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## Phase II (W. William Minor):

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Under two federal grants, this project was conducted from June 1978 to December 1981 to assess the nature of the relationships between youths (both delinquent and nondelinquent) and various community programs in which they may participate. Like most research, this project has gone through several stages, with different insights and different problems developing at different times. Therefore, a brief history of the project and the context in which it was conducted will be instructive.

THE COMMUNITY-BASED CORRECTIONS MOVEMENT -
Predating this research, of course, is the community-based corrections movement itself. Although there is no agreed-upon beginning date for the community corrections movement, it is evident that the peak period for the movement was from the early 1960s through the mid-1970s, for several reasons. For one thing, it was during this period that the "baby boom" (1945-1961) childred reached delinquency-prone ages, crime and delinquency rates soared and the states suddenly found themselves with larger numbers of delinquents and criminals in need of treatment, punishment, correction, rehabilitation, or whatever. In the face of this increased demand, states expanded programs where it was easiest to do so, in the community, particularly through much greater reliance on probation (Scull, 1977; Adams, et al., 1978).

This period (early 1960 s through mid-1970s) was also a period of considerable political and social unrest. An unpopular war was waged in Vietnam, Civil rights struggles for minorities and women became intense, major urban riots erupted, several political and other leaders were assassinated, and discovery of extensive political corruption led to the disgrace of numerous political figures, including both a President and a vice-President.

It was a period of increasing skepticism about major American institutions, especially government. The appropriateness of efforts to decrease unwelcome governmental intrusion into the lives of its citizens seemed self-evident. A deemphasis on institutional corrections seems a natural corollary of this mood.

Intellectually, this skeptical mood was revealed in the growth of conflict and labeling theories (Sykes, 1974) and in the growing acceptance of arguments favoring the decriminalization of certain victimless crimes (Schur, 1965). Although there is considerable disagreement on various issues among proponents of these perspectives, they agreed that governmental efforts to "reform" or "correct" offenders were likely to backfire. Correctional efforts, particularly in institutional settings, were thought to embitter offenders, stigmatize them, train them in criminal techniques, and make them more rather than less likely to recidivate upon their release.

In short, this was a period in which demographic pressures, skepticism toward government, and intellectual theorizing converged to encourage the development of community-based alternatives to corrections. ${ }^{1}$

## REFORM IN MASSACHUSETTS

One of the most committed proponents of community-based corrections has been Dr. Jerame Miller, who from October 1969 to January 1973 was Commissioner of the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services (MDYS). 2

[^0]Through the late 1960s, the MDYS, like most state juvenile correctional systems, had a strong institutional component. It included three reception and detention centers for boys and one for girls, a forestry camp, three institutions or training schools for boys in different ages (Oakdale, Lyman, and Shirley), a training school for girls (Lancaster), and a secure psychiatric wing (Bridgewater) for the most troublesome boys. These institutions were by no means the worst in the nation, but they were isolated from the communities from which the youths had come, highly regimented (e.g., through uniforms, haircuts, marching to the cafeteria, and so on), and more concerned with maintaining order than with developing innovative programs for their charges. There was considerable pressure for reform. Half a dozen external investigations during the late 1960s had been critical of MDYS for subjecting youths to abusive living conditions, for providing insufficient youth programming, and for failing to adequately train or provide administrative support for the staff. Following an incident of physical abuse of a resident by one of the staff at Bridgewater, the pressure for reform was sufficient to force the resignation of Miller's predecessor. Miller was then hired with a mandate for reform of juvenile corrections in Massachusetts.

During Miller's first year Bridgewater was closed, and significant steps were taken to humanize the other institutions. For example, residents were no longer required to wear uniforms, disciplinary haircuts were no longer allowed, and the practice of restricting cigarettes as a control mechanism was halted. In selected institutions and cottages, a therapeutic community approach -emphasiaing a group process approach and placing more responsibility for decision-making on the residents -- was adopted.

These initial reform efforts generated a conservative backlash among some of the staff (and others) who thought MDYS was becoming too soft on young
criminals. In early 1971, an effort to close Shirley was thwarted by the legislature. Following this and other failures, Miller became convinced that the training schools would have to be eliminated, and that because of political opposition, their elimination would have to be accomplished suddenly rather than incrementally.

On January $15,1972,100$ MDYS youths were taken from Lyman and Shirley to a month-long conference at the University of Massachusetts, during which each youth was linked in a one-to-one relationship with a student advocate. Other youths were paroled, transferred to detention centers, or placed in group homes. Iyman and Shirley went out of business.

The Spring of 1972 marked the beginning of a period which can be fairly characterized as revolutionary in its impact and chaotic in its administration. The training schools were closing, but sufficient numbers of alternative placements were not available. The regional administrators of MDYS were told to "be creative." And they were. By late 1972, a large number of new communitybased programs had been developed, most of them by private vendors.

Such dramatic changes bring with them new problems, tumoil, and opposition. In the case of MDYS, these included the resignation of Miller in January 1973, the departure of more than ten upper- and middle-management central office staff in 1973-74, and the resignation of Miller's successor, Joseph Leavy, in late 1975.

