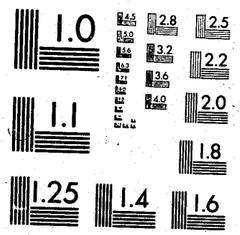

NATIONAL EVALUATION OF THE NEW PRIDE REPLICATION PROGRAM

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation

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THE PROJECT NEW PRIDE MODEL

Project New Pride is an experimental juvenile community-based treatment program originally founded in Denver, Colorado. Juvenile offenders who would otherwise be sent to an institution are instead sent to Project New Pride. A New Pride client is provided with:

- Thorough, professional diagnostic and needs assessment;
- Individualized treatment based on assessment;
- Remedial education and increased school achievement;
- Training in employment skills;
- Meaningful employment opportunities;
- Services to improve the participant's social functioning (i.e., intensive supervision, counseling, family intervention, and advocacy).

The results of the Denver New Pride project were so promising that the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention provided funds for the program to be replicated and evaluated in ten other cities.

THE NATIONAL EVALUATION OF THE NEW PRIDE REPLICATION PROGRAM

During 1979, NIJJDP supported a proposal competition to design and implement an evaluation study of the New Pride Replication Program. The design, established by sociologists at PIRE and accepted by NIJJDP, took as its primary study objective the task of ascertaining the effectiveness of the New Pride Replication Program in reducing delinquency. In essence four questions were posed:

1. To what extent, and under what conditions of community support could New Pride be replicated, and
2. What were the client and service issues which emerged during the replication program that could be used to refine the New Pride model,
3. What kinds of services were most effective for what types of youth, and under what conditions, and
4. Were the youth accorded program services less prone to persist in delinquent offense behavior than were members of comparable groups of youth subjected to the traditional procedures of secure detention and commitment to correctional institutions?

Additional questions to be addressed included program effects on the academic achievement and employment experience of clients; on the procedures and personnel of the juvenile justice system; on leaders of other community agencies that impacted the lives of youth; and on the community's youth service network. The design called as well for an examination of program implementation, with special attention to site by site variation in environments, facilities, staffing, political support, and programmatic emphases on various components of the New Pride model.

To answer the major question of program effect on the offense behavior of clients, the study design incorporated two principle elements. The first was the use of the strongest, i.e., the most conclusive, comparative design permitted by the structure of a model program designed to treat very chronic and serious

offenders. (An experimental design with a randomly selected control group was not feasible given size limitations of the target population.) OJJDP had made project agreement to provide data for a national evaluation as an absolute requirement for funding eligibility.

The second principle element of the evaluation design was the development of a data base for analysis. This included information respecting socio-economic, demographic, attitudinal, educational, and family status characteristics of each program client; the source of referral to the program; all formal complaints together with the most serious offense in each criminal event; the entire prior record, including dispositions, of both status and delinquent offenses; and follow-up data on all petitions/indictments and adjudications/convictions subsequent to program admission.

In addition, qualitative data were to be obtained permitting the characterization of each project with reference to elements assumed to facilitate or impede implementation of the New Pride holistic service delivery system. This information was deemed essential in order to specify the conditions under which the program could be replicated, and the degree of success with which various program components of the model were implemented. Thus, the national evaluation effort was designed as a comparative study with a view to specifying the contextual problems that should be taken into account if New Pride was to be successfully launched and institutionalized with non-federal funds.

Information provided in the program guidelines was explicit in presenting the character and thrust of the evaluation study. Local Research objectives included those related to client impact. The study was designed as a comparative examination of the conditions under which the New Pride Program fostered a reduction of the offense behavior and the incarceration of youth, and an increase in their academic achievement, employment experience, and other beneficial outcomes. This required the acquisition of uniform data elements to be obtained through a relatively standardized administration of instruments

across the set of diverse project sites, each varying with respect to data availability and access. As the organization coordinating the evaluation study and conducting the comparative analysis, PIRE was responsible for obtaining from local evaluators an extensive body of data in uniform format and for maintaining quality control of the data.

As a condition of its grant, each project agreed to hire evaluation staff as specified in the New Pride model, and to provide to PIRE the full complement of data as prescribed in the national evaluation design. This was clearly defined as an important task. Local evaluators were encouraged to use the data that they collected for PIRE in local reports, and to obtain whatever further data they wished for use in other studies of specific interest to them. In addition, they were expected to furnish information on case tracking and services that could serve the needs of program managers at their sites.

The Data System

Effective management of project information was seen as essential to the success of this evaluation for two reasons. First, it was the mechanism by which critical project data were specified, collected, and retrieved to serve a variety of management and evaluation needs. Second, it would optimize chances that the local evaluation components would be continued beyond the period of Federal support. Therefore, Pacific Institute implemented a computer networking system that was designed to serve the management information and data processing needs of both the evaluation and the individual projects. In this system, data entry and report generation occurred by way of "remote" terminals located at each site. This approach provided both project staff and the evaluator with accurate, complete, and timely information.

The data system was linked to the Michigan Terminal System (MTS) through Wayne State University and provided fingertip access to most of the files in the University of Michigan library. Through a telephone hookup, the

memory of each terminal was virtually unlimited, and operators could obtain fast, complete, and accurate information without leaving the project office. It was capable of sending messages to others, whether they were on the terminal or not at the time, making the process of information gathering on all topics quick, effective, and inexpensive. Because of this feature, it was able to serve as a vehicle for communication between participating projects and the national evaluation team, and between the projects themselves. By using MTS the local evaluators not only had access to extensive software for analysis and report generation purposes, but also benefitted from the extensive security systems already in place to ensure the confidentiality of data sets.

Explicit in the New Pride service delivery system was the assumption that various kinds of services would have different impacts according to the types of youth being served. For this reason, considerable data relative to the development of individualized treatment was generated and subsequently stored in the data system. As of January 1984, the computerized data base contained approximately three and one-half million separate pieces of information on 1,161 clients and 1,164 comparison subjects from the seven cities (out of ten) providing comprehensive impact data. The system worked best as a tool for evaluation purposes, both on the local and the national level.

The National Evaluation of the New Pride Replication Program has been unique because of the comprehensiveness of its data base. In all possible ways of measuring success of a data collection effort for an impact study, this one excelled:

1. Detailed records were meticulously kept on clients' backgrounds, services, and outcomes.
2. These records were subsequently checked, coded, and entered into a carefully-constructed computerized data system attached to one of the largest main frame computers in the United States.
3. There, the records were monitored, cleaned, updated, and the files merged for analysis.

4. At the analysis stage, 166 new variables were created for specific kinds of analyses in addition to the 218 that were used from the raw data files. These new variables combined information from two or more files.
5. Follow-up of the official records of all project youth and comparison subjects involved uniquely thorough searches of both juvenile and adult court files. These searches were conducted every six months from the beginning of 1981 through 1984.
6. All clients whose records were analyzed for the final report had at least one year of follow-up after twelve months estimated in-program experience. Most had two to three years.
7. The comprehensiveness of the information collected was assisted and reinforced by a uniquely concerted effort towards that end on the part of both NIJJDP and OJJDP program monitors.

The following table demonstrates the comprehensiveness of the New Pride data base. It describes only the data files used in the analyses presented in the final report. Other files included those designed specifically for client tracking and mangement information. As nearly all of the data files had to be merged to study the impact of the New Pride model on the recidivism of youth served, the evaluation represented a challenge of organization, analysis, and presentation.

Evaluation Records

Data File	Total Records in File	Records Analyzed	Variables in File	Variables Analyzed
Client Demographics				
Cases referred:	1,699			
Cases opened:	1,355	1,167	41	18
Comparison subjects:	1,220	724		
Intake Survey	1,034	870	47	35
Client Characteristics	1,119	937	15	13
Test Scores	96,471	87,587	8	4
ISP Files	19,825	16,602	10	6
Objective Updates	16,083	12,578	8	6
Employment	1,105	967	29	27
School Status	2,119	1,786	28	25
Service Delivery	250,573	202,090	11	7
Juvenile History				
Client records:	13,302	12,283	17	8
Comparison subject records:	11,059	9,717		
Offenses				
Client records:	15,502	11,589	7	5
Comparison subject records:	12,900			
Exit Survey	559	503	64	60
Termination Form	1,142	1,035	19	4
Replication Totals	447,067	360,435	304	218

CLIENT IMPACT EVALUATION DESIGN

The evaluation examined all of the outcome variables from a dual, yet integrated and complementary, perspective. The first of these approaches examined the differential outcomes of sub-groups and sub-types of the experimental subjects only. This part of the evaluation was an internal analysis of the juveniles who received the services provided by the program. Its results are described in "The Impact of the New Pride Model on Client Outcomes." The second part of the analysis was external in nature and compared the experimental subjects with the members of the comparison groups on various outcome measures. These results are described in "The Comparative Analysis of Recidivism." While these two parts of the study were logically distinct, they were closely related and were designed to provide a complete assessment of program impact. In combination, this dual approach allowed an evaluation of the overall impact of the program as well as the differential impact of the project for youth receiving treatment.

The study was based on three groups of subjects - an experimental group, a qualitative comparison group, and a statistical comparison group. It is important to note that a complete data set was created only for members of the experimental group. Members of both comparison groups had a similar data set, with the exception of the information on diagnosis and treatment. For these groups the only information on treatment concerned the presence of alternative treatments and types of such treatment, if any. It is also important to note that the members of the experimental and comparison groups were treated identically in terms of the collection of data on the primary outcome variables. Both groups were followed for identical periods of time and information on the same recidivism measures were collected on them.

The data set for the comparison groups was considerably more limited. The major reason was that these groups could only be created retrospectively. Federal guidelines on client eligibility (three prior offenses adjudicated in juvenile court) and careful monitoring virtually assured that the projects could not select participants from lists of eligibles sent over by the court. All sites

had difficulty finding enough clients because so few individuals met the criteria. Therefore, the information described that was regularly gathered from interviews and testing could obviously not be collected for comparison subjects.

Client Characteristics. Since the most complete data set was collected for the experimental subjects, this discussion is confined to this group for the time being. Client characteristics were measured in two general areas – demographic characteristics and criminal histories. In the former, we were interested in the basic information relating to age, sex, ethnicity, educational level, family status, socio-economic status, and kindred variables. Comprehensive and comparable data was collected in this and other areas by means of identical format in forms and files across the replication.

The second component of the client characteristics relates to criminal histories. For each subject data was collected on all arrests that resulted in new petitions and/or indictments, updating all files every six months. Given this information, offenses were grouped into those that occurred before, during, and after the intervention of the program. Since we also had all available data on the number and types of offenses for which these young people were arrested and referred to court, this information allowed us to measure the seriousness of the offenses committed.

