juvenile crime in these cities when comparing the year before and after active enforcement of a curfew ordinance:

El Paso, Texas	-46.0%
San Antonio, Texas	-38.9%
New Orleans, Louisiana	-38.0%
San Jose, California	-17.0%
Cincinnati, Ohio	-15.0%
Dallas, Texas	-14.6%

Long Beach, California	-14.0%
Baltimore, Maryland	-13.0%
North Little Rock, Arkansas	-12.0%
Phoenix, Arizona	-10.4%

This literature review found just one study on the impact of a curfew on delinquency. In this outcome evaluation, Hunt and Weiner(1977) examined a Detroit curfew that was imposed in an attempt to reduce increased criminal activity by youth gangs during the summer of 1976. The data used for this study were obtained from the Detroit Police Department's records on juvenile offense reports. The data included crimes in which a juvenile was a suspect or reported perpetrator. Reports for the observation month of August were sorted from the annual files for analysis. Data were obtained for two variables: Type of crime, and time of offense. The study compared the month of August to the same month averaged in 1971-1975. The study found a 3-6 percent drop in juvenile offenses during curfew hours; however, a displacement phenomenon was observed when there was a 9 percent increase of juvenile offenses during the day.

The findings of the Hunt and Weiner study clearly demonstrated that curfews can have an impact on crime for 12 to 14 hours. However, this research found an unexpected displacement effect which is compelling, and needs to be considered when contemplating the use of curfew as a juvenile delinquency prevention tool.

Summary

Although there has been much written about the topic of curfews, there is a paucity of empirical research. There is evidence of one empirical study on this issue. In a 5 year period(1990-1994), fifty percent of major American cities took legislative action to enact a curfew ordinance for the first time, or revised an existing ordinance(Sabransky 1995). Moreover, there has been wide spread increase in the active enforcement of curfew through special programs and protocols. This study will serve to provide additional empirical research on the effectiveness of curfew enforcement.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Overview

This chapter describes the methodology of this study to include following: the research design, characteristics of the cities in the study, data collection, data analysis, strengths and limitations of the design, and the protection of human subjects.

Expanding on an existing evaluation instrument by Hunt and Weiner (1977), this study attempted to analyze the impact of juvenile curfew enforcement on crime statistics in the cities of Fridley and Columbia Heights. The following question is the focus of this study:

What is the impact of juvenile curfew enforcement on crime statistics?

Research Design

The study utilized a survey research design. Data collection used secondary data provided by the Minnesota Criminal Justice Reporting System (MCJRS). The researcher chose this design due to the availability, reliability, and consistency of existing records pertinent to the subject matter.

Characteristics of Study Population

The study population consisted of selected crime statistics through the use of secondary data provided by (MCJRS) reports. Thus, the data obtained represented reported crimes in the cities of Fridley and Columbia Heights. These cities were chosen due to their commitment to curfew enforcement, as well as their involvement with Project Safety Net.

The Cities of Fridley and Columbia Heights (located in Anoka County) are first ring suburbs of Minneapolis, Minnesota. Table 3.1 shows the demographics of each city and compares the percentages to Anoka County and the seven county metro area. The data (taken from the 1993 Anoka County Summit), demonstrates a large aging population for both cities. Both Fridley and Columbia Heights show a small community of color in comparison to the seven county metro area, yet surpass the rest of Anoka County in this category. Columbia Heights has a younger population than Fridley, and has a lower average household income than it's counterpart.

Table 3.1
Demographics of Cities

	Fridley(%)	Columbia Heights(%)	Anoka County(%)	Metro Area(%)
Population Under 18	16.7%	21.8%	22.0%	18.0%
Over 60	12.5%	21.3%	8.0%	13.0%
People of Color	4.9%	5.0%	3.4%	9.3%
Household Income	\$37,000	\$27,000	\$40,000	\$36,000

Data Collection

Data collection involved the development of a questionnaire adopted from Hunt and Weiner (1977). Some questions were developed and added to the questionnaire. For their study they examined two variables: Type of crime and time of offense. Due to the inability to record a two hour interval as used in the Hunt and Weiner study; this study used one month intervals instead.

The data collection instrument was designed to collect information regarding type and level of offenses and time of offenses. The following types of crimes used in this study are representative of standard categories recognized by law enforcement agencies throughout the country. Furthermore, the specific offenses utilized in this study hold special significance as to a greater propensity toward juvenile

participation.

1. Type of Crime:

(a) Aggregated Part One Offenses:

Homicide: The killing of another person.

Rape: The carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will, but excluding statutory rape and other sex offenses; to include all assaults and attempts to rape.

Robbery: A robbery is defined as the felonious and forcible taking of property of another against his will by violence or by putting him in fear. This includes all attempts; to include armed with weapon or no weapon.

Aggravated Assault: An aggravated assault is an attempt or offer with an unlawful force or violence to do physical injury to another. As a general rule all assaults will be classified and scored in this category. Exclude simple assault, assault and battery, fighting, etc.; the victim must suffer great bodily harm.

Burglary: Breaking and entering: Includes any unlawful entry or attempted forcible entry of any structure to commit a felony or larceny. This does not include breaking and entering of a motor vehicle.

Larceny: Theft: (Does not include motor vehicle theft). This category includes the unlawful taking of the property of another with intent to deprive him of ownership.