Compared to the earlier training school system, the community-based system clearly appears to have improved the quality of life for MDYS youths (Coates, et al., 1978), but the outcome in terms of recidivism is open to diverse interpretations. From 1968 to 1974 recidivism actually increased by 8\% for the MDYS as a whole (from 66\% reappearing in court to 74\%). However, Coates et al. (1978) argued that the 1974 MDYS youths were a more difficult population to deal with: older, with more offenders against the person
(10\% in 1974 versus $2 \%$ in 1968), and with fewer status offenders. Coates and his colleagues also pointed out that those regions of the state with the greatest diversity of programs for MDYS youths also had the lowest recidivism in the 1974 data.

In any event, the new community-based system did not dramatically reduce juvenile recidivism in Massachusetts. One explanation for this is that, even under the new community-based system, the linkage between the youth and the community may have been more apparent than real. That is, although delinquent youths were being physically returned to their communities, it is not clear that any sort of social integration of youths and their communities was routinely taking place. A youth may be physically located in the community, but morally apart from it. It was this issue which, more than any other, stimulated the research reported in this volume.

## THE INITIATION PHASE: BOSTON I

During the initial phase for the project, extensive efforts were made to obtain cooperation between project staff and the communities where the data were to be collected, that is, in East Boston and Allston-Brighton. This effort actually began before project funding started. Merry Morash worked with the comunity leaders in East Boston throughout the time that she was developing the concept paper for the grant proposal and the formal grant proposal for the first year of funding.

The work of forming and maintaining close ties with community leaders was an integral part of the project implementation. Except for Richardson White, who was the Project Director and was based in Washington, D. C. , all of the other key staff took part in the community work. Morash had worked as a social worker in East Boston over a six-year period before she had returned to school to seek a Ph.D. She had lived in East Boston for part of the time, and
even after leaving had maintained many professional and personal relationships with East Boston residents. Francis Rowan, the Chief Interviewer in East Boston, had lived in the community for many years, and had been active as a community organizer for a number of community betterment projects. Ties between the research project staff and people in the Allston-Brighton community did not extend into the past, but were quickly developed by William Oshima, who was Morash's assistant. He held a Masters Degree in Social Work, and his specialty was community organization. He and Bozenna Buda. Chief Interviewer in Allston-Brighton, developed and maintained close ties with Allston-Brighton community leaders and agency staff. Having worked in Boston for some time, Oshima also had many ties within the City of Boston bureaucracies (e.g., Department of Mental Health, School Department), which were essential to obtaining access to data.

The community organization efforts were ongoing during the year before data collection began, and continued throughout the project. Initially, they centered around confronting the common belief among informal neighborhood leaders and some program staff that research would provide no information to the community, and once the data were collected, there would be no opportunity for East Boston and Allston-Brighton people to react to study results. This resistance to research is based partly on the previous failures of researchers to provide study results to key community leaders, and partly on the limited degree to which any research project which has the objective of producing information can immediatly produce benefits to a community.

A Community Advisory Panel was established in East Boston and in AllstonBrighton in order to neutralize some of this resistance to research. The Panels included representatives from local police, probation, school and agency programs as well as parent groups. The major function of the panels was to receive information about the progress of the study and to act as officially
designated recipients of study results.
Along with publicly establishing that study results would be fed back to people in East Boston and Allston-Brighton, arrangements were made to give program directors whose staff took part in the study a confidential report comparing their program to other human services programs. The reports included four sections: a comparison of community youths who did and who did not take part in the program; a comparison of youths' views of the program with their views of other programs; a comparison of staff characteristics with characterisitics of staff in other programs; and a comparison of staff yiews of the program and the views of staff in other programs. This information was potentially useful for making internal assessments of the program, planning, and writing grant applications.

Besides the development of Community Panels and the feedback to program directors, one other approach was used to assure community help in implementing the study. Informal community leaders, including adolescents, were constantly informed of the current work being done as a part of the study so that it was "in the grapevine" that the study was "O.K." To facilitate this process, project staff were recruited primarily from East Boston and Allston-Brighton, though to protect confidentiality they usually worked in the community othex than the one in which they lived. The project staff, then, were additional people in the community who could confirm that the study was "O.K."

Thus far, all of the community organization work described was directed at East Boston or Allston-Brighton. Support, acceptance, and recognition were also needed from city and state agencies with branches in the two communities, and from city and state law enforcement and correctional agencies. These were usually approached once a local base of support had been developed. For example, local school support was developed before the city school department was approached. This made it possible to show city and state
agency staff that the study was acceptable to the local program staff.
It should be noted that the apparently smooth flow of the community organization effort described above did in fact have some ripples and even waves. The process of dealing with two dynamic communities involved us in rumor networks among adolescents, agency staff, and community leaders, as well as complex bureaucracies and inaccessible bureaucrats. The key to actually obt =ining community support for the study was investing resources: (1) to make 1 . clear that giving information to East Boston and Allston-Brighton people was an integral part of the research effort; and (2) to deliver information, even in incomplete form, to interested community members as soon as it was available.