Diagnostic Categories. The second major block of information collected was that of diagnostic categories. At the onset of the program a diagnostician tested and interviewed each individual referred to the project. During this phase all clients were to be administered the Woodcock Reading Mastery Test, either the WISC-R or WAIS IQ Test, and the KeyMath Test. On the basis of this testing and an interview procedure, the areas of relative strengths and weaknesses for each person were defined and areas identified in which remediation was required. Over all 10 sites, about 25 percent of the New Pride clients in the replication program were diagnosed learning disabled.

Post-testing occurred after the intensive phase of the program (about six months long) on the Woodcock and the KeyMath Tests, which provided

measurable outcomes in the area of academic achievement. Results indicated that substantial gains were made by the New Pride clients.

Treatment Plans. The next block of information collected concerns the treatment program that was designed for each of the clients. Since the projects provided individualized treatment, the actual plan varied from person to person. A service plan developed at the end of the diagnostic period was collected for each of the participants and made a part of the data set used in the evaluation. In addition, any systematic changes made in the plan during the course of treatment was also recorded and added to the data set.

Services Delivered. Having collected information on the types of treatment plans that were recommended on the basis of the diagnostic phase of the program, the next major data cluster involves the actual treatment provided by the project. It should be clear that an underlying assumption to this part of the analysis was that there might be discrepancies between the plan that was recommended and the one that was implemented. This discrepancy could be in either of two directions – either the addition of treatment elements not recommended or in the deletion of treatment elements originally recommended. One of the reasons for collecting updated information on the recommended treatment plans was to separate planned from unanticipated changes.

To accomplish this part of the data collection, the actual services that the youth received were recorded for each subject on a daily basis covering the actual amount of time clients spent in various activities. Again, these included such things as attendance at the alternative school and the general subjects studied, employment counseling, family counseling, etc. (over 55 categories in all).

In addition to noting the presence of these elements in the actual service plan, their intensity was also of interest. Intensity was measured by such variables as service frequency and duration as well as the number of days in attendance and the distribution of those days across time.

Another dimension along which the clients varied was that of total exposure to the project. For a variety of reasons some clients completed the course while others dropped out at various times and for various reasons. The times and reasons for termination were recorded for all clients and this information built into the assessment of program impact.

Review of Elements in the Model. Thus far this report has described the kind of information that was collected on each of the experimental subjects. This is a good time to recapitulate. For the experimental group members detailed information was collected in each of four general areas of concern: client characteristics, diagnostic categories, recommended treatment plans, and actual treatment experience. Within each of these general areas many discrete variables were measured.

The client characteristics focused on comprehensive demographic characteristics and criminal histories, including the number and type of prior arrests and the seriousness of the offenses. Diagnostic categories included information on the results of the testing and the counselor interviews that were conducted. The recommended treatment plan contained information about the service plans that were recommended by the treatment staff as a result of their diagnostic work. It included information on the elements that were recommended for each client, as well as the recommended intensity of those elements. Finally, the actual treatment given to each client was also measured, using the service delivery records of the project staff. The clients' total exposure and continuity of exposure to the program was measured, along with the treatment components that were received.

The information collected in this part of the evaluation provided a rich background against which to assess and interpret the outcome measures. It also provided detailed information on what happened to these clients in the program, in terms of desired treatment plans and those that were actually implemented.

Outcome Measures

The outcome measures employed in the analysis were divided into two classes: primary measures of outcome and secondary or intermediate measures.

Since one of the main goals of the New Pride project was to reduce the amount of crime committed by the subjects of the project, we took the primary outcome measure to be that of recidivism. According to the conventional view, if the New Pride replication program was to be viewed as successful it should be able to demonstrate a reduction in the amount of crime committed by youths served by the projects. Although this seems like a simple enough goal, it is in reality an exceedingly exclusive one, both in terms of actual achievement and in terms of scientific measurement. Nevertheless, recidivism was taken to be a primary outcome measure.

The other outcome measures were viewed as being of a secondary nature and were seen as intervening variables. They were also analyzed as outcomes. Among the variables included in this class of events are the following: academic achievement (especially for the younger clients), net gains in educational test scores, learning disability remediation, and improved employment status (especially for the older clients).

These outcome measures can be viewed as intermediate in two senses. The first is quite simply that they are not direct measures of the primary goal of any delinquency treatment program, which is the reduction of delinquent behavior. The second is that these variables can be viewed as mechanisms through which the treatment offered by the program effects delinquent behavior. In other words, a reduction in delinquency may be related to improvement in educational attainment or learning disability remediation and it may be only through changes in these intermediate variables that changes in delinquency can be observed. Because of this status, the intermediate outcome variables played a dual role in the impact evaluation. They were treated as true outcome measures and the impact of the program in bringing about changes in these variables was assessed in the same fashion as changes in delinquent behavior were assessed. For

example, the data were examined to see if there was in fact improvement in academic achievement or employment status. By collecting and analyzing the information in this manner, the impact of the program in each of these areas could be evaluated.

In general, the assessment of the impact of the program on these intermediate variables was conducted at two levels. The first was a general or overall evaluation in which the variables were examined for net gains. The second was an internal analysis that linked the outcomes to the treatments imposed so as to test for treatment effects and non-treatment effects.

After the evaluation of the impact of the program on intermediate outcome variables, these variables then became a part of the overall evaluation model in order to assess the impact of the New Pride program on the primary outcome measure. In this case, the amount of change in these intermediate variables was used to interpret and explain observed differences in the rate of recidivism.

Recidivism Measures

This brings us to a discussion of the way in which the key variable of recidivism was defined. It was measured in terms of rearrests that resulted in new petitions in juvenile courts or indictments in adult courts, and new adjudications and/or convictions. Offenses were measured after clients were admitted to the program and after comparison subjects were assigned a similar case action date. Offenses were again measured 12 months later for both groups, when it was assumed that clients had the benefit of the treatment experience.

New Petitions. The first basic measure of recidivism consisted of rearrests that were referred by police to the courts for action and which resulted in new charges. There were two reasons why this measure was selected. The first was that the decision by the prosecutor to charge an individual with a new offense

was likely to screen out the more trivial arrests and other arrests for which there was insufficient evidence to convict (or to find a "determination of guilt" in juvenile courts). This was considered a worthwhile screening of the population under study because multiple offenders are often watched more closely and arrested more often than others in their age group who do not have records. The second reason involved the difficulty of obtaining permission to access police files directly, particularly in those cities where there are multiple police and sheriff's departments. The concomitant strategic problems of accessing reports when they are located in many offices spread over wide geographic areas was a cost consideration.

Readjudication. When the study got underway, it was successfully argued that from a policy point of view the impact of the program on New Pride clients might be best assessed by using a "harder" measure of recidivism such as new adjudications or convictions in adult court. So while generally speaking measures involving earlier decision points are superior to other types of recidivism measures, these more legally consequential measures of recidivism were also used. Aside from their relevance in assessing system penetration, these variables are generally considered to be key elements in the social definition or labeling process for most offenders.

Incarceration. Evaluating the consequences of program participation on the incarceration rate of clients required comparing observations on a statistical comparison group which was matched to resemble experimental subjects in terms of two criterion variables: the number of prior adjudications and age at offense. Information on new adjudications or convictions and on the dispositions of such cases were routinely gathered by follow-up documentation. Decisions of the court were noted on forms covering each criminal event in the client or comparison group file that was updated every six months.

Comparison Groups

Composition. Two types of comparison groups were generated from the complete court file searches in each of seven cities. Both groups consist of adjudicated youth who meet the individual sites' criteria of eligibility for the program as it was operationalized for purposes of client intake. The first is comprised of the universe of all individuals who meet the eligibility criteria for the program and who have been screened by at least one knowledgeable person originally involved in the selection of clients. The official role of this person has varied from city to city, ranging from the supervisor of probation officers in San Francisco to the counseling supervisor or evaluator elsewhere. This group is called the "qualitative comparison group" because it was designed to control for the discretionary decision-making of projects and courts in the selection of possible candidates for the program.

The second group is a quantitatively derived set of comparison subjects called the "statistical comparison group." It is a subset of the universe of eligibles defined qualitatively. In order to define the matching procedures appropriate for this group, a number of substantial problems were defined, evaluated, and addressed by all core staff and the national advisory panel. These issues and their solutions are discussed in the following section.

Matching Strategy. Matching was done on a site-by-site basis because of wide variations in court procedures between the jurisdictions in which New Pride was replicated. For example, in Chicago, the average number of prior counts adjudicated for the treatment group was 3.7. In Pensacola and Providence, the average was 6.2. The only way these differences could be held constant was to control for them by matching comparison subjects from the same cities. Altogether, 970 treatment subjects were matched to 724 comparison subjects (64 percent of the initial qualitatively defined comparison group).

Because of the well-documented relationship between the number of prior offenses and subject age on the amount of crime committed and the likelihood of new charges, a matching procedure for the statistical comparison group was

devised that would take them into account. Subjects had to be matched on age in order to insure comparability in the maturity of the groups. The number of adjudications in their criminal histories had to correspond so that we were examining the backgrounds of equally serious offenders. Therefore, for each selected comparison group subject, matching procedures established a hypothetical date of entry (or case action date) after an adjudicated offense corresponding, in terms of number of priors and age at offense, to a subject of the treatment group.

To assure similarity in the age at offense distributions between the treatment and comparison groups, subjects were matched proportionally within categories of numbers of priors. Hence, if five percent of the client group entered the program with only one adjudication, five percent of comparison group members were matched to them at their first adjudication. Likewise, if 10 percent of all clients entered with two adjudications, 10 percent of the comparison group were included to "start" with two adjudications, etc. Comparison subjects for each category were selected on the basis of similarity to the client group in terms of age at their matched offense. This procedure allowed the comparison groups to be smaller while the offense distributions remained the same.

Finally, an adjustment was made to control for the "intake lags" which occurred in the treatment group. After the last prior adjudication occurred for a client, there was some period of time before he or she entered the program. For the treatment groups at each site this lag time was measured and the median lag time was assigned to comparison cases from the same site. The point in time of each comparison group subject's matched prior offense plus the intake lag assigned provided the hypothetical case action date for that person.