Motor Vehicle Theft: This category includes larceny or attempted larceny of motor vehicles. Includes all thefts and attempted thefts of motor vehicles.

Arson: Any willful or malicious burning of a dwelling, personal property of another, or public building.

(b) Selected Part Two Offenses

Juvenile Other Assaults: This classification consists of all assaults and attempted assaults which are simple or minor in detail.

Juvenile Vandalism - This includes all willful or malicious destruction, injury, disfigurement, or defacement, of any public or private property, real or personal, without the consent of the owner or person having custody or control (Minnesota Crime Information Systems, 1993.).

Calls for Service-Vandalism: Same as above definition with no suspect or perpetrator, yet still a crime was committed

2. Time of Offense:

One month intervals were used to indicate the time period during which specific offenses accrued. The study included a seven month period between June and January for the years 1992 - 1996. This time period was selected due to the active enforcement of curfew for both cities commencing in June 1996.

Data collection procedures included utilizing the research instrument while manually going through and extracting statistics from the Minnesota Criminal Justice Reporting System's (MCJRS) yearly printouts. Upon completion of gathering data, tables were filled in with statistical information gained from the MCJRS reports. The research was conducted in the Fridley and

Columbia Heights Police Departments located in their respective City Halls.

Data Analysis

1. A baseline computed through averaging juvenile offenses (pre curfew enforcement) in aforementioned categories for the following time periods:

June 1992 through January 1993

June 1993 through January 1994

June 1994 through January 1995

This base line represents the average distribution of offenses by month of occurrence.

2. For the months of June 1995 through January 1996 (post curfew enforcement), the distribution of offenses by month of occurrence is plotted against the pattern reflected in the base-line.
3. Comparisons of the "curfew line" to the base line are made for Part 1 offenses (aggregated), for the two selected Part 2 offenses (Other assaults, and Juvenile Vandalism, and Calls for Service Vandalism. The impact of curfew enforcement can be inferred from variations, deviations, or conformities of the plots.
4. A comparison of curfew violations between averaged pre and post curfew enforcement time periods.
5. A comparison of juvenile arrests (excluding traffic

and curfew) between averaged pre and post curfew enforcement time periods.

Protection of Human Subjects

Because the secondary data collected in this research is anonymous and public in nature, there is no risk to the public whatsoever.

Strengths and Limitations of Study

Strengths

The study utilizes the standardized Minnesota Criminal Justice Reporting Systems (MCJRS) for it's data collection which creates a consistent, reliable source of statistical data.

The averaged three year pre curfew time period was used which enabled the research design to be more valid versus utilizing a one year pre curfew time period in which to study the impact of curfew enforcement.

The research utilized a small regional (the cities of Fridley and Columbia Heights) area to study the impact of curfew enforcement on crime statistics. This helped enable consistent practices by both police departments.

The research utilized a comprehensive selection of crimes and offenses to study the impact of curfew enforcement. This effort provided an overall picture of the impact of curfew enforcement on crime statistics.

Limitations

Limitations of the study include the utilization of a small sample. The sample is comprised of two small cities (Fridley and Columbia Heights) in which to study the impact of curfew enforcement. It is unclear as to whether the study would yield similar results with a bigger sample to include a large city or region.

The research was weakened with its inability to use hourly versus monthly time intervals for the study. This limited the research by hindering the researcher's ability to look at the displacement phenomenon found in the Hunt and Weiner research.

While the three year pre curfew enforcement time period increased the study's validity, it is difficult to isolate variables in crime statistics. Weather, public policy, enforcement, and change in police personnel are just a few examples of variables affecting crime statistics which cannot be controlled.

Summary

This chapter discussed the methodology for this study. The study asks the question: ***What is the impact of juvenile curfew enforcement on crime statistics?*** A review of the two cities found them to be similar in demographics, with one major exception; household income. Variables in the research design were defined (type of crime and time of offense) and

discussed as were the data collection methods. The data analysis was explained (a comparison of selected offenses between pre curfew enforcement and post curfew enforcement periods). Lastly, an overview of the strengths and limitations of the research design was discussed.

Chapter Four: Findings

Overview

This chapter contains the results of the research study concerning the impact of juvenile curfew enforcement for the cities of Fridley and Columbia Heights on the following crime statistics: curfew enforcement, juvenile arrests excluding traffic and curfew, calls for service - vandalism, juvenile part one crimes, juvenile other assaults, and juvenile vandalism. The months of June through January are utilized for the years 1992, 1993, 1994(pre curfew enforcement), and 1995(post curfew enforcement).

Curfew Enforcement

During the pre curfew enforcement years(1992-1994), Fridley had an average of 28.3 curfew citations written per year. During 1995(post curfew enforcement), there were 255 youth cited for curfew violations. This represents an 801% increase in curfew enforcement. During the pre curfew enforcement years, Columbia Heights averaged 63 curfew citations. In 1995 there were 179 youth cited for curfew. This represents and increase of 179.37%. (see table 4.1).

Table 4.1

Curfew Enforcement

	Fridley	Columbia Heights
Pre	28.3	63
Post	255	176
Change +-	+801%	+179%

Juvenile Arrests Excluding Traffic and Curfew

Fridley juvenile arrests excluding traffic and curfew steadily increased from 1992 to 1994 averaging 387. In 1995 there were 350, a decrease of 9.56%.