The community support and acceptance which resulted from the community organization process took many forms. On one level, the support consisted of permission to use official agency, school, police, and court records for sampling; to carry out case studies in school and other program settings; and to use workers' time for the interviews. On another level, support was less formal. For example, agency personnel, church leaders and informal neighborhood leaders told youths to take part in the study, and that the study was designed to get information that might help teenagers at some future time. Also, agency peronnel assisted us in locating missing records or in interpreting confusing records during the sampling phase of the study. Youth workers discussed the questionnaire with youths who took part in a pretest of instruments, and informed project staff of "real" reactions to the questions. As a final example of informal community support, rumors about the study were frequently quieted by the network of individuals who were from East Boston and Allston-Brighton, and who wanted to assist study staff.

THE CONTINUATION PHASE: BOSTON II
With encouragement fron the panel of consultants, in Spring 1979 Morash and White applied for a second year of funding with which to extend the
research to a third Boston community -- Franklin Field/Mattapan. Because Morash had accepted a teaching position in Europe for the 1979-80 academic year, it would be impossible for her to oversee the Boston II data collection or write the final report. William Minor, then an assistant professor of criminology at the University of Maryland, was recruited for these tasks. As Boston II was initially planned, William Oshima, the Boston I Field Coordinator for Allston-Brighton, would oversee the data collection and community relations in Boston. White would ovexsee administrative affairs, and Minor would revise the instruments, analyze the data and write the final report. Because of this division of labor, Minor was employed only one-third time on Boston II, continuing most of his normal duties at the University. As things developed, this management plan led to an understaffing and to a lack of effective supervision for the field staff.

During the initiation phase of Boston II, Oshima resigned for a permanent position working for the state of Massachusetts. This created two problems. One was that new key personnel in Boston, who had not worked on Boston $I$, had to be recruited and trained. The other problem was a dramatic increase in the time commitment required of Minor and White, far in excess of that which had been planned and budgeted. We were fortunate to hire a Project coordinator and a Chief Interviewer who were both enthusiastic and familiar with the project area. The new staff worked diligently in the early phases of Boston II to represent the project to community leaders and local agency and school officials. As a result, we obtained excellent cooperation for the collection of data in Franklin Field/Mattapan, just as we had in East Boston and Allston/ Brighton.

Unfortunately, the new staff hired for Boston II had had relatively little experience managing research, and this added to the supervisory burden for Minor and White, both of whom were located in the Washington, D.C. area.

The pattern of long-distance oversight, coupled with the relative inexperience of the key field staff, led to a number of personnel problems (which need not be discussed here), and completion of the data collection was delayed until late January 1981, approximately nine months behind schedule. By this time Minor had resumed his full-time university appointment, so the analysis and preparation of the final report proceeded piecemeal:

## COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA

The discussion above raises questions about the comparability of the data from the three communities. On the positive side, three considerations argue in favor of comparability. Most obviously, the interview schedules for Phases I and II were identical, except for a few minor modifications made for Phase II. These changes involved deleting same nonessential items from Phase I, and adding elements thought particularly appropriate for research in a predominantly black community (see Hill, 1971). A second consideration facilitating comparability of the data was a transition period during which Morash and Minor worked together. This period was brief (approximately two weeks), but provided an important orientation to the project for Minor. Finally, despite staff changes in key roles from Phase $I$ to Phase II, there were also several important sources of continuity. Among these were Richardson White, the Project Director or Co-Director for both phases. William Oshima, who served as a consultant during early parts of Phase II, Bozenna Buda, who was a Chief Interviewer for Phase I and the Data Collection Monitor for Phase II, and several of the interviewers who worked during both phases.

On the other hand, important differences must be noted. Most obvious is the transition from Morash to Minor. Since Morash was located in Boston and working full-time during the Phase I data collection, whereas Minor was
located in Washington and working one-third-time during the Phase II data collection, we have greater confidence in the quality of the Phase I data. Another possible confounding effect is the passage of time, since the data fxom Franklin Field/Mattapan were collected approximately 12-18 months after the corresponding data from East Boston and Allston-Brighton. Fortunately, Proposition 2六, a major budget-cutting measure affecting almost all programs in Boston, did not take effect until the Phase II data collection was virtually complete (December 1980).

Although we cannot exclude the possibility that some apparent differences among the three communities (especially those involving Franklin Field/Mattapan) may have resulted in part from differences in the data collection or changes over time, we feel there is sufficient comparability in the data from the three communities to justify the analyses which follow, later in this report.

The experiences that youths, particularly delinquents, have in community programs are at the crux of the notion that community corrections is an effective alternative to institutional programs. Several theoreticians and policy makers have suggested that a youth's ties to community institutions -including schools, social service agencies, recreational programs and health programs -- are determinants of delinquency (Hirschi, 1969; Weissman, 1969; Gemignani, 1973). Thus, improving adolescents' ties to the community is assumed to prevent and interrupt patterns of lawbreaking.

Despite the growing recognition that the programs in a community have importance to a youth's development as a law-abiding person, there has not been much study of variations in community programs' reactions to youthful offenders. The lack of research has been noted by Spergel (1976), who wrote that the widely accepted strategy of diverting youths from the juvenile justice system "emphasizes a return of the delinquent to the community with insufficient reference to what capacity the particular community has to rehabilitate the delinquent, and how that capacity may be increased." In a similar vein, Rosenheim (1976) has suggested that questions about helping services should be asked before a role is given them: "The demands being made of them betray ignorance of what specialists employed in these agencies can, and most like to, do."