Results of the Match. Table 1 presents a schematic outline of the results of the matching procedure extensively discussed in the full report. The generally successful results of applying the algorithm to the development of the comparison groups appears in the left two columns of the table. All sites, except Camden, show no significant differences between the treatment and comparison

Table 1

Schematic Overview of the Results of the Treatment-Comparison Group Match

Site	Number Prior Sustained Adjudications	Age at Entry	Prior Seriousness	Ethnicity	Gender	Time to Follow-Up
Camden	*	*				*
Chicago						*
Fresno				*		*
Kansas City			*	*		*
Pensacola				*	*	
Providence				*	*	
San Francisco				*	*	

* Significant differences between the comparison and treatment groups.

groups on the match parameters. The right four columns of the table show the results of tests between groups for four other sources of bias. Prior seriousness of offenses is the least bothersome source of bias between groups, but differences in ethnic and gender compositions of the groups affect five sites and differences in time to follow-up affect four. No site goes unscatched by one or more sources of bias.

The results of the match indicate that matching procedures can be implemented quite effectively, but they can never account for all of the sources of bias between groups. Statistical controls on biases are an inevitable necessity.

Information Collected. The following pieces of information were collected on all comparison subjects who met program eligibility by local definition, but had not been referred to the program:

- Name and court ID number (if available);
- Probation Officer's name and telephone number;
- Birthdate;
- Sex;
- Ethnicity;
- Complete juvenile justice history forms filled out on all offenses for which the juvenile was adjudicated or for which a site-specific alternative type of determination of guilt was made; and
- A separate listing of dates on which other petitions were filed which did not result in an adjudication or other determination of guilt.

For the most part, this data was collected on eligible cases occurring within the same time frame in which the projects operated. One site with special problems, where all or nearly all eligible cases were referred, collected the information on similar cases processed by the same courts two years prior to the implementation of the project.

Follow-up Data Collection

Timing. All experimental and comparison subjects were followed up every six months through the winter of 1984. Additional records were entered for each individual charged with new offenses that got referred to either juvenile or adult courts for action. Regular updates included all offenses, their accompanying case action, and dispositions that were recorded by June 30 and December 30 of each year.

All youth were followed up through December 31, 1983 and many through the spring of 1984. The evaluation design, particularly the comparative analysis of the distribution of recidivism over time, required that three points of follow-up be available. This goal was met for all but a very few clients. From one to three years of follow-up time after 12 months of program participation was available for nearly everyone. The average was two years, seven months time after program entry. Clients entering the program in or after 1983 were not considered in the impact evaluation because they did not have sufficient follow-up time to be compared with the others.

Sources. Sources of follow-up information included the assigned juvenile probation officers, juvenile court records, and adult court records when indicated by virtue of subject age or waiver. Clerks of court, court administrators, and intake units for adult probation agencies were other sources.

Type. In all instances of recidivism for both client and comparison youths, a juvenile justice history form was filled out. Secondary outcome measures, such as diplomas or GEDs received and school attendance records subsequent to program participation, were usually followed up by school reintegration coordinators for the client group. Such follow-up provided before-and-after profiles as well as indicators of program achievement, the intermediate outcome variables.

Techniques of Analysis in the New Pride Study

Four main data analysis techniques were used to test the impact of the New Pride projects on the recidivism of youth served, given the development of a matched comparison group. Each approach answers a slightly different question:

1. **Linear-logistic analyses** provide a measure of the proportion of subjects who recidivated after entry to New Pride. This approach allows for the statistical control of between group biases.

2. **Multiple-regression analyses** provide a measure of the frequency of recidivism within groups after case action date. Regardless of the number of offenders within each group (as measured by linear-logistic analyses for instance), the numbers of offenses within groups may be quite different depending on the frequency of new petitions of adjudications.

3. **Survival analyses** represent one refinement of the linear-logistic approach. Here, regardless of how many offenders recidivate within groups (linear-logistic analyses), the form of the temporal recidivism function (failure function) after New Pride entry is of interest. All other things being equal, two groups with equal numbers of offenders can have very different times to their first recidivating events.

4. **Time series analyses** represent a refinement of the approach analyzing counts of recidivism within groups. The time series analyses examine not only the frequencies of offenses after any given point, but also their distribution in time. All other things being equal, two groups with equal frequencies of offense after a point of observation entry can have very different time series recidivism functions, showing either decreases or increases in the frequencies of recidivism over time.

The approach taken in these analyses was to arrive at an understanding of recidivism that was as comprehensive as possible. The multi-method approach

insured this. The result has been to produce a complete description of recidivism after New Pride in the comparison and treatment groups that raised a number of methodological questions, but which points toward profitable avenues of analysis that may be taken up in the future. Each of these avenues of inquiry will be discussed here.

Linear-Logistic Analyses on Subjects who Recidivate. This analytic approach is the basis for most of the statements that can be made regarding the data on youth who recidivate. Linear-logistic analyses allow for the statistical control of biases due to differences between groups in age at case action date, prior numbers of offenses, prior offense seriousness, ethnic differences, gender differences, and time to follow-up. The implementation of this analysis shows that age at program entry, ethnic differences, gender differences and time to follow-up are all significantly related to recidivism after New Pride entry. In addition a sizeable aggregation effect was found across jurisdictions.

Multiple Regression Analyses on Counts of Recidivism. These analyses show that controls can be implemented in analyzing base line frequencies of redicivism after a point at which observation begins. However, the problem with such analyses is that the underlying distributions of offense counts are intractable. Most offenders recidivate once, if at all, and not again thereafter, at least within the period of follow-up given by the data (an average of 134 weeks). So, although the approach appears statistically viable, it in fact is not. Extended sources of recidivism come from a minority of subjects that continue to recidivate for a long time after observation begns.

Survival Analyses. These analyses offer a great deal of potential for the analysis of recidivism. As conventially implemented, however, the analyses fall short of their potential. This is due essentially to the lack of understanding of the nature of the recidivism data in youth samples. Among juveniles, the probability of recidivism is a function of the curvilinear relationship between age

and time. Rates of reoffending do not simply increase or decrease with age, but rather, they increase as a function of age up to a certain point of peak activity and decrease with increasing age thereafter. Because of this, exponential models or exponential decay models such as that proposed by Maltz and McCleary are not appropriate in analyzing time-to-recidivate data on youthful offenders. Like any statistical model, if the assumptions of the model do not concur with the respective features of the data, the resulting analyses can be very misleading. The only appropriate models posit curved hazard functions which are not-monotonic (i.e., they don't simply rise or fall). These models offer the possibility of integrating maturation effects into a time-to-recidivate analysis, by providing an appropriate control for hazard differences based on age.

Two analyses of the cumulative recidivism functions were performed in the New Pride evaluation. A descriptive analysis of the recidivism functions shows that at one site, Fresno, the forms of the survival functions are significantly different. A subsequent analysis based on the exponential decay model of Maltz and McCleary (1977) shows how the groups differ in their asymptotes and rate parameters, but no significant differences in the forms of the functions could be found. Additional research is necessary to develop more appropriate survival models. Particularly, future survival models applied to this data should consider the observed maturation effects underlying recidivism.

Another problem with the survival analyses presented is that they cannot statistically control for biases appearing between the comparison and treatment groups. Implementation of such features in survival models is rare. But again a judicious choice of model can provide procedures adequate to this task (see Lawless, 1982; Preston and Clarkson, 1983). It was assumed that the matching procedure would adequately control for the two main sources of bias, age at program entry and number of prior sustained adjudications, as it did. However, other sources of bias, as noted above in the linear-logistic analyses, came to be of importance to the analysis.

Time series analyses. These analyses are strictly descriptive in nature and do not statistically test differences between comparison and treatment groups in recidivism. Their main goal is to provide an accurate representation of recidivism histories in the groups after a specific point, such as a year after intervention. For this purpose, these analyses work well. All of the data on reoffense behavior is used. By examining the time course of recidivism rates in different groups, the relative forms of the increase or decline in recidivism rates can be evaluated.

Results of the Comparative Study

The major thrust of the New Pride evaluation was to determine if there were significant differences in recidivism in the treatment group after the program when compared to matched comparison groups drawn from each site. The comparison groups were matched to the treatment groups in terms of number of prior sustained adjudication and subject ages at the most recent offense.

Controlling for differences in gender and ethnic compositions, follow-up time, age at program entry, cross-site aggregation effects, and seriousness of prior offenses, linear-logistic analyses showed no differnces between groups. The forms of the survival functions describing cumulative recidivism over time after the program were found not to differ from one another. Nor did the fitted parameters of the Maltz and McCleary (1977) exponential decay model of recidivism differ between groups. Post-program rates of recidivism examined in successive two month intervals in the time series design suggested that there

were some improvements in the treatment group rates over those of the comparison group rates. But lacking a test formulated for this mode of analysis and an adequate sample over this time frame, no significant differences between groups could be found in the data.

Finally, a careful look at the relative seriousness of offenses committed both before and after the New Pride experience was taken.* Significant increases in the seriousness of offenses from before to after the program were detected. For youth who continued offending, seriousness increased in both groups, a finding that replicates Shannon's (1982). But again, there were no significant differences in the levels of seriousness between the comparison and treatment groups.

Simply because the available measures do not result in statistically significant differences between groups overall does not add support to the "nothing works" school of thought. In fact the New Pride evaluation has successfully pointed out a number of program features that do appear to reduce recidivism. As a consequence of an extremely detailed set of analyses of the New Pride recidivism data, we believe that there are a number of problems in the conceptualization and measurement of recidivism which have as yet not been addressed, and which make interpretation of these analyses difficult. This is not to say that the findings presented in these and other studies are in error, but that the conceptualization and measurement of recidivism is at this point inadequately developed.

*The relative seriousness of offenses was measured through an adaptation of the Sellin and Wolfgang (1964) seriousness index of offenses using a clusterscoring method (Gruenewald, Laurence and West, 1985).

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Comparative Analysis Summary

The New Pride Replication projects were based on a model which embodies some of the best thinking in the field of community-based corrections. In concept and implementation the projects were often excellent, successfully working with many of society's hardest core juvenile offenders in a community setting. Staff really cared about youth and provided many of them with personally welcomed individual concern and attention. They delivered effective assistance in educational areas and job experience.

There was much national interest and involvement which facilitated the replication effort overall. The projects were carefully monitored. They had great community and juvenile justice system support, and excellent MIS, outstanding evaluation information, and adequate follow-up time on project youth.

Yet with all this, the projects had no overall impact on these key measures of delinquency: the rates at which youth were adjudicated for new offenses, and on their rates of incarceration. During the time they were in the program, more project youth were petitioned to court for new offenses than those in the comparison group, and were 10 percent more likely to be petitioned to court on technical violations of probation as well. Importantly, these findings can be attributed to the higher visibility of clients, to intensive supervision, and to the excellent record of accountability of the projects to the courts. There were no significant differences found between groups in rates of adjudication at any time, nor in petitions filed after the program.