Columbia Heights had similar results as they saw a 8.88% decrease when comparing 1995(338) with the averaged pre enforcement period(308) (see table 4.2).

Table 4.1

Curfew Enforcement

	Fridley	Columbia Heights
Pre	387	338
Post	355	308
Change +-	-9.56%	-8.86%

Calls for Service-Vandalism

During the pre curfew enforcement years, Fridley averaged 546 calls for service-vandalism. In 1995, there were 476. This represents a decrease of 12.82% when 1995 is compared to the averaged pre enforcement years.

Columbia Heights had similar results. There were an average of 375 calls for service-vandalism during the three pre curfew enforcement years. In 1995, the total came to 304. This marked a decrease of 18.93% (see table 4.3).

Table 4.3

Calls for Service-Vandalism

	Fridley	Columbia Heights
Pre	546	375
Post	476	304
Change +-	-12.8%	-18.9%

Juvenile Part One Crimes

In the juvenile part one crimes category, Fridley averaged 79.6 offenses for the pre curfew enforcement period. There were 87 offenses in 1995. This shows an increase of 9.30%.

Columbia Heights results differed with Fridley as there were an average of 100 juvenile part one crimes in the pre curfew enforcement period and 87 during the post enforcement period leading to a 13% decrease (see table 4.4).

Table 4.4

Juvenile Part One Crimes

	Fridley	Columbia Heights
Pre	79	100
Post	87	87
Change +-	+9.30%	-13.00%

Juvenile Other Assaults

Fridley experienced decreases of .49% in juvenile other assaults when comparing 1995's statistics with the pre enforcement averages.

Columbia Height's results concurred with Fridley with an average of 47 assaults during the pre enforcement period compared to 45 in 1995, leading to a 4.25% decrease (see table 4.5).

Table 4.5

Juvenile Other Assaults

	Fridley	Columbia Heights
Pre	32.6	47
Post	31	45
Change +-	-.49%	-4.25%

Juvenile Vandalism

Fridley juvenile vandalism's averaged for the pre enforcement period were 14.6. In 1995, there were a total of 7 leading to a 52.05% decrease.

Columbia Height's juvenile vandalism's averaged 30 during the pre enforcement period while in 1995 they dropped to 17, a 44.44% decrease (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6

Juvenile Vandalism

	Fridley	Columbia Heights
Pre	14.6	30.6
Post	7	17
Change +/-	-52.1%	-44.4%

**Overall Summary of Statistics for Fridley and
Columbia Heights**

Tables 4.7(Fridley) and 4.8(Columbia Heights) give an overall summary of the statistical impact of curfew enforcement on the cities of Fridley and Columbia Heights.

Table 4.7

Fridley Statistics

	CS-VAN	J-PT1	JOA	J-VAN	CURFEW	ARREST
Jun-92	71	5	3	2		
July	73	5	3	2		
Aug	76	15	2	2		
Sept	57	6	3	1		
Oct	71	20	7	3		
Nov	65	9	2	2		
Dec	55	6	3	1		
Jan-93	37	8	1	0		
	505	74	24	13	28	372
Jun-93	65	16	0	1		
July	75	16	1	1		
Aug	83	14	5	1		
Sept	60	12	0	1		
Oct	71	14	6	0		
Nov	98	8	6	1		
Dec	62	7	7	7		
Jan-94	46	10	8	3		
	560	97	33	15	23	384
Jun-94	114	11	5	2		
July	79	10	4	2		
Aug	73	14	6	1		
Sept	65	7	5	1		
Oct	59	8	4	2		
Nov	59	5	3	3		
Dec	63	7	4	3		
Jan-95	61	6	10	2		
	573	68	41	16	34	405
Jun-95	61	9	7	1		
July	85	14	5	2		
Aug	63	13	6	0		
Sept	35	14	2	1		
Oct	90	8	2	1		
Nov	73	14	5	1		
Dec	41	8	4	0		
Jan-96	28	7	0	1		
	476	87	31	7	255	350
Avg-Pre	546	79.6	32.6	14.6	28.3	387
Pct-Pre	-12.82	+9.3	-.49	-52.05	801.06	-9.56

Note: CS-VAN = Calls for Service/Vandalism, J-PT1 = Juvenile Part One Crimes, JOA = Juvenile Other Assaults, Curfew = number of curfew violations, Arrests = juvenile arrests excluding traffic and curfew, Avg = averaged pre curfew totals, and Pct = percentage difference between averaged pre curfew total and post curfew enforcement.

Table 4.8

Columbia Heights Statistics

	CS-VAN	J-PT1	JOA	J-VAN	CURFEW	ARREST
Jun-92	52	17	4	2		
July	71	18	6	10		
Aug	65	8	8	0		
Sept	50	11	4	7		
Oct	60	5	11	11		
Nov	38	12	6	0		
Dec	30	8	0	1		
Jan-93	20	7	4	4		
	386	86	39	35	47	279
Jun-93	68	18	0	4		
July	68	10	5	4		
Aug	61	18	6	7		
Sept	37	14	2	0		
Oct	40	10	8	1		
Nov	32	12	8	1		
Dec	31	8	8	0		
Jan-94	19	6	4	1		
	356	96	41	18	79	272
Jun-94	58	14	12	4		
July	54	16	3	2		
Aug	68	27	13	2		
Sept	44	15	9	11		
Oct	55	12	5	3		
Nov	39	7	4	8		
Dec	39	15	8	6		
Jan-95	26	12	7	3		
	383	118	61	39	63	373
Jun-95	49	6	7	1		
July	56	14	7	2		
Aug	38	9	1	2		
Sept	35	14	8	2		
Oct	42	11	10	1		
Nov	46	11	5	5		
Dec	20	6	3	2		
Jan-96	18	16	4	2		
	304	87	45	17	176	308
Avg-Pre	375	100	47	30.6	63	338
Pct-Pre	-18.93	-13.00	-4.25	-44.44	+179	-8.88