There are reasons to take the cautions offered by Rosenheim and Spergel seriously. Involving lawbreaking youths with programs in their own communities appears to be more easily said than done. In contrast to the policies promoting increased youth-community program interactions, Sarri and vinter (1976) concluded from the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections that there may be "collusion among influential community elements to send more and
more youths into the justice system: [or] at best, the evidence can be read as revealing a slow drift toward more formal handling and processing of youth rather than serving them through basic social institutions."

Coates, et al. (1976) have studied the linkages that youths in communitybased programs in Massachusetts have developed with individuals in the community. These individuals included representatives of agencies and schools. Their analysis revealed that:

While on the whole the new system is more community based than the old training school system ... the current system still limits considerably the contact between youth and the community.

This research suggests that in the case of youths who have been placed in programs by the state agency, the Massachusetts Division of Youth Services (MDYS), the extent of community contact envisioned by some proponents of a community corrections policy has not been realized.

Because deinstitutionalization of delinquents has been a major policy thrust in Massachusetts, for the last several years, in that state there is a strong possibility that delinquents are in contact with community programs. With few institutions open, most delinquents remain in their own homes after they are apprehended, and thus there is no automatic severing of youths' ties in the community. Furthermore, several new programs have been started to offer community based services to delinquents, given the near absence of institutionally-based programs.

Skepticism about the adequacy with which community programs can and will provide services to delinquents raises several questions, however, about the Massachusetts' delinquents' experiences with community programs. Are the programs directing their resources towards the most delinquent youths? Which youths have the most positive experiences in these programs? Now that most delinquents are in the community, with very few in institutional programs, do
they go to the same programs as other youths, or do they attend special programs established for delinquents? Finally, what program characteristics are related to positive experiences in the programs, and do delinquents go to programs with these characteristics more or less often than do other youths? These questions are central to this study, and are addressed in analyses of youths and programs in three urban Massachusetts communities. The communities, Allston/Brighton, East Boston, and Franklin Field/Mattapan, are typical of communities in many urban areas, though dissimilar from each other.

THE THREE COMMUNITIES
During the planning phase of this project, we selected three commuities (East Boston, Allston/Brighton, and Franklin Field/Mat.tapan) which appeared to correspond well with the types of communities which Spexgel (1976) had identified as "communal", "pluralist", and "controlled", respectively. As the study progressed and more recent data became available, however, it became necessary to qualify our assumptions about the degree to which these three communities -- especially Franklin Field/Mattapan -- represented the parts of Spergel's typology. ${ }^{1}$

East Boston. East Boston is our "communal" community. Spergel describes the communal community as working or lower middle class, homogenous, with strong kinship networks, common interests, and local traditions. It has strong family ties, an older population, and low rates of delinquency. As Table 1 indicates, East Boston fits this profile well. It is the poorest of our three areas in terms of socioeconomic status (occupation, education, and income levels -- see Table l), but it is nevertheless a stable working class

[^1]Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of the Three Communities and the City of Boston

| Characteristic | $\begin{gathered} \text { EAST } \\ \text { BOSTON } \end{gathered}$ | ALLSTON/ <br> BRIGHTON | FRANKLIN FIELD/ MATTAPANI | BOSTON | Intexpretive Comments |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Race/Ethnicity (\% white, black, Hispanic, Oriental) | 97,0,3,0 | 79,3,4,13 | 11,81,6,0 | 69,20,6,4 | EB mostly white; A/B mixed; FF/M mostly black |
| Race/Ethnicity of SchoolAged Children (\% white, black, Hispanic, Oriental) | 96,0,4,0 | 56,0,9,33 | 11,82,5,0 | 59,27,8,6 | More minority school children, esp. Orientals, in $A / B$ |
| Percent Black ( 1970,1980 ) | 1.0 | 2,3 | 41,81 | 16,20 |  |
| ```Percent Nonwhite (does not include Hispanic) (1950, 1960,1970,1980)``` | 0,0,1,0 | 1,1,4,17 | 0,1,42,83 | 5,10,18,25 | Change in racial composition for $\mathrm{FF} / \mathrm{M}$ |
| Median Age | 31.1 | 25.8 | 22.4 | 27.6 |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Age Distribution (\% 11-15,16- } \\ & 20,21-24,25-29) \end{aligned}$ | 14,6,7,8 | 6,8,22,22 | 13,12,8,11 | 9,10,10,12 | FF/M has more teenagers; $A / B$ has more young adults |
| Percent in Labor Force | 48 | 68 | 63 | 62 | "Not in labor force" refers to retired workers, homemakers, students, and the ill or disabled; EB has more of these |
| Percent Unemployed (as of spring 1980) | 5 | 8 | 9 | 5.7 | "Unmemployed" means actively seeking work; higher in $A / B$ and $F F / M$ |
| Percent of Professional, Managerial, \& Technical Workers | 18 | 44 | 15 | 30 | More high-status workers in A/B |
| Percent Employed in Own Neighborhood | 23 | 21 | 7 | 19 | Fewer employment opportunities in FF/M |
| ```Percentage of Housing with more than }1.00\mathrm{ persons per room``` | 3 | 4 | 12 | 4 | More crowded housing in $\mathrm{FF} / \mathrm{M}$ |
| Percent Evaluating Home Security as "Fair" or "Poor" (when at home, when away) | 16,26 | 30,41 | 31,53 | 22,36 | EB perceived as more |

