


CHANGE IS POSSIBLE

By Margaret Barber

Ten years ago, the South Carolina Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ) was under the shadow of a federal lawsuit, and had been since 1990. This led many to believe that DJJ would never find its way out of the federal oversight that accompanied it. The lawsuit had been filed over the unacceptable conditions of confinement in DJJ facilities and the agency had spent some 13 years under federal supervision. Many citizens in South Carolina came to believe that these conditions were endemic to juvenile justice in South Carolina and that there was no hope for improvement.



As a 40-plus year juvenile justice veteran, I am no stranger to juvenile justice in South Carolina. I began my career in 1968 as a juvenile probation officer—before DJJ, which I now direct, even existed. I have seen many ups and many downs since then, and countless good and bad ideas come and go. Every DJJ Director since this agency was created has worked in his or her own way to improve this agency and many had great successes in improving a system that is not very far removed from a time when industrial schools and reformatories were the norm in this state. Some changes, like desegregation of the state’s juvenile justice system in 1969, did make things better. New treatment philosophies, organizational changes, and legislative mandates that came along between 1972 and 1989 certainly paved the way for a more rehabilitation-oriented juvenile justice system.

In 1981 the South Carolina General Assembly enacted the South Carolina Children’s Code, embracing the key principle of maintaining children in the least restrictive environment, preferably their own homes. It would be another 22 years before the least restrictive principle was embodied in the DJJ mission statement. Many setbacks in need of reform existed during that time: budget cuts, public perceptions that juvenile offenders were becoming more predatory and violent, and tougher laws that put a lot of children behind the fence who didn’t belong there—including children whose only “crimes” were status offenses like truancy, runaway and being ungovernable. Not surprisingly, DJJ facilities became increasingly crowded. More escapes and more incidents of serious assault/injury inevitably followed.

This situation culminated with the filing of a federal lawsuit by a private attorney and the Protection and Advocacy for People with Disabilities Agency on behalf of a group of incarcerated juveniles against the agency in 1990. The lawsuit hung as a pall over the agency for 13 years, obstructing forward progress and leaving many employees believing that it would never end. It was tempting for many in those days to say that we would never secure enough funding to end the lawsuit. Finding the right combination of leadership, programs and alternative sentencing options to end it proved difficult, even as a series of agency directors worked to innovate and change attitudes. Many naysayers said that DJJ would never gain political support to change the agency and the way we did business.

They were wrong. Change *is* possible.

THE DETERMINATION TO CHANGE

Long before I became Director of DJJ, there were efforts to reform our system and effect improvements in the juvenile justice system in South Carolina. New treatment philosophies led to more rehabilitative efforts. Alternative sentencing programs, such as Wilderness Camps and Juvenile Arbitration were established. Agency leaders opened more modern evaluation and detention centers and began closing down some of the department's most decrepit and dangerous facilities. In 2003, the work that would pave the way for a new era in the South Carolina juvenile justice system began.

William R. Byars, Jr. was appointed DJJ Director in 2003, beginning a new era of change at the agency. He was a former Family Court Judge in South Carolina and had seen many of our problems first-hand (though he was far enough outside the process to offer a fresh perspective). He spent his first months just asking questions and carefully learning the system. I would later join him as his Chief of Staff and succeed him as Agency Director in 2011.

As an agency, DJJ staff has begun in the past few years to pool the programs that we know work into a unified reform effort designed to:

- provide an array of sentencing alternatives to long-term incarceration,
- concentrate heavily on front-end prevention programs,
- provide intensive supervision to all juveniles on parole,
- improve and replace deteriorating physical structures, and
- revise our staff development strategies and governing policies.

Many aspects of this plan were bold. Implementing intensive supervision services meant reducing parole caseloads from an average of 73 to a maximum of 20 juveniles per officer, a strategy achieved only at a significant extra cost for DJJ. Convinced of the efficacy of intensive supervision and with generous legislative support, DJJ expanded its five-county, federally-funded pilot program to a statewide, state-funded program by 2007. The department now has officers who have the time to work proactively with all youth re-entering the community from DJJ beds (as well as some high risk probationers). These officers enroll youth in education and job readiness programs, make certain that counseling appointments are kept, facilitate the exploration of opportunities for employment, and actively supervise youths during evening and weekend hours, all in the effort to ensure that youth are not falling back into their old patterns of maladaptive behavior. In a study of the program, the recidivism rate of DJJ's intensively supervised juveniles was found to be 37.5 percent lower than a control group of similar youth who did not have the benefit of intensive supervision.