Note: CS-VAN = Calls for Service/Vandalism, J-PT1 = Juvenile Part One Crimes, JOA = Juvenile Other Assaults, Curfew = number of curfew violations, Arrests = juvenile arrests excluding traffic and curfew, Avg = averaged pre curfew totals, and Pct = percentage difference between averaged pre curfew total and post curfew enforcement.

Curfew Enforcement and the Distribution of Selected Offenses by Month

Tables 4.9 through 4.16 and graphs 4.7 through 4.14 provide a statistical viewpoint of the relationship between curfew enforcement and the distribution of selected offenses by month for the cities of Fridley and Columbia Heights. The tables include the percentage of change between the pre and post curfew enforcement time periods. Note: The y axis on the graphs denote the number of offenses; while the x axis shows the individual months June through January (numbers 1-8)

Calls for Service Vandalism

Table 4.9

Fridley

	Jun	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan
Pre	83.33	75.67	77.33	60.67	67	74	60	48
Post	61	85	63	35	90	73	41	28
Change +-	-26.8%	+12.3	-18.5%	-42.3%	+34.3%	-1.4%	-31.7%	-41.7%

Graph 4.7

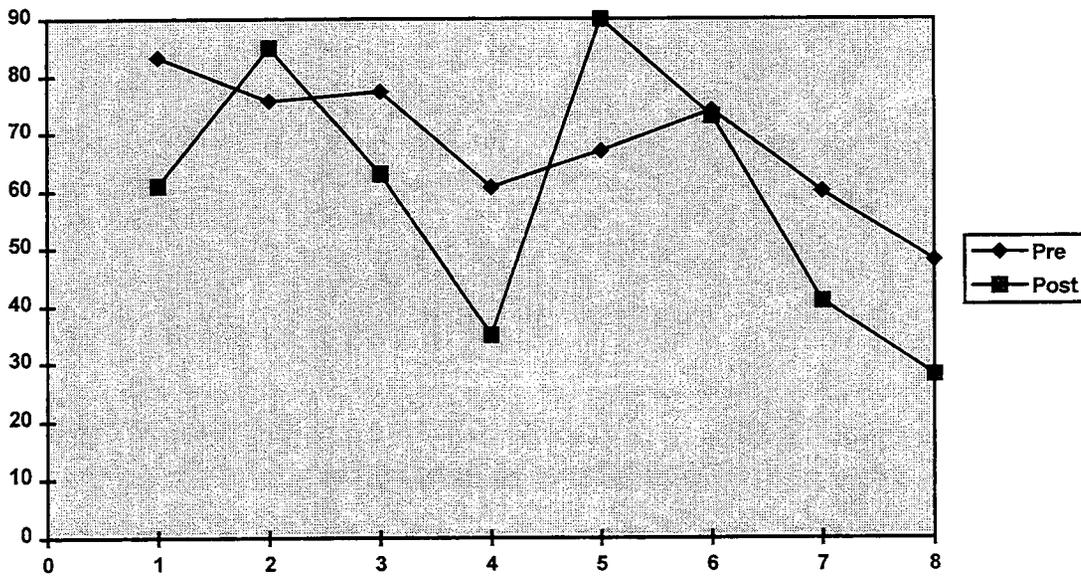
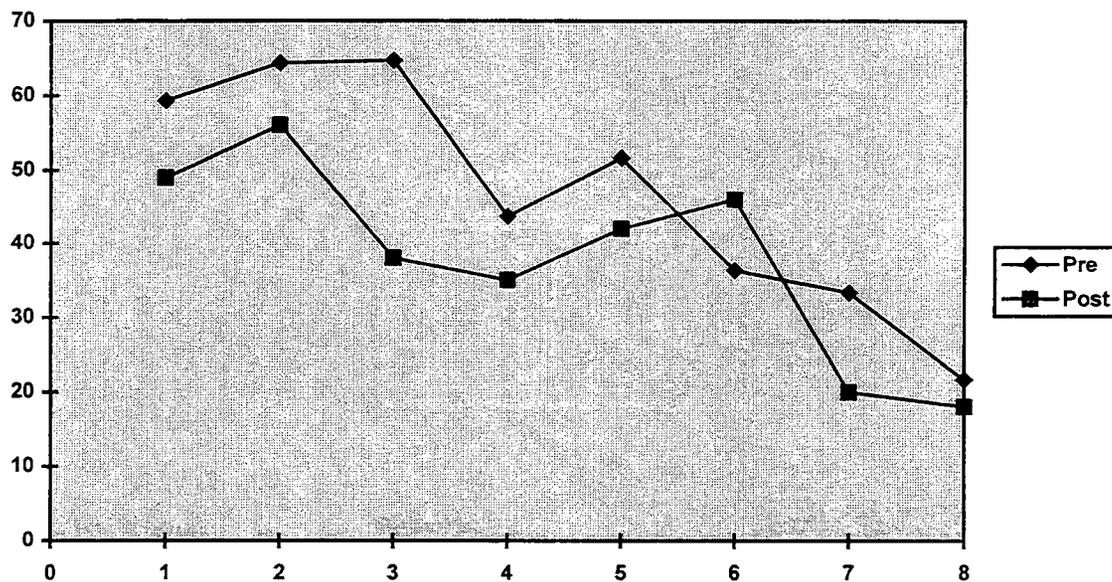