An often overlooked issue in the implementation of high-profile treatment programs mandated for specific types of offenders is the impact the programs have on other parts of the system. Of particular interest is whether participation in New Pride resulted in an increase in adjudications as a

proportion of petitions filed prior to the program; that is, whether or not the program had a net-widening effect. This question was answered by comparing the percentage of sustained adjudications per total number of petitions filed, both prior and subsequent to case action date within each jurisdiction.*

The results indicated that, for both the comparison and treatment groups, there was a sharp overall decline in the ratio of adjudications to petitions filed from before to after case action date ($t = -18.423$, $N = 1,149$, and $p < .0001$) and to 12 months afterwards ($t = -14.634$, $N = 641$, and $p < .0001$). There were large differences between sites in these effects, with the smallest drop observed at Chicago and the largest drop at Pensacola. Within every site except Chicago, these changes were statistically significant.

Other results confirmed that jurisdictions adjudicate at substantially different rates ($F = 99.048$, $df = 6, 1,687$, $MS(e) = .72$, and $p < .0001$), depending on their own juvenile court procedures. Before case action date, comparison group members had higher rates of adjudication overall than clients. This fact contradicts the net-widening hypothesis that clients would be adjudicated more prior to program entry in order to make them eligible for New Pride. Before the program, older youth had lower adjudication ratios than younger ones. There were no significant effects for differences in gender or ethnicity.

Next, changes in the ratios of adjudication from before to after case action date were evaluated using an analysis of covariance. Greater follow-up time was related to an increase in the adjudication ratio. Females were adjudicated less frequently than males, but there were no differences between comparison and treatment groups. Significant differences between sites were found. The same held true in an analysis comparing adjudication ratios before case action date with the adjudication ratios of offenses incurred 12 months afterwards. No

* These percentages were converted to proportions and analyzed in terms of logits (see Cohen and Cohen, 1975 for a review of this analytic approach).

effects were found for age, ethnicity, number of prior filed petitions, or number of petitions filed after case action date. Longer follow-up periods were associated with a slightly greater chance of observing sustained adjudications for petitions that were filed.

The essential point in this discussion is that the implementation of these large-scale Federally-funded projects aimed at serious and chronic offenders had no measurable system impact on the processes or procedures of the juvenile courts. Participation in New Pride was not associated with either an increase or a decrease in rates of adjudication or in commitment rates of youth to state correctional institutions. In only one analysis can the treatment groups be shown to ultimately recidivate less than the comparison groups at five of the seven sites (time-series analysis). But lacking a test formulated for this mode of analysis and an adequate sample over this time frame, no significant differences between groups can be found in the data.

Profile of the Type of Youth Served by the Projects

1,161 youth participated in New Pride between June of 1980 and January of 1984 in the seven impact cities. In general terms, the following profile emerges:

- The typical New Pride client is a black male, 16 years old, with an average of 11.3 officially recorded offenses, 6.7 of which have resulted in judicial determinations of guilt by the time he is admitted to the program.
- He is most likely to come from a family of five headed by a single parent, having a family income of $9,999 or less. (Forty-four percent of all client families receive AFDC.)
- His parents never graduated from high school. Fifty percent of them were unemployed entirely.
- He is performing from three to four years below his assigned grade level in school in reading and mathematics, respectively, and is often a dropout.
- He has never been employed prior to his participation in the program.

Client Impact Evaluation Summary

MIS data suggest that the projects were highly successful in providing the services that were prescribed by the New pride model to the intended target population of serious and chronic offenders. These services had a number of positive impacts. The clients, on average, gained significantly on the academic achievement tests administered both before and after their participation in the program. Their participation in school improved during and afterwards. Sixty percent of them got jobs while in New Pride.

Client impact data suggest that while many services were delivered and gains were made by most of the youth, they were not enough to make up for the enormous deficits that the average clients had when they entered the program. Evidence was found to support the theory upon which the New Pride program is

based, that of differential opportunity. The youth who had the highest test scores generally when they entered the program recidivated less after the program. They had more skills to take advantage of the legitimate structures of opportunity provided by the society of which they are a part. The amount of academic gain made by youth while in the intensive phase was seven months in mathematics and more than a year in reading. Given the population of youth served by the projects, these gains are large. However, given the average three to four year deficit in academic achievement, they were not large enough to strongly enhance the abilities of the average client to return to school or to otherwise join the mainstream of adolescent life. Therefore, it is not surprising that gain scores had no relationship to recidivism after the program.

Being employed for more than 10 days was negatively associated with recidivism during the program. Also associated with reduced probabilities of reoffense during the program was the number of recreational services delivered to clients. Interestingly, greater numbers of cultural activities were associated with increased recidivism afterwards. Perhaps this is due to a trade-off, with participants in cultural activities having less time for other more central services of the New Pride program.

There was no relationship between program duration and recidivism, either during or after New Pride. This suggests that projects did not terminate clients because they were petitioned to court for new offenses. If they did recidivate, they were more likely to be terminated unsuccessfully, however.

Generally over all clients, there was no relationship between successful termination from the program and recidivism afterwards. Though it was hoped that the projects would show overall average reductions, this was not expected given the findings of previous evaluation studies.

Employment variables were related to the probability of successful termination from the program, as well as to recidivism. If clients ever were employed during New Pride, they were more likely to succeed. Also, if they had

positive views about their chances of getting the kinds of jobs they wanted at program entry and exit, they were more likely to be seen as successes. Conversely, the number of times fired from jobs was associated with unsuccessful termination from the program.

In this context it may be quite important to review some of the large number of variables which did not have a significant impact on recidivism. In considering them, it should be kept in mind that the study attempted to predict who would and would not recidivate again among those who were already chronic delinquents. It did not compare more serious and less serious offenders, nor did it compare delinquents with non-delinquent controls. In the context of the New Pride evaluation, serious multiple offenders were compared only with other serious multiple offenders. Therefore, many variables which distinguish the probability of recidivism in other studies do not do so here.

For instance, in this inquiry the number of friends in trouble with the law has no relationship to recidivism. The number of prior offenses is unrelated to recidivism, when controlling for jurisdictional differences (discretionary decision-making) between the New Pride sites. All of the items related to social bonds and to stigma have no relationship to recidivism in this study, nor do any of the factors concerned with differential treatment by social agencies or by the juvenile justice system. Neither out-of-home placement nor short-term detention experience, nor the number of such experiences, have any significant association with recidivism. Neither does restitution, long-term commitments to state correctional institutions, nor overall participation in New Pride.

One of the most important pieces of information to emerge from the New Pride evaluation is that, controlling for skewness in offense histories and jurisdictional differences, there is no relationship between number of priors and subsequent recidivism. Rather, there is a statistically significant, but weak association between recidivism during the program and recidivism afterwards. This suggests that among chronic juvenile offenders, there may be no increase in the probability of recidivism due to the accumulation of criminal events.

Rather, the commission of a criminal act temporarily elevates the probability of subsequent recidivism. In this view, the greater the amount of time since the last criminal event, the less likely there will be a future one.

Significant differences emerged within the client groups. Black youth come into the program about two months younger than whites, with fewer, but slightly more serious offenses. Youth from all ethnic groups are equally likely to complete the program successfully, but Anglos and Hispanics are less likely to recidivate, both during and after participation in New Pride. This parallels what happens in the comparison groups after their assigned "case action" dates and 12 months beyond. Similarly, female clients are more likely to complete the program successfully and are less likely to reoffend. Comparison group females are also less likely to recidivate than males. The findings in the treatment groups parallel those in the comparison groups with regard to age as well, with older subjects less likely to recidivate.

Clients least likely to recidivate are white (Anglo) females older than 16 years, who come from non-welfare families in which they were not punished excessively, who don't have needs in many areas of life, and who are not satisfied with their lives when they arrive. They have generally high pre-test scores on tests of academic achievement, especially mathematics, and have fathers who are not highly educated, so that the cultural value placed on education is not undermined because of a highly educated, but possibly negative role model.

Alternatively, clients most likely to recidivate include younger black males who come from families on welfare, with serious academic deficiencies, who are happy with themselves as they are despite having needs in many areas of life, and who have highly educated fathers and a history of being punished frequently by their parents or guardians.

In summary, program participation did not alter known patterns of generalized levels of risk in the treatment groups. The study identified specific variables and the relative importance of these variables to the probability that a recidivating event would be detected after the program. The three most important ones are the length of the follow-up period (6.8 percent of the variation), the jurisdiction in which the youth resides (5.9 percent of the variation), and maturity (2.3 percent of the variation). Together, these account for 15 percent of the variation in recidivism. All other background, attitudinal, environmental, and program process variables add only 5 percent more to the known variation in recidivism after the program.

A Theoretical Interpretation of the Findings

Elliott (1979) demonstrated that in the area of deliquency prevention and treatment evaluation research, there is a critical need for the clear translation of sociological concepts and processes into specific change objectives and activities. Without an explicit theoretical rationale, it is not possible to distinguish program failure from theory failure, and it is equally difficult to establish causal influence in those instances where favorable outcomes are observed for treatment groups.

Even if the immediate treatment objectives are, in fact, achieved, it is still problematic to interpret findings without the ability to specify a series of intervening variables linking those treatment objectives to a theory which hypothesizes some reduction in delinquency.

The theory of differential opportunity is the theoretical framework most appropriate to the New Pride program and its data on client outcomes. The major components of the New Pride model are designed to better equip clients to compete in the legitimate opportunity structures of society. In providing severely disadvantaged young people with remedial education, job placement services, counseling, and employment experience, the project is designed to improve their chances for success in legitimate pursuits.

As youth experience success in areas where they have previously failed, and as they are exposed to broader areas of life than they have known in environments of financial and cultural deprivation, it is postulated that their anti-social behavior will decrease. The New Pride model was designed to address two of the scourges of mankind exemplified by the backgrounds of clients: ignorance and want.

Considering the findings of the study overall, there is evidence in support of the theory of differential opportunity. In the area of education, the hypothesis is that improved academic achievement (the immediate treatment objective) will result in the improvement of regular school performance, which will, in turn, increase a youngster's stake in the system of existing legitimate opportunities (in which he or she is now equipped to operate more successfully). The consequence of all this is presumed to be a reduced involvement in delinquent behavior and a lower risk of being petitioned to court for new offenses.