Other ideas were much simpler. Taking incarcerated children out of prison jumpsuits and putting them into normal adolescent clothing was a small thing, but it had a surprisingly powerful impact in our efforts to stop them from developing a prisoner mentality. There was an even more pronounced effect when this was combined with the agency's existing Juvenile Reserve Officers Training Corps (JROTC) program behind the fence. DJJ youth no longer looked like prisoners. Many could take pride in a military uniform they had earned.

And while juvenile crime has been dropping across the country since the mid-1990's, DJJ has achieved in the last ten years some remarkable and unique accomplishments as a result of the reforms the agency began in 2003. These accomplishments include:

- In 2003, DJJ was released from Federal supervision and the lawsuit that had hung over the agency for 13 years.
- The number of persons seeking assistance from South Carolina's juvenile justice system has declined 38 percent or an average of four percent per year since 2002-2003. Referrals to South Carolina's juvenile justice system for violent and serious offenses have declined 57 percent since the peak year of 1994-1995, when juvenile violent crime was escalating across the nation. Although these trends mirror observations around the country, their impact on South Carolina has been a reduction in probation caseloads and lower population levels in facilities.
- The population of youth incarcerated in DJJ's secure long-term correctional facilities (BRRC) has dropped by 71 percent since 2003.
- Escapes from long term DJJ correctional facilities have averaged one (1) per year since 1998. Seven of the fourteen years, including 2010-2011, were escape-free.
- DJJ's secure management unit had an average daily population of 13 in 2010-2011. This represents a 70 percent drop in the average daily population held in lockdown since 2005-2006.
- In school year 2011, 120 students in DJJ's School District received their GEDs. Seventy-eight percent of DJJ students taking the GED exam passed, which exceeded the state passing rate of 75 percent and the national passing rate of 73 percent.
- Average probation caseloads have dropped from 73 in 2007 to 39 in August 2011.
- DJJ had an average daily caseload of 4,293 youth under supervision in 2011. This compares to an average caseload of 5,693 youth under supervision in 2003, a reduction of 28 percent.
- An average of 1,200 youth were receiving intensive supervision statewide in fiscal year 2010-2011, compared to 100 in 2002-2003 under the original pilot program that was limited in scope to just five counties. Offenders receiving DJJ's intensive supervision services were 37.5 percent less likely to re-offend than those under standard supervision.²

These accomplishments would not have been possible without that range of programs that we put in place to pursue our larger goals or the DJJ staff who implemented and supervised them. We borrowed some of these programs from other juvenile justice agencies, others are modified versions of law enforcement programs, some are original to DJJ and many are hybrids of various effective programs created by staff who worked for years to find the best solutions to specific problems. They all give testimony to the fact that there are effective programs available and that they can work, even in an agency with a legacy of poor performance.

HOW WE CHANGED OUR APPROACH IN THE COMMUNITY

In the community, DJJ leadership prioritized prevention and early intervention efforts and the development of alternatives to incarceration for Family Court judges to help avoid the incarceration of status offenders and less serious offenders. Providing these alternatives was especially important to Director Byars and to me, as we were both painfully aware of the lack of sentencing options based on our first-hand experiences in the community and the Family Court. South Carolina desperately needed more options for offenders than a one-size-fits-all approach to sending all offenders behind the razor-wire of its long-term facilities.

To that end, agency staff first stepped up their support of the Juvenile Arbitration Program. Judicial Circuit Solicitors, who are district attorneys or prosecutors, are elected officials representing geographical districts, administering this restorative justice program, which operates through trained volunteer arbitrators. The solicitor's role is to prosecute cases. Juveniles who complete the Arbitration program, which includes restitution to victims and community service hours, avoid formal court processing and stigma of delinquency adjudication on their record. With a consistent 85 percent approval rating by victims and a strong history of positive outcomes for participants that were recently verified in an independent evaluation, we knew that Arbitration was an essential part of DJJ's plan to divert appropriate offenders from the deep end of the juvenile justice system. In 2007, DJJ community staff succeeded in bringing this program to all 16 court circuits in the state. In 2011, an evaluation of the Arbitration Program

outcome data showed that only 19 percent of juveniles that participated in the program re-offended.³

Through partnerships with Clemson University and community organizations, DJJ also began offering a number of other alternatives to placement in secure facilities for committed juvenile offenders. Many less serious offenders are now sent to programs at Clemson's Camp Long Youth Development Center and wilderness programs throughout the state. These efforts to divert lower risk offenders from secure correctional facilities, coupled with declining numbers of referrals to the juvenile justice system and better front end identification/ treatment of juveniles with mental health issues and addiction issues are the driving forces behind a dramatic 71 percent drop in the daily population of juveniles incarcerated in long-term secure facilities over the last nine years.