Table 4.10

Columbia Heights

	Jun	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan
Pre	59.33	64.33	64.67	43.67	51.67	36.33	33.33	21.67
Post	49	56	38	35	42	46	20	18
Change +-	-17.4%	-12.9%	-41.2%	-19.9%	-18.7%	+26.6%	-40.0%	-16.9%

Graph 4.8



Juvenile Part One Crimes

Tables 4.11

Fridley

	Jun	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan
Pre	9.17	10.33	14.33	8.33	14	7.33	6.67	8
Post	9	14	13	14	8	14	8	7
Change +/-	-1.85%	+35.5%	-9.28%	+68.1%	-42.9%	+90.9%	+19.9%	-12.5%

Graph 4.9

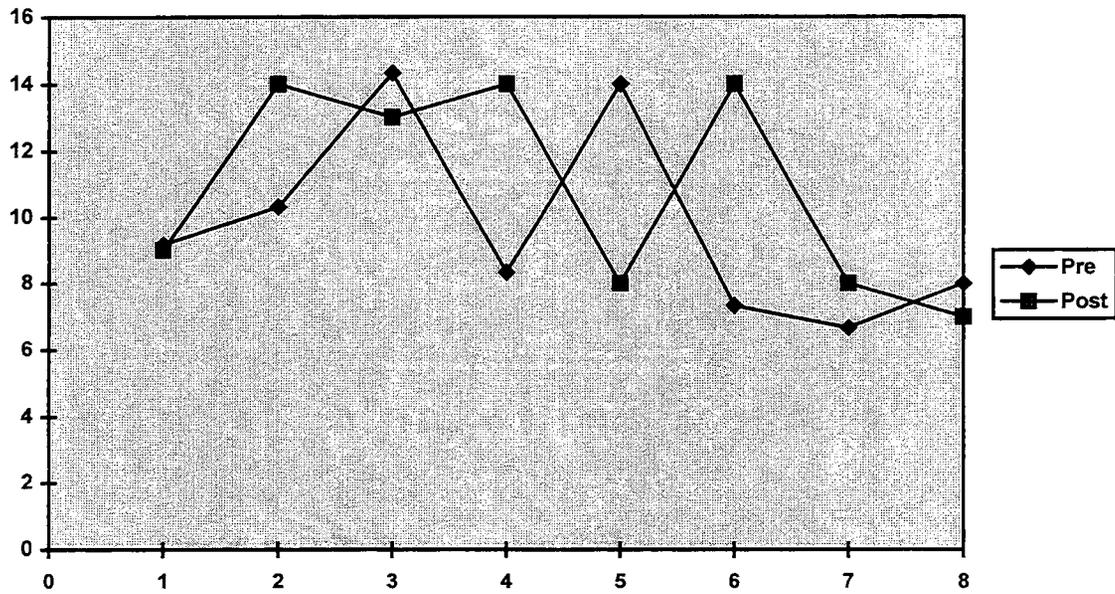
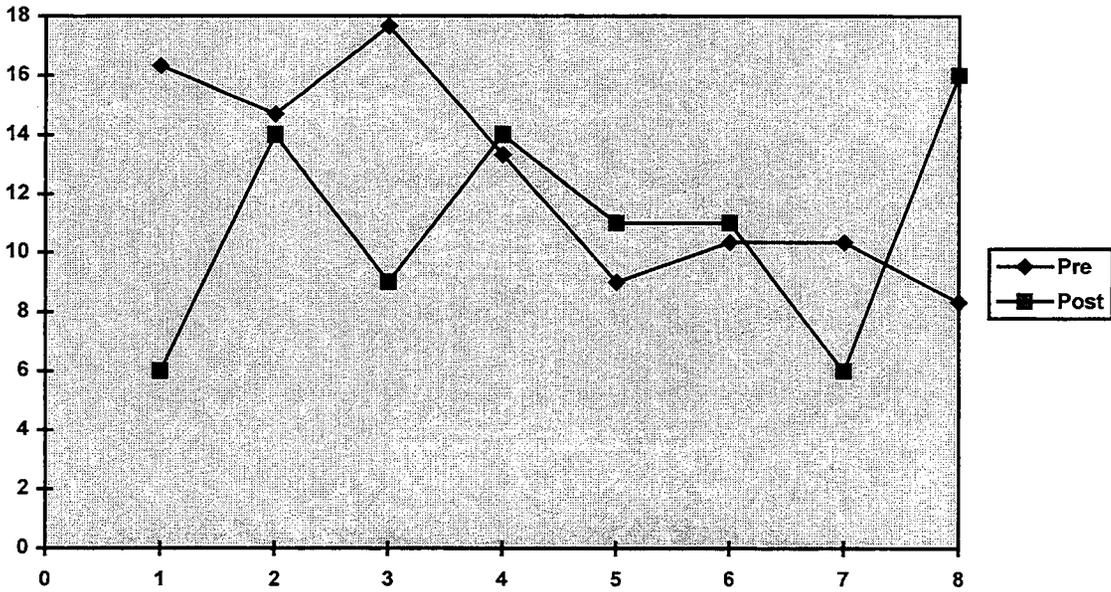