Table 1 (continued)

| Characteristic | $\begin{gathered} \text { EAST } \\ \text { BOSTON } \end{gathered}$ | ALLSTON/ <br> BRIGHTON | FRANKLIN FIELD/ MATTAPAN ${ }^{1}$ | BOSTON | Interpretive Comments |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Median Income: Families and Unrelated Individuals | $7,800$ | 9,700 | 12,900 | 10,700 | FF/M higher |
| Median Income: Families | 11,000 | 12,300 | 12,250 | 13,200 | EB lower |
| Family Income (Percent under $\$ 7,000$, percent Below Low-Income standards) | 32,32 | 24,26 | $18,30$ | 23,27 | Low-income standards vary by family size. The differences between the two figures suggest larger families in $\mathrm{FF} / \mathrm{M}$ |
| Percentage of Adults with Less than 12 Years of School Completed | 43 | 14 | 26 | 26 | Higher in EB, lower in $A / B$ |
| Average Length (Years) of Residence (white, black, combined) | 11.4,-,11.4 | 4.9,5.4,4.9 | 11.0,5.8,6.9 | 8.3,6.3,7.9 | Combined figure is an estimate weighted by racial distribution. EB most stable A/B least stable. |
| 1980 Crimes $/ 100,000:{ }^{2}$ Crimes against Persons | 911 | 814 | 2,001 | 2,220 | All 3 have rates below citywide rate. |
| Crimes against Property | 8,562 | 9,313 | 6,376 | 11,279 | FF/M has more crimes of violence, less property crime; $A / B$ has more property crime, fewer crimes of violence. |

[^2]community characterized by strong family and ethnic ties (over 90\% Irish Catholic) and moderate delinquency rates. 2 Set on a peninsula across Boston Harbor from the rest of the city (see Figure 1), residents of East Boston are somewhat more likely to be employed in their own neighborhood and somewhat reluctant to utilize city services located outside East Boston. ${ }^{3}$

Allston-Brighton. Our "pluralist" comunity, Allston-Brighton, also fits Spergel's description well. It contains a mixture of ethnic groups (see Table 1), has moderate to high population mobility, and contains a diverse mixture of socio-economic groups. For example, there is a high proportion of the population (44\%) employed as managerial, professional, and technical workers, but there are also a number of families (24\%) earning less than \$7,000 per year. In addition, the area is physically fragmented, with the Massachusetts Turnpike dividing Allston from Brighton. Unplanned development has resulted in a confusing conglomeration of deteriorating industrial plants and warehouses mingled with small shops and residential areas. Its residents feel less secure about their homes than East Boston residents do, but they are not as fearful as the residents of Franklin Field/Mattapan. The rate of property crime in Allston/Brighton is higher than in East Boston or Franklin Field/Mattapan, but the rate of violent crime is lower.

Franklin Field/Mattapan. Spergel describes the "controlled" community as low in economic resources, ethrically homogenous, and dependent on public rather than private resources for services. It is characterized by moderate population mobility and by high rates of delinquency. In most respects, the data in Table 1 support the application of this profile to Franklin Field/ Mattapan: the area is predominantly black, with few people employed in high-

[^3]Figure 1: The Three Communities

status positions and few employed within the community itself. Compared to the other two communities, more of its residents live in crowded housing and more people fear for the security of their homes. The rate of violent crime is high. Table 1 also presents one anomaly, however: Income levels for Franklin Field/Mattapan are too high for Spergel's description of the control.led community. 4

This apparent contrast is explained by the observation that Franklin Field/Mattapan is a community in transition. Iwenty years ago the community was predominantly Jewish and virtually all white. Today that has changed. Franklin Field (the northern part of the community) is all black, as are parts of Mattapan. There have also been corresponding economic changes. Southern Mattapan is still largely white, middle-class and contains Mattapan Square, a stable business district. To the north, however, the area is characterized by boarded-up stores, deteriorated housing, and publicly-funded service organizations.

In this report we characterize Franklin Field/Mattapan as a controlled community, in part because our sample more fully represents the low income and minority population than it does the white and higher-income sections of the community. 5 Similarly, most of the agencies in the Franklin Field/Mattapan area are dependent on public rather than private funds. Nevertheless, it may be well to recall that our "controlled" community is a community in transition.

[^4]
## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The core of this research is the hypothesis that the organization, distribution, and utilization of services for youths are not random, but have an ~~~ identifiable and interpretable structure. It is hoped that the identification of this structure will enhance our understanding of the operation of community programs, as a preliminary step towards an assessment of their effectiveness. ${ }^{6}$

Our search for this structure is developed around three major elements:

1. Characteristics of YOUTHS who participate in various programs.
2. Characteristics of PROGRAMS in which youths participate.
3. The nature of the EXPERIENCES which youths have in the programs they attend.