But we also knew that more diversion and sentencing options do not really get at the heart of the problem in the community. While these options gave solicitors and Family Court judges more appropriate choices for sentencing juveniles, DJJ ideally wanted to stop juveniles from ever coming into contact with the juvenile justice system. The cornerstones of the agency's primary prevention efforts are Teen After-School Centers (TASCs), job training programs in the community (including enhanced TASC-JRT job readiness programs), and adoption of the Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.) prevention program, all of which specifically target at risk youth.

As many juvenile justice professionals are no doubt aware, studies have shown that the peak time for violent juvenile crime

is in the after-school hours, specifically, 3-4 p.m. After that one hour period there is an hourly decline through 6 a.m. (by contrast adult violent crime peaks at 10 p.m.). The ideal preventive solution is to establish more teen after-school centers across the state to give children safe and supervised educational, recreational and job readiness training programs to attend during after-school hours. Our limited budget simply did not allow for us to establish these centers by ourselves. Undeterred, DJJ established community partnerships with local churches and community organizations. These partners provided key components of the program such as space for the activity, transportation and volunteer mentors. DJJ provided limited "seed" money to sustain the programs on a day-to-day basis. Using this partnership approach, DJJ was able to establish 24 TASC's across the state at relatively little cost to the taxpayer. In an independent study of the effectiveness of the program, we found that 90 percent of youth served by TASC did not re-offend while participating in the program, and 86.8 percent of youth served by TASC were not suspended from school. Over one-third of youth did exhibit the desired change in school performance and 31.8 percent reduced the number of unexcused school absences, according to the study conducted by the South Carolina Department of Education.⁴

The DJJ has also been working with community partners to provide more job readiness training for youth, as part of a very recent push to emphasize employability training. The agency has a job-training program in Kershaw County to provide at-risk youth with training and paid internships at local businesses. And we've just begun an expansion of the TASC program, called

TASC-Job Readiness for Teens (TASC-JRT), to provide additional funding to existing TASC programs to supplement their existing educational and recreational programs with job readiness training.

Another of the agency's most recent efforts has focused on gang prevention. As in many states, South Carolina has a serious gang problem. Our own survey of juvenile justice involved youth revealed that those reporting gang affiliations had been recruited at an average age of 13 years. Just last year, South Carolina became one of the first states in the country to certify a statewide group of probation officers to go into local elementary and middle schools throughout the state to teach the Gang Resistance Education and Training program.

When juveniles do come into the system, a great number end up on probation and parole in the community. One of DJJ's greatest problems has been overloaded probation and parole caseloads. As recently as 2007 the average supervision caseload of a DJJ probation or parole officer was 73 juveniles. With that kind of caseload, it was obviously difficult for officers to provide even basic supervision, much less the kind of individual attention many of these children desperately need. To address this need, we decided that we needed to secure additional funding. With the generous support of the South Carolina General Assembly, the agency was able to establish Intensive Supervision services for DJJ juveniles on parole, other youth leaving agency beds to re-enter the community and most recently, probationers who present a high risk profile.

A defining aspect of Intensive Supervision services is a maximum individual caseload

of 20 juveniles. This greatly reduced caseload allows for more individualized supervision of the juveniles. And these new Intensive Supervision Officers (ISO) are not just performing traditional supervision. For committed youth, the first step is a comprehensive reentry planning process that begins as soon as the juvenile enters a DJJ facility. When youth are released to the community, and when a high risk youth receives a disposition of probation, ISOs are expected to take them on job interviews, help them deal with family issues, maintain them in safe housing, assist them with educational goals, ensure that counseling appointments are kept and generally facilitate anything related to a successful outcome. Supervision after normal business hours and on weekends comes with the territory as ISOs also are responsible for helping to keep communities safe.