Table 4.12
Columbia Heights

	Jun	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan
Pre	16.33	14.67	17.67	13.33	9	10.33	10.33	8.33
Post	6	14	9	14	11	11	6	16
Change +-	-63.3%	-4.57%	-49.1%	+5.02%	+22.2%	+6.49%	-41.9%	+92.1%

Graph 4.10



Juvenile Other Assaults

Table 4.13

Fridley

	Jun	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan
Pre	2.67	2.67	4.33	2.67	5.67	3.67	4.67	6.33
Post	7	5	6	2	2	5	4	0
Change +/-	+162%	+87.3%	+38.6%	-25.1%	-64.7%	+36.2%	-14.3%	-100%

Graph 4.11

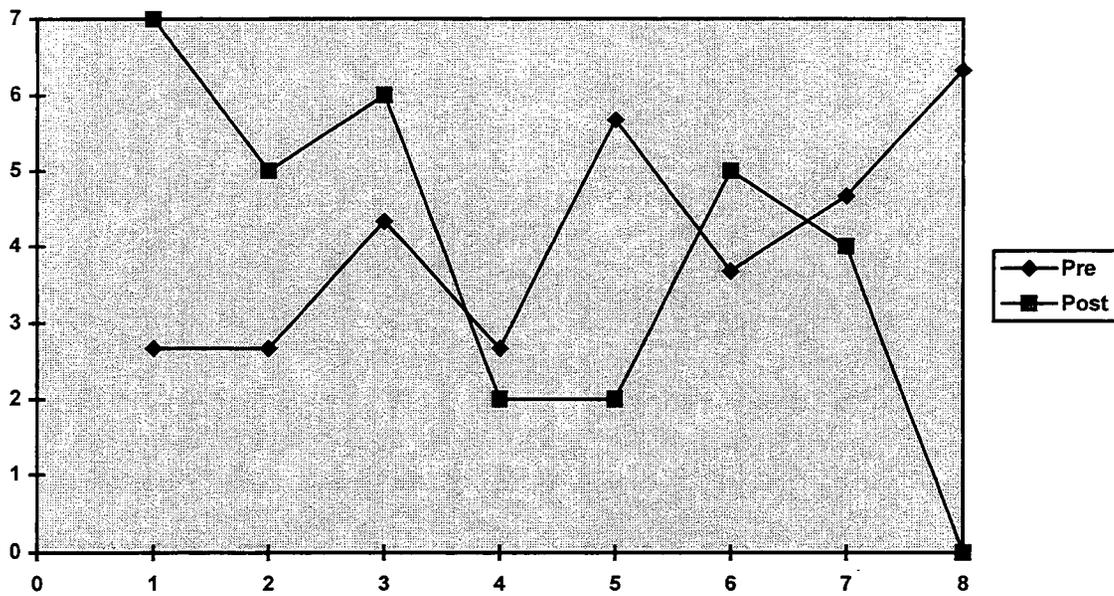
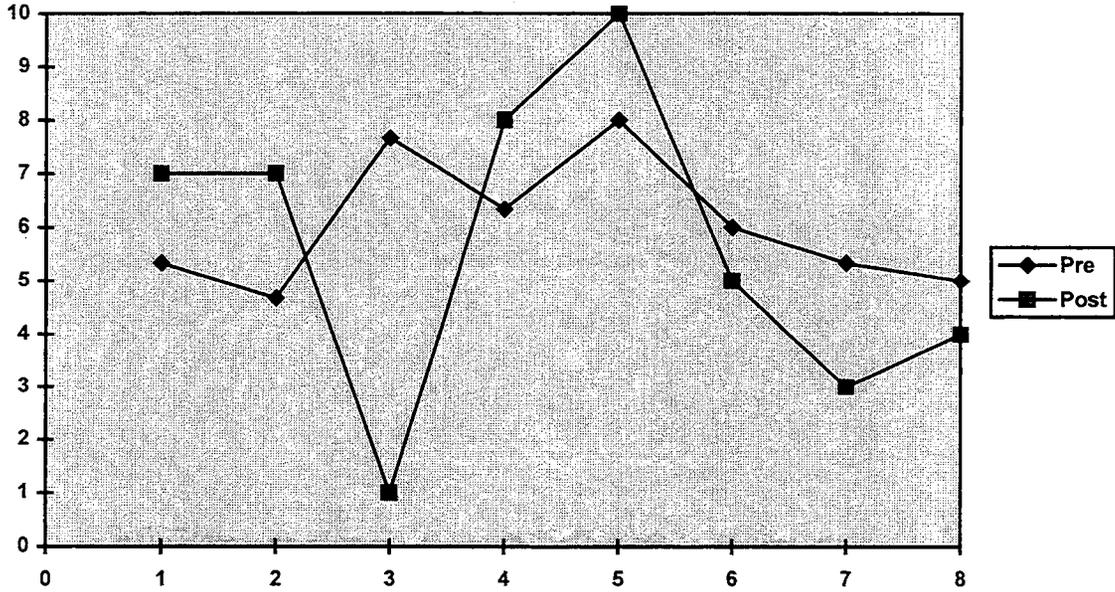