The projects did, in fact, attain their treatment objective of improving academic achievement among clients, who gained substantially. However, the improvement was not enough to make up for the initial average three-to-four-and-a-half-year deficiencies.

In confirmation of the theory of differential opportunity, it was shown that clients who had high pre-test scores were less likely to recidivate after the program. They were better able to take advantage of the legitimate opportunities around them, including those provided by the program. Clients with better academic skills were more likely to be terminated from New Pride successfully than other clients.

New Pride projects were also quite successful in increasing the school attendance of clients, and in reducing their rates of unexcused absences, both during and after the program. Taken together, these data imply that more remedial education may be needed if it is a reasonable goal of treatment to

provide the average client with the means to succeed in school and to better succeed in life.

An interesting finding related to father's education bears indirectly on the theory of differential opportunity. More highly educated fathers were more likely to have children who recidivated after the program. In this instance, an aversive role model may have turned youth away from education. This could have increased their probability of recidivism by effectively reducing their legitimate options.

The impact of employment on recidivism was mixed, but generally supports the theory. Employment services and single jobs lasting for more than 10 days tended to depress recidivism rates, whereas a greater number of short-term employment experiences increased them. Being employed for more than 10 days was negatively associated with recidivism during the program, but not afterwards.

Two employment variables are significantly related to recidivism after New Pride, each in a different way. Receiving job placement services during New Pride decreases the likelihood of recidivism afterward. This finding supports one of the contentions of the theory underlying New Pride: Enabling clients to seek and obtain jobs should help provide them with legitimate opportunities and encourage them to give up anti-social activities. Unfortunately, clients who obtained jobs during New Pride did not recidivate significantly less overall than those who did not. Rather, the effects of employment were mixed. The greater the number of jobs that were held by clients during New Pride, the more likely they were to recidivate afterwards. This suggests that job instability tended to increase recidivism. Most clients having jobs during New Pride had only one. Those who had more than one job typically had less stable, short-term employment experiences that were not helpful to them.

This finding points out that it is essential to optimize successful experiences for this group of young people. If every attempt to join the mainstream of society results in failure, the alternatives for these youth are very limited indeed. This is particularly true in the area of employment where most still do not have a reinforced sense that they cannot succeed.

The theory of differential opportunity hypothesizes that stress resulting from a disparity between aspirations and expectations may contribute to delinquency. When comparing delinquents and non-delinquents, previous research has indicated that the delinquent groups could be distinguished by higher aspirations for achievement than they expected to meet. The findings of this study support the proposition that going to school is a frustrating experience for chronic delinquents, and that higher expectations for education are more likely to result in recidivism, at least over the short term. Disparity does not cause recidivism among those who are already delinquents.

Perhaps earlier in delinquent careers young people may aspire to higher education yet negatively assess their chances of obtaining it, given environments of general deprivation, bad schools, and the expectations of significant others around them. This may well be a frustrating experience which could contribute to the likelihood of delinquency, at least initially. However, the data indicate that by the time youth arrive in the New Pride program, they have established records of failure in school. They are so far behind others of their age group and grade level that adequate remediation is unlikely. In addition, school attendance has frequently resulted in demeaning and embarrassing experiences. Even if they try their hardest, failure is likely, given four-year deficiencies. Going to school has become truly aversive.

In the New Pride sample, disparity between educational aspirations and expectations impacted recidivism during the program in a surprising way. It was associated with reduced probabilities of recidivism. Further examination of the data revealed that the higher the clients' expectancies for education, the greater their likelihood of recidivism, whereas aspirations had no relationship to

recidivism at all. The disparity finding was an artificial one, due entirely to the fact that higher expectations were associated with lower discrepancies between aspiration and expectation. Greater discrepancy scores simply meant that expectations were lower, and lower expectations reduced recidivism.

The finding that higher expectations for educational experience are associated with in-program recidivism is an interesting one. It suggests that patterns of school failure coupled with legal requirements to stay in school, at least until the age of 16, are linked with recidivism.

What is also interesting is the lack of any relationship of expectation to recidivism after the program. Several factors account for this finding. First, the New Pride program has provided educational experience in an individualized and supportive context. This could reduce fear of continued failure in school and increase confidence among clients that they can handle school successfully. Second, the average age of the clients has increased beyond the point where they are legally required to stay in school. Finally, educational aspirations went down over the course of the program and became spaced out over different categories, suggesting that clients had indeed been exposed to meaningful alternatives.

Broadly viewed, findings from this study concerning the causes of continued delinquency support a circumstantial approach, rather than a genetic one involving any theory of behavior which is hypothesized to operate over great stretches of time. It is most important to bear in mind that the demographic, environmental, behavioral, attitudinal, familial, and system variables that were examined here together still leave 80 percent of the variation in recidivism unexplained.

Methodological Recommendations

Our experience with New Pride has provided enormous insight into the difficulties of analyzing recidivism data. Every method used to analyze

recidivism characterizes data in a different way. For example, simply counting recidivists assumes that the first instance of recidivism for any individual adequately describes his or her behavior. Unfortunately, this kind of observation uses only a very limited portion of the data, ignoring the amount of time to the first reoffense, the fact that many individuals recidivate more than once, and the time between offenses. Linear-logistic analyses are subject to these criticisms since they are based on simple counts. Survival analyses attempt to overcome one of these shortcomings by measuring the latency to each subject's first reoffense, but again neglect later repeated offenses.

These analyses are, so to speak, numerically nearsighted. From the great wealth of data available on the offense behavior of New Pride clients, a very limited subset is extracted to represent all the recidivism of the analyzed groups (e.g., the first offense after program termination). Upon this limited extraction from the whole data base on offense behavior, the impact of the New Pride program and the efficacy of New Pride components in reducing recidivism are evaluated. It is unfortunate that the method most useful in statistically controlling bias also makes the most limited use of the data (linear-logistic analysis). This is not a fault of the New Pride evaluation, but a consequence of the current stage of development of statistical techniques appropriate to the analysis of recidivism data.

One other important feature of the types of analyses just considered is a natural constraint on the time base in which recidivism is observed. If a majority of subjects recidivate early in the analysis, only a minority of subjects form the base of the remaining data. For example, in Providence, 50 percent of both the comparison and treatment groups had new petitions by the fourth month after case action date, and 80 percent of both groups had new petitions by the twelth month. Thus, after the first year only 20 percent of the original subject pool were being considered in the analysis. This natural constraint varies from site to site, depending upon recidivism rates in each jurisdiction. In Camden, 50 percent of both groups had new petitions by the ninth month after case action date.

Two other approaches to the analysis of recidivism taken in this evaluation more fully utilize the data. First, the total number of new petitions and sustained adjudications incurred by each subject was used to represent recidivism; a subject recidivating once would have a count of one, a subject recidivating five times would have a count of five, and so on. This approach attends to the complete data but ignores the time between offenses. Second, the time-series designs evaluate these same offenses over time and include the information regarding time between offenses. The improvement in representation of the data afforded by this approach has been fully discussed in Chapter 7 of the comprehensive report. Here, only two points will be made. First, all of the data on reoffense behavior is used. Second, by examining the time course of recidivism rates in different groups, the relative forms of the increase or decline in recidivism rates can be evaluated.

An important contingency to keep in mind is the natural time base of the analyses considered. The time bases of the analyses may interact with the latency of both background and treatment effects.

Data on variables shown to be significantly related to measures of recidivism and successful termination from the projects were analyzed using linear-logistic and multiple regression techniques. Among other things it was shown that the number of identified need areas for each subject is significantly related to recidivism during the program. The greater the number of need areas identified, the more likely the subject will recidivate during the program. Obviously, the identification of client needs quantifies the breadth of emotional, social, family, educational, and other problems confronting each person. Clients with more extensive needs are more likely to recidivate.

These linear-logistic analyses, however, in essense provide short-term perspectives on the data, as described above. The relationship of needs identified at program entry to recidivism during the program is evaluated in the first months of the program. The effect has not been demonstrated to obtain over longer periods. However, a significant relationship between recidivism

during the program and recidivism after the program leaves open the possibility that there may be an indirect effect of number of need areas identified on recidivism after the program.

If one assumes that the effect of the number of needs on recidivism during New Pride is only a short-term effect, the same results would suggest a different interpretation. If at some point in life needs are extensive, the commission of new offenses might be more likely. But this relationship may only exist coordinate with this temporary pattern of needs. When this pattern of needs changes, the relationship may disappear. Therefore, we would not expect to find the same association of needs identified at program entry with post-program recidivism.

As difficult as it is in these analyses to properly discern short-term effects, the identification of long-term effects may be even more difficult. Rebecca Maynard's study of the impact of supported work on young school dropouts and Irving Piliavin's study of its effects on ex-offenders presented data indicating that the effects of employment on recidivism may take place over a longer, rather than a shorter, period of time. In Maynard's study, favorable impact results did not begin to appear until after 18 months of follow-up in the youth sample (1980: 134). In Piliavin's study with 36 months of follow-up, 12 percent fewer experimentals than controls reported arrests (1981:99). Thus, a job may be related to a reduction in recidivism years later. The linear-logistic and regression procedures used by evaluators may suggest, but do not adequately capture these long-term effects. Each analysis effectively covers best the events within a period of months because of the natural constraints on observation intrinsic to the analysis techniques.

Another example of how the natural time base of an analytic technique may interact with a background variable is provided by the observed relationship between ethnicity and recidivism in both the comparison and treatment groups. When age is controlled in a linear-logistic analysis, observations of the effects of treatment on blacks, whites, and Hispanics begin after age is equalized. Yet it is likely that the timing of offenses with respect to age may be different among

these groups. If ethnic groups have different maturation curves with respect to recidivism and the peak level of offense activity differs between them, the observed variation in recidivism may be accounted for by maturation alone. It may have no real association with differential responsiveness to treatment.

In order to discover whether age and ethnicity interact to influence recidivism differently, the base rates of recidivism for each group at every age must be determined. The effects of an intervention may then be measured, not by comparing blacks, whites, and Hispanics from a single age or point in time, but by comparing the observed rates with the base rates for youth of the same ethnicity. This requires an entirely different analytic approach, one which considers complete offense histories. Yet only after this information is known will it be meaningful to evaluate the impact of services or sanctions on youth from different ethnic backgrounds.

In summary, the major methodological recommendations of this evaluation are: 1) to place an emphasis upon properly identifying long and short-term effects of treatment, and 2) to develop analytic techniques which make optimal use of recidivism data. The New Pride data can be used to develop more sophisticated techniques for analyzing recidivism, and at the same time, improve our understanding of what causes it. Specifically, further research should be conducted using cross-sectional time series designs, which allow for the control of key variables, including time-bound covariates like age-at-offense. A time series framework can be used to analyze all of the data.