DJJ's Intensive Supervision service has been one of the agency's most successful community efforts. Our studies have shown that youth re-entering the community under Intensive Supervision are 37 percent less likely to reoffend than youth under our traditional parole system, based on information collected from case closure documents. Needless to say, this has contributed greatly to the drop in juveniles returning to the juvenile justice system, or entering the adult correctional system in the state.

In the community, DJJ has also emphasized an increased focus on victims. The agency now communicates closely with crime victims and regularly surveys their satisfaction with our performance. DJJ not only provides the standard victim notification services and assistance with victim restitution

that is common in juvenile justice, but we also have innovative programs such as our Victim Offender Dialogues, offering crime victims a chance to confront their offenders in a face-to-face meeting as a means of gaining closure.

Change has been possible not only in the community, but also "Behind the Fence" in our facilities as well.

BEHIND THE FENCE

As part of the reform efforts at DJJ, we have also been making great strides in improving conditions in our secure facilities. These efforts have focused not just on physical improvements in these facilities, but also improvements in agency procedures, programs and opportunities for incarcerated youth.

In the last several years, the agency has constructed four state-of-the-art dormitories for juveniles, allowing us to demolish many of DJJ's dilapidated facilities that dated from the 1960's. These new dormitories now provide juveniles with individual living spaces (as opposed to the shared dorm-room style housing in our old dormitories). They also provide added security and give security staff the ability to deal with smaller groups of youths in any given living "pod."

DJJ has also greatly improved family visitation facilities in the agency's long-term incarceration complex with the addition of the Bill Rogers Community Connections Center, a multi-purpose 10,500 square foot facility built entirely with private donations through our non-profit, "Friends of Juvenile Justice" (an organization that collaborates with individuals and agencies within the public

and private sectors to provide resources and care to at-risk youth inside and outside of DJJ). Families now have the opportunity to visit with juveniles in spacious, secure, well-lit private areas. Additional security measures in this facility have also greatly cut down on contraband smuggling. And the improved environment has led to a 100 percent increase in visitation for youth in long-term custody.

But the physical improvements are only a small part of the story of reform efforts “behind the fence.” One of the areas in which DJJ has made incredible strides the last few years is in our Birchwood School.

We have seen a drastic jump in graduation rates in recent years at Birchwood School, which provides education for incarcerated youth in long term facilities. With incoming students often performing substantially below grade level for their age, and with returning students often facing obstructions to reenrollment in their home schools, DJJ decided to focus efforts on helping incarcerated students obtain their General Equivalency Diploma (GED) during their stay with the agency. After securing a waiver from the South Carolina General Assembly to allow students as young as 16 to take the GED test at DJJ, we placed an emphasis on helping students to attain the GED credential in an environment where there is no option to drop out of school. The resulting graduation rate at Birchwood School has increased from a negligible number of 54 in 2001, to 116 in 2012 (even as the incarcerated population was declining drastically). While the DJJ School District as a whole posted a GED passing rate of 78 percent (surpassing the state and national rate in 2010-2011), the Birchwood School

serving DJJ’s long-term facilities led the way with a passing rate of 92 percent.⁵

DJJ’s educational efforts are not only geared towards helping students obtain their GED, but also toward job-readiness training and employability skills. Birchwood School has numerous vocational training programs for students. Even during after-school hours, staff and volunteers take every opportunity to provide students with job readiness and vocational training. Most recently, we began building *Habitat for Humanity* houses behind the fence at our main facility, with volunteers and staff working with our youths to teach them construction skills. The first of these houses was recently completed and was lifted over our fence thanks to the generous assistance of a local crane company and a local house moving company, who donated their services to help move “The House That DJJ Built” to its permanent site, where DJJ youth in the community finished the house. In all my years as a juvenile justice practitioner and administrator, I have never seen a project achieve more in the way of galvanizing staff, youth and volunteers to achieve a common purpose. Our youths behind the razor wire are clamoring to begin another *Habitat* house.

Our efforts to improve conditions at DJJ’s secure facilities not only involved efforts aimed at agency juveniles, but also involved security and treatment staff. DJJ now provides a Career Ladder program for our correctional officers, which rewards our most promising young officers with a clear path for raises and promotions, greatly improving morale and improving the retention of seasoned employees. The agency has seen its security staff turnover rate drop to 17 percent for fiscal year 2011-2012 compared to 32

percent the previous year. This was made possible in part by efforts to consolidate security staff across all our secure facilities, standardizing their training and allowing correctional officers to advance across all facilities, statewide.