Thus far, reference has been made to general differences in youth characteristics, in programs, and in youths' experiences in these programs. It is now necessary to move from the general questions and to make the research questions more specific: Which youth characteristics, besides delinquency, might be related to type of pxogram attended and experiences in programs? Which elements of program structure might be related to the characteristics of participants and to participants' experiences in the program? Do these differ by type of community?

In order to generate more specific research questions, the model depicted in Figure 2 was developed. This model depicts the relationships between youth characteristics, program characteristics, and the experiences that youths have in programs. It also summarizes the key policy questions raised about these interrelationships. These questions are

[^5]1. Do certain types of youths go to certain types of programs?
2. Which program characteristics are related to the experiences youths have in community programs?
3. Which youth characteristics are related to the experiences youths have in community programs?
4. Do the answers to the above questions depend on the type of community in which the youth lives?

As specified in Figure 2, the model assumes that there is a relationship between characteristics of youths who attend programs and characteristics of the programs which they attend; however, naither the youth variables nor the program variables can properly be considered a "cause" of the othex. The experiences which youths have in programs, on the other hand, is treated entirely as a dependent variable, jointly determined by characteristics of the youths and characteristics of the programs. Finally, we assume that this model applies to each of our three communities, but that the magnitude of the various coefficients may differ from one community to another.

## KEY VARIABLES

The major variables used in the analyses to follow are listed in Table 2. Except for those variables whose applicability is self-evident, the theoretical rationale for using these variables is briefly discussed below. Where appropriate, we also indicate how these variables were operationalized.

## Youth Variables

The youth variables cover five areas: demography, delinquency, delinquency theory, peer groups, and family. The demographic variables include AGE, SEX, RACE and SES (social class). These are fundamental characteristics which shape our social worlds. RACE is dichotomized as white/nonwhite, with

## Figure 2. The Theoretical Model and the Research Questions.



1 Do certain types of youths go to certain types of programs?

2 Which program characteristics are related to the experiences youths have in community programs?

3 Which youth characteristics are related to the experiences youths have in community programs?

4 Do the answers to the above questions depend on the type of community in which the youth lives?
the latter category including blacks, Hispanics, Orientals, and others. SES is measured by Hollingshead and Redlick's (1958) two-factor index of social position, based on the main breadwinner's education and occupation.

Two sorts of delinquency variables are relevant: official identification as a delinquent and self-reported delinquent behavior. Not everyone who commits a delinquent act is caught, and not everyone who is caught is processed the same way. Thus, official delinquency and self-reported delinquency are conceptually distincr, and their effects may be different. (In the present data, the correlation between the two is $.30, \mathrm{p}<.001$. Although highly significant, this coefficient indicates that official and self-reported delinquency are not interchangeable variables.)

Our measure of official delinquency is PENETRAT, penetration into the justice system. This ranges from no contact, through police contact only, juvenile court contact (including probation), and DYS (Division of Youth Services) contact. Our self-reported delinquency measure is a variety index, based on the number of different offenses engaged in last year (see Gold, 1970; Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis, 1981). Based on a series of factor analyses (data not shown), we found that this measure of self-reported delinquency was highly collinear with two other variables: self-reported drug use ( $x=.67$ ) and peer delinquency $(x=.65)$. To reduce multicollinearity in the subsequent analyses, we summed the $Z$-scores on these three variables to create our new measure of delinquency/drug use/peer delinquency, DELINDRG.

From various delinquency theories, we have selected three variables which seem particularly important. ATPACHMT measures attachment to conventional others, which is expected to inhibit delinquency (Hirschi, 1969). Similarly, the level of one's occupational aspirations, JOBASPIR, is also a measure of attachment to the social order. STRAIN, on the other hand, is a measure of the discrepancy between one's occupational aspirations and one's realistic

Table 2. Variables Used in the Analysis

| Youth <br> Characteristics | Program Characteristics |  |  | Characteristics of Youths' Experiences in Programs |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Demography: | Structure : | Programmatic: | Social Environment: | Participation: |
| AGE | Size: | Service Provision: | Formalization: | ATTENDNC |
| $\operatorname{SEX}(\mathrm{M}=1, \mathrm{~F}=2)$ | FIEMPL | LATERAL | JOBCODIF | WANTOGO |
| RACE ( $\mathrm{W}=1, \mathrm{NW}=2$ ) | STAFSIZE | LONGITUD | RULCODIF | EXPELLED |
| SES | NUMSERVD |  | RULEMAN |  |
|  |  | Youth Participation: | JOBDESCR | Social Environment: |
| Delinquency: | Administration: | YTHPART | JOBSPEC | SCLIMATE |
| PENETRAT | ADMINTRS |  |  | ROLEREL |
| DELINDRG | ADMINCOM | Accessability: BOUNDARY | Staff Sensitivity: <br> GREWUPIN | DISORDLY |
| Delinquency Theory: | Complexity: | ACCAPPMT | KNOWAREA | Stigma: |
| ATTACHMT | COMPIEX | ACCHOURS | STRESID | SELFSTIG |
| JOBASPIR | SERVRANG | ACCPLACE | STSIMIL |  |
| STRAIN |  |  |  |  |
|  | Incentives to Work |  | Disorder in Program: | participants: |
| Peer Groups: | with Delinquents: |  | LVLRULBK | SIMILIAR |
| GRPAFFIL | INCENTIV |  | STEXPEL |  |
| GANGIIKE |  |  |  | Linkage to Other |
| COHESIVE | Staff Demography: |  |  | Programs: |
|  | BLKSTAFF |  |  | IINKAGE |
| Family: | STAFFSES |  |  |  |
| SERVUSED | STAFFED |  |  |  |
| PROGENCR | STAFFAGE |  |  |  |
| PAREVAL, | STFYEARS |  |  |  |
| FAMTIES |  |  |  |  |