Research Recommendations

This report has presented the results of a comprehensive evaluation research effort. During the course of the study, a number of challenging substantive issues surfaced which could not be addressed. Because of the constraints of time, mandate, and resources, additional inquiries which could answer different, but equally important, questions had to be set aside for the

future. Further research based on the New Pride dataset should essentially address three issues related to an overall study of the onset, nature, and continuation of criminal careers. These include:

- The impact of the type and sequencing of juvenile sanctions on recidivism among chronic juvenile offenders.
- The impact of case processing time on recidivism.
- The relationship of offense history to later recidivism among chronic juvenile offenders.

Sanctions

The first set of studies on the impact of juvenile sanctions could provide a better understanding of their crime control dimensions. The most fundamental questions concerning sanctions were partially addressed in the analysis of the data for the New Pride evaluation. These are, "What is the effect of (early) punishment on (later) crime?" and, "How do sanctions imposed by the juvenile court retard or accelerate the subsequent criminal behavior of juvenile offenders as they enter adulthood?" None of the variables measured concerned with differential treatment by social agencies or by the juvenile justice system had any significant impact on subsequent recidivism. These included out-of-home placement, short-term detention experience, and the number of such interventions. They also included restitution, long-term commitments to state correctional institutions, and overall participation in the New Pride program.

Two variables that did reduce recidivism within the New Pride client group were job placement services and a successful employment experience. However, multiple job experiences were associated with unsuccessful exposures to the world of work and increased recidivism. By confirming failure, they were worse than no jobs at all. It appears as if the job placement services provided by the projects increased the likelihood that clients would experience success on what was for most their first jobs.

Yet the lack of any overall relationship between the powerful interventions analyzed in this study and future delinquency among chronic juvenile offenders is a cause of concern. It is impossible to make policy recommendations concerning the specific deterrence effects of various sanctions if nothing has a measurable impact on recidivism.

Therefore, additional investigations should be conducted to explore the relationships between other kinds of sanctions that have been recorded (such as different kinds of probation and non-residential programs, foster and group home placements, ranches or camps, mental health facilities, and adult certifications) and recidivism. In addition, inquiries should be made retrospectively into the sequencing of various sanctions, because there may be certain patterns of sanctions which reduce or increase the probability of recidivism. Log-linear models may be used to explore structures in these data.

Case Processing

New Pride data contain the information necessary to examine, as a second type of study, certain aspects of court operations. The effect of incarceration and other sanctions on youth might be mitigated by delays in adjudication and sentencing which occur as a consequence of backlogs in the juvenile justice system. One suggestion is to explore, through chronologically sequenced causal modeling, the relationship of jurisdiction size to court delays, and the impact of varying delays (i.e. "speedy" trails or "fast justice") on future recidivism. Such an investigation would greatly contribute to an understanding of the operation of the juvenile justice system in multiple jurisdictions.

Offense Histories

There are several issues concerning the offense histories of youth which need to be addressed in order to understand delinquency, recidivism, and the

continuation or discontinuation of careers in crime. Future research should be conducted to explore:

- whether juveniles exhibit specialization or lack of specialization in one or several crime types (experts currently are divided over this),
- the degree to which juveniles appear to "escalate" in their behavior from less serious to more serious offenses,
- how the number of prior offenses (chronicity) is related to recidivism, within a sample exclusively comprised of multiple offenders,
- whether and how duration of involvement with the juvenile justice system affects recidivism, controlling for number of offenses, and
- whether and how age at offense interacts with court processing and juvenile justice sanctions to impact recidivism.

More refined work on empirical datasets is also needed in survival curve analysis. Among juveniles, the probability of recidivism is a function of a curvilinear relationship between age and time. Rates of reoffending do not simply increase or decrease with age, but rather, they increase as a function of age up to a certain point of peak activity and decrease with increasing age thereafter. Because of this, exponential models or exponential decay models such as that proposed by Maltz and McCleary are not appropriate in analyzing time-to-recidivate data on youth samples. The only appropriate models posit curved hazard functions which are non-monotonic (i.e., they don't simply rise or fall). These models offer the possibility of integrating maturation effects into a time-to-recidivate analysis, by providing an appropriate control for hazard differences based on age.

Another fertile area for study is the relationship among age, priors, and recidivism. Prior criminal events may predict subsequent recidivism in two

ways. In the usual notion of chronicity, the probability of subsequent recidivism is proportional to the cumulative number of prior offenses. All other things being equal, the subject with one prior criminal event is less likely to commit a subsequent offense than a subject with three prior offenses. It is the cumulative weight of chronicity that is hypothesized to cause later recidivism. In an alternative autoregression model, the probability of subsequent recidivism is a function of the recency of occurrence of a prior criminal event. This model predicts no increase in the probability of recidivism due to the accumulation of criminal events. It simply says that the commission of a criminal act temporarily elevates the probability of subsequent recidivism. Alternatively, the greater the time since the last criminal event, the less likely there will be one in the future.

In attempting to predict recidivism among juvenile delinquents, the two models yield very similar results. For subjects of equal ages, according to the first model those subjects with more prior offenses will be more likely to recidivate than those with fewer prior offenses. But those subjects with more prior offenses may also be more likely to have had a more recent offense, increasing the probability of recidivism according to the second model also. In this case the two models are not discriminable. A truly effective model for prediction awaits further research and more extensive analysis.

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THE REPLICATION INITIATIVE

In the summer of 1979, a competitive request for proposals to replicate project New Pride in ten cities was sent by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) to key actors in juvenile justice systems across the United States. Approximately eighty proposals were received by the Office and nineteen site visits were made to the jurisdictions and parent agencies of the semi-finalists. The winning sites, selected as a result of a tri-level review process, included Pensacola, Florida; Washington, D.C.; Camden, New Jersey; Providence, Rhode Island; Boston, Massachusetts; Chicago, Illinois; Kansas City, Kansas; San Francisco, Fresno, and Los Angeles, California.

Denver New Pride, as the original LEAA Exemplary Program to be replicated, served as the Technical Assistance Contractor in this Initiative. Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation was selected to conduct national level research on the replication program, as a consequence of a separate competitive bidding process conducted by the National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

The action projects were funded in March of 1980, and soon thereafter began setting up operations and hiring staff. Most sites started taking clients by August of 1980. This meant that they had a very short period of time to start-up, considering that new facilities had to be found and/or old ones completely renovated using yet another competitive bidding process.

The replications of Project New Pride were funded by the Special Emphasis Division at the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention for varying lengths of time. The initial grant to all ten sites was two years in duration. Thereafter, individual projects had to have met certain standards of project organization and service to an adequate number of clients if they were to qualify for third year continuation awards.

Seven replications were continued in the third year. The amount of subsidy received depended upon the amount of money left unspent from the projects'

prior awards. Hence, if a project could operate for two months on what was left, OJJDP provided ten months of funds; if four, eight months were provided.

OJJDP had always emphasized the importance of early and continuous efforts to seek financial support from other sources. In fact, Directors were required to submit comprehensive plans for the institutionalization of their projects by the second year of operation. By the fourth year the essential criterion of qualification for Federal support became that of successfully having generated local money to supplement the Federal effort. Using this standard, the number of sites was further reduced by three and four continued to provide services.

Program Implementation

Social programs initiated at the Federal level have had an inordinately high tendency to fail. Frequently this results from the fact that a large number of governmental and nongovernmental organizations and individuals eventually become involved with the process of implementation. Mathematically, Pressman and Wildavsky (1979) have shown that the probability of agreement by every participant on each decision point must be exceedingly high for there to be any chance at all that a program will be brought to completion or implemented effectively. Each delay in decision-making can set the process back dramatically when considering the short time-frames in which Federal monies are often committed.

Each of many participating groups has a distinct perspective from which it views any endeavor, and the groups may differ widely in their sense of urgency about it. If there are many decision points that have to be passed in order for a project to continue, the multiplicity of participants and perspectives often combine to produce a formidable obstacle course for the program. When it must depend on many actors, there are numerous possibilities for disagreement and delay.

In the New Pride Replication, program implementation was not hampered by an especially complex structure of decision-making. In fact, unlike some earlier special emphasis projects, an environment of concerted endeavor and strong support was engendered and maintained between the technical assistance, evaluation, and program efforts. Information was shared and problems were discussed in well organized quarterly Project Directors meetings. Evaluation information, technical assistance products, and informational reports generated by the projects were mutually shared.

Once the appropriate local and state level decision makers had signed the negotiated agreements to authorize the replication of New Pride, the projects were primarily answerable only to Federal monitors. These, in turn, tried to be responsive to the needs of different jurisdictions, within the confines of the New Pride model and the restrictions of a nationally established criteria for client eligibility. Local juvenile justice officials such as judges and chief probation officers were invited to the quarterly meetings of the Replication Program. Frequently such individuals became active participants at these meetings, enriching the process of sharing information about New Pride.

The resolution of such a multiplicity of people with different goals and from diverse organizations into a united group dedicated to establishing successful New Pride projects was both a challenge and a necessity. It was also a unique accomplishment, one which overcame many of the usual problems that hamper effective implementation in social programs started Federally. Such a successful outcome can be attributed to the following key elements:

- An effective organization for face-to-face communication and information sharing between everyone involved in program and evaluation implementation. This consisted of quarterly meetings at which issues and problems could be openly discussed, and from which consensus could emerge concerning new directions.

- An effective and responsive centralized decision-making group with authority for both funding and monitoring decisions. This was comprised of OJJDP special emphasis, research, and technical assistance monitors working in concert with each other on the basis of information from diverse sources in the field.

THE IMPACT OF ORGANIZATIONAL DIFFERENCES

Detailed case studies of the replication projects suggest that New Pride can be established in jurisdictions other than the one in which the original model was developed (see Supplement: Case Studies of Replication). Indeed, several were considered to be outstanding by juvenile justice officials, key decision-makers familiar with them, and unanimously by other individuals with an awareness of the program. Under the conditions that obtained during the national replication initiative, each New Pride project began with close to the same dollar amount of Federal commitment, and there were adequate resources to cover the costs of implementation.

Facilitated by these optimal conditions, it was a feasible goal of the research to identify characteristics of private non-profit agencies which influenced their capability to implement highly complex community-based treatment programs. Because replicating New Pride meant establishing new organizations, and not merely adding different tasks or activities to existing ones, an opportunity was afforded to observe the processes of organizational development first hand. It was also possible to relate these processes to the organizational features of parent agencies. The projects went through periods of rapid growth and development that could be characterized in certain ways because they were similar from site to site.