Table 4.14

Columbia Heights

	Jun	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan
Pre	5.33	4.67	7.67	6.33	8	6	5.33	5
Post	7	7	1	8	10	5	3	4
Change +-	+31.3%	+49.9%	-87.0%	+26.4%	+25.0%	-16.7%	-43.7%	-20%

Graph 4.12



Juvenile Vandalism

Table 4.15

Fridley

	Jun	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan
Pre	1.67	1.67	1.33	1	1.67	2	3.67	1.67
Post	1	2	0	1	1	1	0	1
Change +-	-40.1%	+19.8%	-100%	-	-40.1%	-50.0%	-100%	-40.1%

Graph 4.13

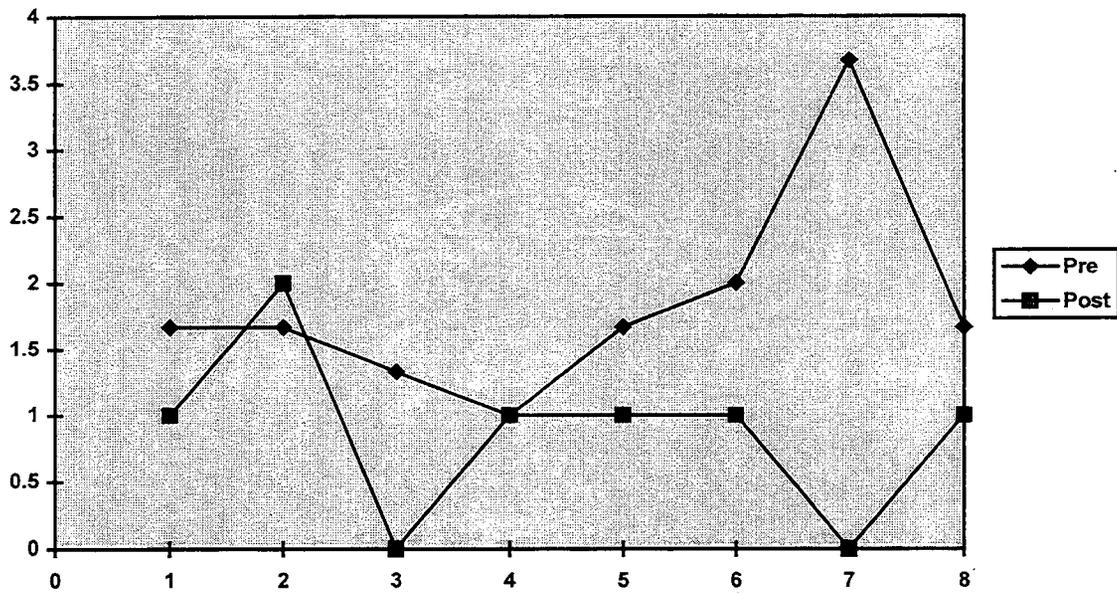
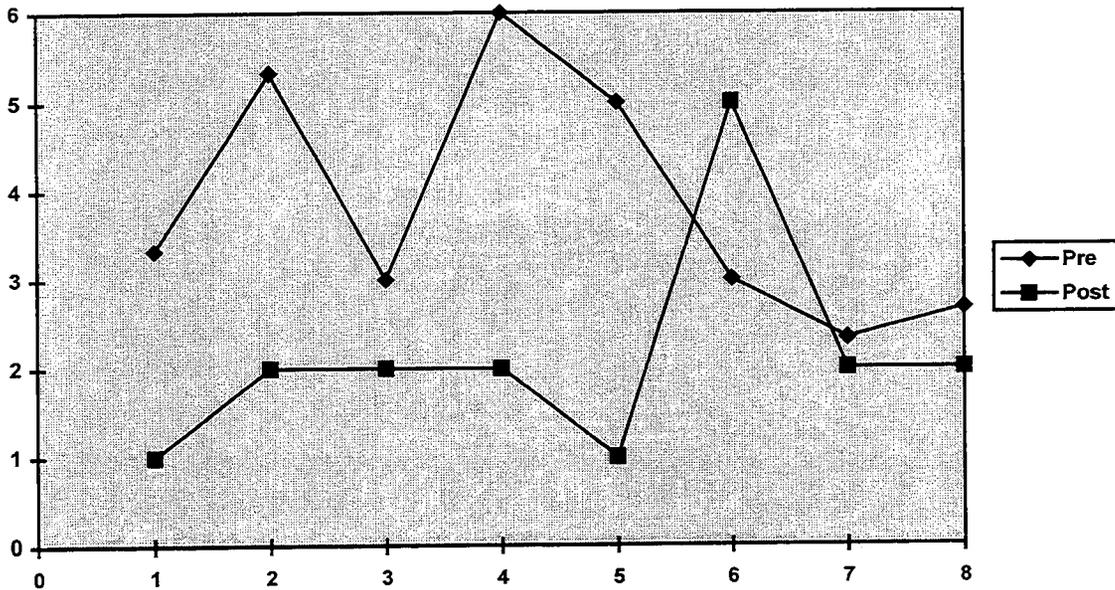