Improving conditions for our staff has not only improved retention rates by six percentage point over the past five years in the agency, it has also allowed us to hold this more experienced and professional staff to a higher performance standard. To help with this, DJJ has adopted the nationally-recognized Performance-Based Standards (PbS)⁶ approach to continuous improvement

in all our facilities. These standards track staff performance by institution in an ongoing fashion and ensure that living and working conditions at our facilities remain consistent throughout the agency. DJJ has won multiple PbS awards for excellence, including a Barbara Allen-Hagen Award in 2010 for our Coastal Evaluation Center. In the important PbS measure of “Incidents of youth misconduct that resulted in injury, confinement, and/or restraint per 100 days of youth confinement,” DJJ’s facilities continue to rank below the national average in PbS evaluations based on data that compares the agency to other juvenile justice systems. ⁷



PbS standards are just part of a larger effort of accountability and transparency at DJJ. Since 2003, the agency has published an annual agency "Report Card" (www.state.sc.us/djj) with detailed data on performance metrics within the agency. This simple report not only highlights areas of improvement, but also highlights areas of weakness that remind us that we should always be working to improve. Change remains an ongoing process at DJJ.

One specific area of improvement in DJJ's secure facilities worth highlighting is in the area of juvenile lockups. A significant part of the practices that prompted the 13-year federal lawsuit was the appalling number of juveniles held in secure lockup and solitary confinement within the agency. We are proud to report that, as part of our recent reforms, DJJ has seen a 70 percent drop of youths held in lockdown since 2005-2006. The agency has even recently closed one of our two lockdown facilities, as lockdown is now so rare at the agency that this facility was no longer needed. At the close of 2011, DJJ had just 12 juveniles in our secure management unit, one of our lowest numbers ever.

Like many other juvenile justice agencies in the U.S., DJJ has seen a steady decline in the average daily population of youth in long term correctional facilities in recent years. For DJJ, being a consolidated, stand-alone juvenile justice agency proved to be an advantage in efforts to reduce our long-term population. The fact that we were able to transfer resources in the form of clinical staff to the community side where they were sorely needed to bolster front end services saved jobs that might otherwise have been lost as the institutional population continued to drop and secure living units were closed.

Change is happening at DJJ. But this doesn't have to be limited to us. We have been fortunate to have tremendous support from other key actors in the state.

LEGISLATIVE AND OTHER INITIATIVES

The DJJ has worked diligently with the South Carolina General Assembly, other state agencies and partners within the juvenile justice system to garner support for its reform efforts. Highlights of these efforts include:

- DJJ worked with the state Department of Education to make truancy an education system issue rather than juvenile justice system issue by changing regulations on required planning efforts by the school district before action was taken in Family Court. This resulted in a substantial drop in truancy cases after FY 2002-2003 when cases reached an all time high of nearly 2,300 compared to slightly more than 500 cases today. ⁸
- DJJ introduced a commitment order to the Family Court judges for their voluntary usage that changed a child's legal status from commitment to probation if DJJ placed the child in an alternative setting rather than a secure correctional facility after an initial period of assessment. This gave the agency more flexibility in placing children, in funding streams and in length of stay in agency beds.

- DJJ supported legislation that was enacted, setting the caseload for its intensive supervision officers at a maximum of 20 and providing the agency with the authority to determine the target population for intensive supervision services. Both of these provisions are keys in maintaining the integrity of the intensive supervision model.
- DJJ supported legislation that was passed, to allow good time credit to shorten sentences for certain types of committed offenders.
- DJJ supported legislation that was enacted, giving credit for pre-dispositional secure confinement days (in detention and evaluation centers) against the sentence handed down at final disposition, a provision which adult offenders in the state already enjoyed.
- DJJ introduced and saw renewed a Legislative Proviso to allow probationers to earn ten days off their sentences per month if their behavior has demonstrated compliance with the conditions of probation. "Earned Compliance Credit" introduced an incentive based system that is in line with evidence based approaches to juvenile and adult supervision. The Proviso is expected to be codified into law this year.
- DJJ was also able to establish, through legislative efforts, its own Release Authority for releasing lower-level offenders. This allowed the agency to streamline the release process for many incarcerated juveniles.