Researchers from the National Evaluation of the New Pride Replication Program observed the processes of project implementation over the course of four years. In that time, we noted that certain management structures seemed to work out well, while others failed to work at all; that some parent agencies succeeded in launching new projects, while others seemed to inhibit the effort at every turn. Most important to both effective implementation and institutionalization were the capabilities and interface of two sets of managers, those from the parent agency and those from the project. Whenever they pulled together in an effective working relationship, and had the best interest of the project as a primary goal of their concerted action, the projects were more

likely to succeed. Furthermore, problems that could not be solved were much less likely to arise.

Analysis of New Pride Sites

It is clear that any project has to be responsive to the needs of its purchasers or public, i.e., the community which it serves and to which it must sell itself and its services, its goals and aspirations. In reviewing the statements made about the role of the Project Director in the replication materials, every specific duty but one was of an Entrepreneurial type. The Project Director role required developing the goals, the objectives, the broad ambitions of the project and selling them to others in the Juvenile Justice System, the Parent Agency, and to the staff. It necessitated continuous public relations activities, as well as interfacing with OJJDP. It involved doing everything necessary to get the project launched. In a way the developmental process, emphasizing these functions, must be characterized as continuing until the project becomes completely independent of Federal subsidy. Institutionalization complete, the project may then be considered a clear presence in the community serving the needs of that community.

Because of the complexities and challenges involved in founding new organizations, the most effective project directors were Entrepreneurial types with strong commitments to establishing New Pride in their own communities. The project's need for an Entrepreneur was initially little appreciated. Since the model, its components, staffing patterns, and so forth had already been defined, many felt that the most essential role was that of a Producer; or simply a

manager who could execute a previously defined plan. What was less well understood, at least in the beginning, was that strategies for implementation and for institutionalization had to be developed from scratch in each jurisdiction. These tasks required vision, a sense of deeply engrained commitment to the project, an awareness of both internal and external sources of support, and an ability to mobilize them effectively on the project's behalf.

Proposals for the replication sites were initiated and generally written by individuals whose skills are entrepreneurial in nature because the task involved giving birth to a new endeavor for the parent agency. In two cases it also entailed founding new parent agencies that would be responsible for overseeing their respective New Pride projects. However, grantees were not supposed to exercise the kind of entrepreneurship that might have involved changing the model to suit local circumstances. Rather, the awards were provided to establish replications of an ongoing LEAA exemplary project that was originally founded in Denver, Colorado.

Because they were replications, New Pride grantees were expected to execute business as mature organizations shortly after they were funded. There was little tolerance of the experimentation associated with young organizations. Instead, these early periods were compressed, and the projects had to go from birth to maturity very quickly. The necessary speed due to the special conditions of funding and its anticipated termination after a brief period of time produced stage transitions in rapid sucession.

Tracing project history, three phases were easily distinguishable: Start-up, Implementation, and Stabilization. At each passage from one stage to another, particular challenges had to be met, and typical patterns of behavior emerged. Since the tasks were different as projects moved from one stage to the next, the management functions necessary to implement them shifted accordingly (see Adizes, 1979).

By studying the development of New Pride Replication projects, PIRE found that a management orientation or structure that was inappropriate to

phase-related tasks became a key problem in several instances. The necessity to change from informal to formal procedures and policies marked the transition most fraught with difficulty in those projects that were established by entreprenurial types. It threatened the environment of autonomy and to a certain extent, the sense of creativity enjoyed by founders and other early administrators. Yet this change was essential to provide a comprehensible, expectable, and stable environment for the staff and clients, as well as systematic procedures of accountability to the courts.

On the other hand, several projects experienced problems from the beginning because they were never headed by entrepreneurs. In some cases, professional administrators hired to direct the projects tried to fix policy too early, fostering a rather cold environment in which creativity was stifled under rules that had no basis in the project's experience. Such administrators had little vision of the future and could not inspire hope of institutionalization. Lacking a sense of direction about the future, they could not effectively sell the project nor raise the necessary funds. Most critical in the early stages, but very important throughout, was the key role of the Entrepreneur.

The efficacy of new projects seemed almost contingent on the continuing active participation of the person who put each proposal together. In nine out of ten cases, this was the individual imbued with commitment to establishing New Pride in his or her city. The ideal place for these "founders" was in the Project Director role. Solicitations of many government agencies ask potential grantees to specify whether or not the conceptualizers or writers of proposals will be the ones directing the projects. (The mother-like commitment of the founder-director to the implementation of his or her vision is necessary to organizational health.) Such a managerial set-up was clearly optimal for effective implementation.

The most effective directors had these qualifications of involvement from the beginning, as well as experience directing youth programs in the communities in which the New Pride projects were founded. That is, their experience was

local and specific to the New Pride city. This previously established credibility yielded an easy interface with the area's Juvenile Courts.

Judging from all the organizations with which it was necessary to forge an effective and rapid interface, it was important that the Project Director bring to the job some coalesced authority, power, and influence with these other organizations that had been built up through prior experience. It was especially critical that working relationships and influential bonds had already been established between the project directors and the parent organizations that sponsored the new projects. These relationships assured the necessary administrative support and provided a smoothly functioning working environment.[1]

Yet the need for a committed entrepreneurial Founder-Project Director coming from a pre-existing position within the parent agency restricted the types of grantees that could supply this combination. In four out of six instances the Entrepreneur that was the key figure in the proposal preparation stage either never had a project role or left the project during its early months. One project never had an Entrepreneur. In two others the Entrepreneur's project role was one technically subordinate to a director hired from outside the parent agency. In one of these situations, the founder had the power to hire or fire the director as the executive vice president of the parent agency. This occasioned some managerial conflicts that rebounded negatively on the project.

The following table suggests the salience of the factors we have been discussing to project longevity and institutionalization. The presence or absence of four key organizational variables are noted for each replication of Project New Pride. In seven out of ten cases, simply adding one point for each element provides a total score which is the same as complete years of Federal support.

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1 This need has been historically recognized by many government agencies whose solicitations ask that the persons who write proposals be current employees of applicant organizations and not outside consultants.

Table 4

Organizational Variables and Their Relationship To Successful Implementation and Institutionalization

Site	Founder Employed by Parent Agency[1]	Founder Has Active Project Role[2]	Project Supported by Parent Agency[3]	Founder Directs New Pride[4]	Total Score	Whole Years Federal Support	Project Continued With Other Support
Boston	No 0	Yes 1	No 0	No 0	1	1	No
Camden	Yes 1	Yes 1	Yes 1	Yes 1	4	4	Yes
Chicago	Yes 1	No 0	No 0	No 0	1	3	No
Fresno	Yes 1	Yes 1	No 0	No 0	2	4	Yes
Georgetown	Yes 1	Yes 1	No 0	No 0	2	2	No
Kansas City	Yes 1	Yes 1	Yes 1	No 0	3	3	No
Los Angeles	No 0	Yes 1	No 0	No 0	1	1	No
Pensacola	Yes 1	Yes 1	Yes 1	Yes 1	4	4	No
Providence	Yes 1	Yes 1	Yes 1	Yes 1	4	4	Yes
San Francisco	Yes 1	No 0	Yes 1	No 0	2	3	No

1 Employed by parent agency

2 Any position on the staff for any length of time

3 Active and continuous support for the project effort

4 Officially or effectively the Director

OJJDP decisions about the continuation of projects were made on the basis of how well the projects were implementing the model and in the final year, on whether or not they had succeeded in generating money from another source. Since these decisions were made on the basis of substantive considerations alone, the four key factors identified here clearly had a bearing on the degree and adequacy of implementation.

In only three cases the structural features of project organization did not add up to the years of Federal support; that is, the project continued beyond the years predicted from the model. The only feature that emerged as a similarity between these three sites is that they were each directed by women during the period of Federal support that extended beyond the years predicted by the four factor total score.[1]

Parent Agencies

Parent agencies, or grantees, were also in their own phases of development at the time they attempted to replicate New Pride. Grants were awarded to private non-profit agencies varying tremendously in size (from two to thousands of employees), age (from zero to nearly two hundred years old), and primary organizational mission (delinquency prevention, employment and training, community mental health, university education, disaster relief, etc.). The type of parent agency as defined by its specialization or expertise, and its own life-cycle stage at the time of implementation often affected the way the new projects were supported.

The most successful replications of Project New Pride were implemented in agencies known in their communities for providing good programs to troubled

1 Originally, there were only two women project directors. Eventually, there were four. Two of the projects headed by women were institutionalized with non-Federal dollars. The two remaining ones lasted for three years.

youth and disadvantaged adults. These agencies had been around long enough to have established local credibility, but had not entered late stages of the organizational life-cycle. The parent agencies which were themselves in the Prime phase were most likely to be successful in founding new projects and in providing adequate support to them. (See "Project Development" in Supplement: Case Studies of Replication.) A special case that worked well involved a parent agency in its own early stage of development whose director also assumed the role of directing New Pride. In this case, the new project did not report to a parent agency in a different and perhaps incompatible stage, so that no premature decentralization of entrepreneurial functions occurred. The two projects that were established in much older agencies, having essentially different organizational missions, did not succeed. The bureaucratic character of their management structures (Administrative orientation) created an inappropriate or isolated working environment for the projects.

THE CHALLENGE OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Most social programs initiated at the state or Federal level do not involve establishing whole new organizations. Rather, they usually support the development of new activities within existing organizations, and use previously established structures of agency management, boards of directors, accountability, and community support. Ordinarily such programs augment and encourage the diversification of existing resources. This was not the case in the New Pride Replication Program.

In this initiative, ten new highly complex and multi-faceted organizations were started from scratch. Each was required to develop its own management structure, community board, evaluation, and network of community support. All faced exceptional challenges in order to provide a specific kind of holistic community treatment experience for some of the most serious and chronic juvenile offenders in their states.

Aside from the task of founding new organizations, the institutionalization of the projects with non-Federal funds was another major challenge facing the replications. It was likely to be impossible without a clear track record of effective implementation within the local community, a strong need for the project's continuance, and a great deal of political support. It might have been much easier to find the resources to continue a single new activity, or even a set of activities, that had been initially funded with Federal dollars. But in the New Pride Replication Program, institutionalization required amassing the total financial support of a multi-faceted project that was highly specialized in its target population.