expectations in this regard; it is expected to encourage delinquency (cloward and Ohlin, 1960).

Friends are an important aspect of adolescents' lives, so we have chosen three variables which characterize the nature of peer group relations. GRPAFFIL (group affiliation) is a dichotomous variable which indicates whether the youth is linked to a peex group or spends most of his/her time alone. Based on Miller's (1974) work, GANGLIKE indicates the extent to which the peer group has characteristics of a gang, i.e., group name, regular meeting place, restricted membership, and so forth. Finally, we used Seashore's (1954) index to measure the cohesiveness of the youth's peer group (COHESIVE).

Our interviews with the youth's parents resulted in four variables of interest here. One of these was family use of services (SERVUSED), and another was parental encouragement to use services (PROGENCR). Families differ markedly in their desire and ability to make use of human services in the community. This difference was especially likely to be found in East Boston, where there was a rather large, recently immigrated Italian population. Families in this group tend to view extra-familial supports as largely unnecessary, and to view child rearing as a family matter.

In contrast to families which seek few, if any, resources outside of their immediate group, other families, generally referred to as multi-problem families, have long histories of involvement with welfare, health, recreation, poverty and other programs. The strong variation in family approach to service usage was thought likely to affect adolescents' contacts with programs.

Parents' evaluations of youths as more or less well adjusted than their peers (PAREVAL) and families' ties to the community (FAMTIES) are other sorts of family characteristics thought to be associated with youth involvement in programs. These variables were, therefore, measured in the current study.

## Program Variables

There is a limited amount of research on the program characteristics associated with either participation in a program or type of experiences derived from participation. Thus, the selection of the particular program characteristics to be measured was based on the available literature and on commonsense explanations of youth attraction to and involvement in community programs. The resultant list of predictors includes characteristics of structure, programming, and social environment.

Structural characteristics of programs include size, administration, complexity, incentives to work with delinquents, and demographic characteristics of the staff. Size is important because different kinds of youths may respond differently to large versus small programs (Gillespie and Miller, 1976). Three variables indicate the size of the organization: the number of full-time employees (FTEMPI), the total size of the staff (STAFSIZE), and the number of youths served (NUMSERVD).

The administration of a program is indicated both by the number of administrators (ADMINDRS) and by the ratio of administrators to total staff (ADMINCOM). The complexity of the organization (see Hall, 1972) is indicated both by the variety of professionals on the staff (COMPIEX) and by range of services provided to clients (SERVRANG).

Naturally, the existence of structural incentives for a program to work with delinquents is likely to affect their participation in such programs. Our measure, INCENTIV, is based on whether a program is specifically designed for delinquency prevention or treatment and whether its funding depends on such efforts.

Demographic characteristics of program staff may affect the way youths respond to programs (Kahn, 1976). For example, a staff which is predominantly black (BLKSTAFF) might attract youths in Franklin Field/Mattapan, but not in

East Boston. Other relevant characteristics of staff include parental social class (STAFFSES), staff education level (STAFFED), and the average age and length of service for staff (STAFFAGE, STFYEARS).

Programmatic characteristics include the breadth and duration of service provision (LATERALity and LONGITUDinality - Lefton and Rosengren, 1966), whether youths participate in planning their own programs (YTHPART), and the accessability of the program and its staff to youths. Program accessability is indicated by BOUNDARY, which indicates the number of restrictions on participation (see Greenley and Kirk, 1973). Staff accessability is indicated by whether appointments are required (ACCAPPMT), how often the staff works nights and weekends (ACCHOURS), and by how often the staff works with youths in places other than the program facility itself (ACCPLACE).

The social environment of a program is characterized by the degree of formalization of the staff's jobs, the sensitivity of the staff to neighborhood life styles, and the level of order or disorder in the program.

The formalization of staff jobs is measured by the Hage-Aiken (1969) scale which indicates the level of job codification (JOBCODIF) and rule codification (RUICODIF), the presence of a rule manual (RULEMAN) and a formal job description (JOBDESCR), and the degree of specificity of the job's tasks (JOBSPEC) -

The sensitivity of the staff to neighborhood life styles (Vigilante, 1972) is indicated by whether they grew up in a similar area (GREWUPIN), are familiar with community leaders and social groups (KNOWAREA), currently reside in the community (STRESID), and consider themselves similar to the youths participating in their program (STSIMIL).