Table 4.16

Columbia Heights

	Jun	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan
Pre	3.33	5.33	3	6	5	3	2.33	2.67
Post	1	2	2	2	1	5	2	2
Change +-	-70.0%	-62.5%	-33.3%	-66.7%	-80.0%	+66.7%	-14.7%	-25.1%

Graph 4.14



Summary

This chapter provided the findings of the research study on the impact of juvenile curfew enforcement on crime statistics. The results were categorized in two ways. The first being a simple comparison of pre and post enforcement time periods to include curfew enforcement juvenile arrests, calls for service vandalism, Juvenile part one crimes, juvenile other assaults, and juvenile vandalism. The second

category measured curfew enforcement and the distribution of the same offenses by month. The findings were displayed through the use of tables and graphs.

Chapter Five: Recommendations and Summary

Discussion

This study's focus was to answer the following research question:

What is the impact of juvenile curfew enforcement on crime statistics?

Only a partial answer is suggested by the study results. In looking at the percentage of change between pre and post curfew enforcement time periods (see table 5.1), clearly, curfew enforcement had a significant impact for both cities on the categories; juvenile arrests excluding traffic and curfew (Fridley -9.56% and Columbia Heights -8.96%) and calls for service-vandalism (-12.8% and -18.9% respectively). Fridley and Columbia Heights experienced an astonishing drop in juvenile vandalism (Fridley 52.1% and Columbia Heights 44.4%)

The study results suggest that curfew enforcement has minimal impact on the category juvenile other assaults. Fridley had a minimal change (-.49%) and Columbia Heights experienced a 4.25 decrease.

In the area of juvenile part one crimes (serious crimes) the results are conflicting. Fridley saw an increase

of 9.3% while Columbia Heights shows a 13% decrease. Interestingly, when the percentages of change for the cities are combined, all categories show a decrease.

Table 5.1

Percentage of Change Between Pre and Post Curfew Enforcement Time Periods

Offense	Fridley	Columbia Heights	Combined
J-VAN	-52.1	-44.4	-48.2
CS-VAN	-12.8	-18.9	-15.85
Arrest	-9.56	-8.86	-9.21
JOA	-.49	-4.25	-2.37
J-PT1	+9.3	-13	-1.85

Note: J-VAN = Juvenile Vandalism, CS-VAN = Calls for Service Vandalism, Arrest = Juvenile Arrests Excluding Curfew and Traffic, JOA = Juvenile Other Assaults, J-PT1 = Juvenile Part One Crimes.

The second part of the study examined the relationship between curfew enforcement and the distribution of selected offenses by month. The results were inconclusive. The findings of the research in this area failed to provide the means for inferring monthly trends in all categories. Curfew enforcement does not seem to have a measurable effect on juvenile crime in this context. It was unfortunate that the researcher was unable to utilize Hunt and Weiners' method of using hourly versus monthly time intervals for the study due to a lack of sophistication in available record management system.

Recommendations for Further Research

1. There is a need for further research on this topic. The literature review demonstrated a scarcity of empirical research on the impact of curfew enforcement on crime statistics. The need for research is augmented due to the recent popularity in developing and enforcing juvenile curfews across the country. In the years 1990-1994, fifty percent of major American cities took legislative action to enact a curfew ordinance for the first time or revised an existing ordinance (Sabransky 1995).
2. The issue of juvenile victimization should be researched in the context of curfew enforcement. What is the impact of curfew enforcement on youth victimization?
3. Further research should be conducted on the demographics of juveniles detained for curfew. The concerns of disproportional enforcement in communities of color and economically disadvantaged need to be addressed to ensure equitable treatment in curfew enforcement.
4. The issue of recidivism needs to be researched as it relates to curfew enforcement. Does curfew enforcement have a long term effect on juveniles being out after curfew?
5. Research should be conducted on the impact of curfew enforcement and county resources in terms of court costs, out of home placement (when a suitable adult cannot be

reached to pick up detained youth).

6. The issue of the displacement of youth during curfew should be considered when looking at enforcement. Are youth simply being displaced to an area or city where active curfew enforcement is not being conducted?

Summary:

While there the United States is experiencing a overall decline in crime, juvenile crime is on the increase. Social workers, criminologists, law enforcement officials, politicians, and society as a whole are searching for ways to confront this growing concern.

The literature shows a renewed interest with the intervention of status offenders as a means to prevent and reduce juvenile crime. Curfew enforcement has become perhaps, the most poignant example of this change in public policy. In a five year period (1990-1994) fifty percent of major American cities took legislative action to enact a curfew ordinance for the first time, or revised an existing ordinance.

Many civil libertarians adamantly oppose the enforcement of a curfew ordinance on the grounds that it interferes with a juvenile's constitutional rights. Nonetheless, curfew ordinances have been upheld by the United States Supreme Court.

The findings of the study show that enforcement of

curfew appears to have a significant impact on crime statistics, especially in the areas of vandalism and juvenile arrests.

Inasmuch as the findings are compelling, there continues to be a serious lack of empirical data to justify spending taxpayer money, expending city and county resources, and perhaps most importantly, the impeding on human rights.

It is this researcher's wish that this project will encourage other cities and regions to conduct their own studies on this issue.

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