It was a requirement of replication that the projects be located within private not-for-profit agencies and not in public agencies such as juvenile courts or probation departments. This was designed to keep creativity in the treatment process, as well as historically representing the social circumstances under which the original New Pride was founded. One of the earliest questions raised concerned the degree to which private non-profit agencies would be able to

institutionalize projects at the termination of Federal funding. OJJDP recognized that this might be more easily accomplished by public agencies because of their greater access and ability to secure public funds. However, one of the results sought by the replication initiative was to determine whether innovative treatment strategies implemented by other youth serving agencies could then be supported by public agencies who have public responsibility but often lack the flexibility to experiment creatively with new approaches.

It is true that independent community-based organizations serve a critical function in the administration of justice. They often provide cost-effective services in community settings and are respected by clients and public officials alike. Further, evaluation research has generally shown that community-based human-service agencies are at least as successful or more successful in reaching their service objectives, at a lower per unit cost, than public agencies serving the same function.[1]

Yet very few private non-profit agencies have the built-in, and customarily more dependable, sources of funding that most public agencies have. In addition, the New Pride Replication Initiative began at the time the aftermath of California's Proposition 13 was being felt across the country. Smaller programs were vying for greatly reduced Federal, state, and county appropriations with powerful, entrenched, sometimes unionized organizations providing traditional, and therefore more publicly justifiable, services. Funding cutbacks were being felt throughout all levels of government, as the resource base of both public and private agencies was severely limited.

This situation was in marked contrast to the one that faced the original LEAA Exemplary New Pride Project as it labored to become institutionalized with non-Federal funds. Even in the more favorable funding climate of earlier times, it took the Denver model program seven years to establish a secure non-Federal funding base for all of its components. By contrast, the most

1 "Literature Review," National Evaluation of Delinquency Prevention, Washington, OJJDP, 1981.

successfully implemented New Pride replication projects had only four years of increasingly reduced Federal funding in which to secure other resources for continuation.

The original New Pride Project began in Denver with a private not-for-profit agency as its sponsor. But it started out as an alternative school, with a much smaller program. Other components of what eventually became the New Pride model were added gradually, as different client needs were identified and as additional funding became available through LEAA. When this happened, the Denver project broke off from its parent agency and incorporated independently. Eventually, the project secured state funding from three public agencies, which, in combination, provided enough resources to support all of the components it had developed.

For a community-based effort, New Pride is a comprehensive, but staff-intensive program. It is less costly than incarceration and represents a creative and appealing alternative to either straight probation or secure residential care for the type of youth it serves. From the perspective of almost all of the juvenile justice officials interviewed in the Intensive Site Study, the program was highly valued because it provided more flexibility in the range of available dispositions for young multiple offenders.

However, among the wider constituency of public policy makers, the previously high degree of interest in programs for youth was giving way to other concerns such as child abuse and programs for the victims of crime. At the time the replication projects were trying to find new means for continuation, scarce resources were going into these areas, rather than into efforts to rehabilitate delinquents. In Rhode Island, for example, a child was killed by its parents and two million dollars of state money was allocated for child abuse investigation. Many of these new programs were considered to be good ones, and far less expensive than New Pride.

The amount of money needed by New Pride rendered it non-competitive in its quest for the increasingly scarce resources available in many states. In Kansas City the juvenile court felt it could operate its own New Pride-like program less expensively and with fewer problems of administration. In Boston the Roxbury District Court set up its own New Pride-like project after the effort to replicate New Pride in a local not-for-profit agency had failed.

One of the most critical factors in determining which sites mounted more successful institutionalization efforts was the project's access to resources. This, in turn, hinged on the relationship of the project to the parent agency and to its community supporters. Organizationally, if there was a close and harmonious working relationship between the parent agency and the project, it was easier to mobilize an effective effort. In only one instance did a project succeed in becoming institutionalized without the assistance of such a relationship. In this case the project director mobilized the support of juvenile justice officials and other community agencies on behalf of New Pride, only to be undercut by the parent agency after the project's resources were almost secure.

In Chicago, the parent agency of the replication project was unwilling to make the effort required to raise the money needed to continue New Pride. The Board of Directors considered it too expensive in relationship to the number of individuals benefitting. This agency was one of the only ones capable of actually raising the money needed, as opposed to tapping into other sources of public funds. It could have done so with a single yearly auction. In this instance, the expense of the project was particularly unfortunate.

Generally, the ability of well-organized, highly motivated, and thorough efforts to get New Pride institutionalized varied from site to site, depending on the availability of public funds in each community or state. The Pensacola project, which ran for four years with Federal funds, turned into a program for educationally and emotionally handicapped students. That is, the available funding base in its area was severely restricted in the juvenile corrections field. As a consequence, it could continue only if it changed its target population. So

while many of the former New Pride staff are now involved in the new program, the replication itself was not successfully institutionalized in that city.

Future Prospects

To institutionalize a New Pride Project requires about $350,000 (1983 dollars) for every year of operation. The non-priority status of youth programs in terms of political interest coupled with reduced public agency budgets made generating this kind of money close to impossible. It is a great achievement that three out of the original ten projects were able to find enough support to continue beyond the period of their Federal grants. Every additional year of continuation is bound to require massive renewed efforts on the part of both agency staff and supporters. Whether the ongoing projects will continue to be successful with these efforts will depend on their degree of organization and mobilization towards generating revenue and, quite simply, on the availability of funds.

Of the three projects that have continued, the Project Directors of two of them have left. This may have a deleterious effect on their prospects for continuation. In one of these cases, though the Director was optimistic about getting all of the components funded, the parent agency decided to cut back staff, salary, and components. Because of this the Director, who had been the instrumental person in that site's successful search for funds, resigned.

One site was financially saved by the accreditation of its alternative school, because this qualified it for state education subsidies on a per student basis. The third project that continued badly needed such accreditation, but was unable to meet its State standards. In this case, the Board of Education cited reasons for denial such as having too few books in the library, and too few study areas. So while it had state and local funding commitments of $180,000, the Director was put in a position of having to decide whether to operate the project for six months and then close down entirely, or to cut the program so radically that it might not resemble a New Pride.

Summation

The replication program demonstrated that innovative treatment strategies implemented by private not-for-profit agencies could be supported by state and local public agencies at the conclusion of four years of Federal support. The New Pride projects that were funded only for three years did not continue. To a certain extent, this result may have been determined by OJJDP's final year funding criteria, which gave priority to those projects that had achieved partial support from other sources.

Several other contingencies influenced the outcome of each site's continuation efforts. In order to institutionalize successfully, funds had to be available from somewhere. This availability was restricted by the general shift in public policy interest away from youth programs across the country, and by cutbacks in the absolute number of dollars available from all sources combined. Because New Pride was relatively expensive it was more difficult to obtain the amount of money necessary to continue the projects as designed than it would have been if they had been less expensive. The expense factor sometimes gave the edge to less comprehensive programs vying for the same dollars in a competitive environment. It also forced compromises that some Project Directors, who were especially committed to the New Pride model, were unwilling to make; that is, to cut the program so radically that its essential features might be jeopardized. All of the projects that continued sacrificed both staff and components in order to survive. None were able to continue at a level of effort believed by most Directors to be adequate.

DISCUSSION

Process data gathered over the course of the Replication Initiative show that the New Pride model is replicable. While not all ten replication projects were successful, the data suggest that the serious problems some projects confronted were not caused by impossible jurisdictional conditions. Perhaps the Los Angeles project may be the sole expection. While the cause of this project's failure was primarily internal to the project and its parent agency, the way the juvenile justice system operates in that jurisdiction might have prevented even an effective program from getting enough eligible youth. At the other New Pride sites, difficult jurisdictional conditions were or could have been surmounted or altered by a strong program.

Although almost every site was able to adapt to its jurisdictional setting, the vast differences among jurisdictions did impact on projects in a variety of ways. Basically, jurisdictional differences set the stage for project adjustment and not the reverse. The projects had to create ways of working within the procedures and processes of the juvenile courts. Cases of discrepancy were resolved by project efforts to work within the system or its support (and its referrals) could be jeopardized.

Even the eligibility criteria did not alter the official case processing of youth served. The proportions of filed petitions that were adjudicated true in the comparison and treatment groups were compared both before and after case action date. There were no significant before/after differences between groups in any jurisdiction. This suggests that the courts were not adjudicating more in order to qualify youth for New Pride, despite the strict program eligibility criteria.

The lack of a measurable project effect on the impositional responses of the juvenile justice system was further exemplified by the data on long-term incarceration. Being sent to New Pride had no impact on the rate of Department of Corrections commitments. With all the controls on the data in place, clients

were equally as likely as their comparison group counterparts to receive such commitments (see Chapter 7, Table 21). Also, findings of the system impact study show that the projects were not perceived by key people within the community as having a significant impact on the structure, function, or policies of the juvenile justice system. Rather, projects' effects on their surrounding systems were primarily that they provided the courts with a new alternative to either incarceration or straight probation.

In general, those interviewed in the system impact study viewed New Pride as highly successful. The projects examined in this intensive study were well known, widely used, and respected. Most respondents were strongly in favor of the projects' being institutionalized in their communities. Generally speaking, one of the most impressive parts of the entire replication program was the high quality of the professional staff attracted and committed to project positions. Hence, the resources within the projects were outstanding. Yet the task of institutionalization proved to be a more difficult hurdle for projects than implementing the New Pride model. Only three sites were able to generate enough local funding to continue after Federal monies ceased, and these programs had to cut their services drastically. The full program model was too expensive to be supported by local funding sources.

Both successful implementation and institutionalization were related to the Project Director's capacity to mobilize the resources of the parent agency, and through them, the resources of the community, on behalf of their projects. Because founding a New Pride program involved establishing a new organization, the most effective management structure included:

- An entrepreneurial Project Director, who was responsible for bringing the project to the new city (proposal organizer; person with the sense of mission),
- Coming from an established management position within the parent agency,
- Which enhanced his or her capacity to secure organizational resources on behalf of the project.

Sponsoring agencies that were most likely to be successful in establishing New Pride projects were:

- those that had a related organizational purpose, such as the provision of services to troubled or disadvantaged youth and adults;
- those that had a credible record of service delivery in their community;
- those that were neither too large nor too old. The oldest parent agencies tended to be quite set in their ways and have an administrative orientation that did not allow them to handle the needs of a new project in an effective way. They tended to err through either over or under control;
- those that were not themselves just beginning as organizations, or if they were, those in which the Director of the parent agency simultaneously functioned as the Director of New Pride.

Finally, new projects had a better chance of survival if they were placed in communities that had few programs for adjudicated youth, and no significant competition from court-operated initiatives.

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