The net impact of these changes has been to reduce front-end referrals for the status offense of truancy, reduce populations in commitment programs by shortening length of stay and reduce probation caseloads by shortening the amount of time that a youth spends under supervision. In 2011, 3,940 juvenile probationers earned a total of 167,340 credit days off their sentence for good behavior.'

CHANGE IS POSSIBLE FOR ALL OF US

As I look back at a career spanning over 40 years in the South Carolina juvenile justice system, I am most proud of the last few years here at DJJ. I am fortunate to have been one of the many leaders of a reform effort that I and many of my colleagues once would have thought impossible. We were in a sense blessed by an unstable state and national economy that forced us to think outside the box and develop lasting, effective partnerships to support the change process. We were the beneficiaries of legislative and gubernatorial support and the innovation and dedication of many agency directors and staff over several decades. Paraphrasing Sir Issac Newton's famous quote, if I have accomplished anything, it's because I stand on the shoulders of the giants who have preceded me and the all-too-often unrecognized staffers who make the gears turn at DJJ. And we all share the pride of what this agency has accomplished in recent years.

DJJ's leadership started the agency on the path to reform by first observing how the juvenile justice system works. We then enlisted leaders from within the ranks to carry out a new vision for the future, thereby reducing the fear element that so often accompanies and impedes innovation. Many leaders stood up and served as change agents. Out of necessity we started with our "deep end" programs in order to rectify substandard conditions in facilities that had been identified as lawsuit issues. We soon came to realize the importance of intensive supervision for high risk youth reentering the community and worked tirelessly to make these services accessible on a statewide basis. On the primary prevention side, we developed Teen After-School Centers to offer safe haven in the community for at risk youth. We even partnered

with a non-profit fund-raising and advocacy organization dedicated specifically to juvenile justice reform in South Carolina.

As agency director, I came into this position with a community perspective that has since evolved into a "one agency" focus of unity and shared resources to improve the outcomes of our youth wherever their lives intersect with the juvenile justice system. Like my predecessors, I have focused on maintaining the momentum for reform as we seek to provide evidence-based programming across the entire juvenile justice continuum. A source of great inspiration to our staff, youth, partners, volunteers and private citizens has been the *Habitat for Humanity* project which embodies the principles of restorative justice. I have never before experienced the sense of unity and wonder that I felt when we lifted the house over the razor wire for its journey home.

The results of juvenile justice reform in South Carolina are conclusive and compelling. We figured out what works and we instituted the necessary changes to make it happen. Along the way there were plenty of naysayers insisting that the agency would never change. There are always naysayers. It's easy to conjure up any number of excuses as to why things will always be the same. "We don't have the funding." "We don't have political support." "Nobody really cares about making things better for kids who commit crimes." "We have an endemic, immovable culture of obstruction here that resists change." I'm sure that many readers have heard and experienced variations of these excuses.

But I can tell you from personal experience, as someone who has spent a very long time in a juvenile justice system that was once one of the worst in the nation, that

change is always possible. Funding, political support, centralized authority, all these things are helpful. But the will of juvenile justice staff to say "We are going to change. We are going to improve," is far more important than any of these. Just the belief that change is possible is the necessary predicate for everything else. If you don't have that, you've created a self-fulfilling prophesy of failure, where positive change will never be achieved. But if you start with the belief that change is possible, you have taken the most important step in your journey.

We have improved in South Carolina. We can all improve. Change is possible. And that's true for our troubled juveniles. It's true for our communities. It's true for our staff. It's true for our juvenile justice systems and agencies.

Change is possible for those who have the courage to innovate. Go make it happen. »

ENDNOTES

- ¹ SCDJJ Report Card, 2011, 8.
- ² SCDJJ 2011 Report Card, 8.
- ³ Evaluated by System Wide Solutions, Inc. (September 14, 2011).
- ⁴ South Carolina Department of Education Study, 2005-2006.
- ⁵ South Carolina Department of Education.
- ⁶ <http://pbstandards.org//default.aspx>.
- ⁷ <http://pbstandards.org//default.aspx>.
- ⁸ SCDJJ 2011-2012 Annual Statistical Report, P14, (www.state.sc.us/djj).
- ⁹ SCDJJ Statistical Data (Office of Planning and Programs).

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