Finally, the degree of order or disorder in a program is indicated by the level of rulebreaking which occurs (LVLRULBK) and by the frequency with which the staff resorts to expulsion as a means of social control (STEXPEL).

## Youths' Experiences in Programs

Youths' experiences in programs might be characterized in many ways. We have chosen nine variables which relate to participation in the program, the social environment as perceived by the youths, the perception of stigma associated with attending the program, and linkage to other community resources.

Three variables relate to the youth's participation. ATTENDNC is a measure of the number of days per month a youth participates in a program. WANTTOGO measures his/her desire to continue participating in the program. EXPELIED is a dichotomous variable indicating whether a youth has ever been asked to leave the program.

The social environment of a program is characterized by the perceived social climate as described by Moos (1975), youths' role relationships with staff (Wish, Deutsch, and Kaplan, 1976), and the degree of order or disorder in the program as perceived by the youth.

Social climate is linked to participant satisfaction with a program (Moos, 1975). Moos has developed a 36 -item scale which identifies nine features of a program's social climate. These are the extent to which

1) Participants are involved in the day-to-day functioning of the program;
2) Participants are encouraged to be helpful and supportive toward other participants, and staff are supportive of participants;
3) The program encourages the open expression of feelings;
4) Participants are encouraged to be autonomous by taking initiative in planning activities and by taking leadership;
5) The participant is oriented to practical considerations such as job training;
6) Participants are oriented to personal problems and feelings and to seek to understand them;
7) Order and organization are stressed in the program;
8) There is clarity about participants' expectations regarding the day-to-day routine of program rules and procedures;
9) Staff use regulations to keep participants under control.

In our data, however, these nine subscales did not emerge as separate and distinct characteristics. Rather, in a series of factor analyses six of these subscales regularly clustered together: involvement, support, autonomy, practical orientation, order/organization, and clarity. We have therefore combined these six subscales for a generalized measure of positive social climate, SCLIMATE.

The role relationships of youths to adults affect youths' immediate behavior as well as their learning to perform in other roles. Wish, et al. (1976) have identified four major dimensions which characterize all types of role relationship. The first is the intensity of the relationship, or conversely the superficiality. The second is the degree to which the relationship is social, involves emotional exchange and is informal as opposed to being task-oriented and formal. Third is the degree of equality between the people in the relationship. The last dimension identified involves the amount of competitiveness and hostility relative to cooperativeness and friendliness. However, in our preliminary analyses of the wish, et al. subscales, we found that they clustered together. That is, relationships tended to be either intense, social, equal and friendly or superficial,
task-oriented, unequal and competitive. 7 We therefore summed the $z$-scores of the subscales to form ROLEREJ, a general measure of a negative role relationship with staff.

Some programs are rather well-ordered and peaceful, while others experience frequent rulebreaking and often resort to expulsion as a means of social control. This feature of the social environment, DISORDLY, is a result of both the behavior of the youths and the reaction of the staff.

If a program is perceived as stigmatizing to a youth, this may affect not only his/her willingness to participate, but also the outcome of that participation. In our data, SELFSTIG indicates the extent to which the youth feels that program participants are "worse" than other youths. A related variable is SIMILAR, the extent to which the youth feels he/she is like the other participants in the program.

Finally, some programs provide IINKAGE with other community resources (jobs, schools, other programs), while some do not. For delinquents or other youths with multiple needs, this linkage may be particularly important.

These are the characteristics of youths, of programs, and of youths' experiences in programs which we investigate in this study. Our research methods employed for gathering and analyzing these data are described in the next chapter.

[^6]
## CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODS

Previous chapters have described the history of this project, its theoretical underpinnings, the research questions, and the key variables employed in the analysis. This chapter describes the research design for the project and documents various methodological decisions. For convenience, we may divide the discussion into the following four major steps: organizing in the communities, sampling, measuring relevant characteristics, and analyzing the data.

## ORGANIZING IN THE COMMUNITIES

The first tasks confronting the study staff were to develop support and acceptance for the research effort within the community, and to establish the legitimacy of the project. This was undertaken by using a community organization approach. Specifically, formal and informal groups of community members, and key comnunity leaders, were organized to assist in implementing the study.

The community organization efforts were ongoing both during the year before data collection began and throughout the project. Initially, they centered around confronting the common belief among informal neighborhood leaders and some program staff that research would provide no information to the community, and once the data were collected, there would be no opportunity for East Boston and Allston Brighton people to react to study results. This resistance to research is based partly on the previous failures of researchers to provide study results to key community leaders, and partly on the limited degree to which any research project which has the objective of producing information can immediately produce benefits to a community.

In the first phase of the project (Boston I), a community advisory panel
was established in East Boston and in Allston/Brighton in order to neutralize some of this resistance to research. The panels included representatives from local police, probation, school and agency programs as well as parent groups. The major function of the panels was to receive information about the progress of the study and to act as officially designated recipients of study results. In addition, arrangements were made to give program directors whose staff took part in the study a confidential report comparing their program to other human services programs. Finally, project staff were recruited primarily from East Boston and Allston/Brighton, though to protect confidentiality they usually worked in the community other than the one in which they lived. The project staff, then, were additional people in the community who could confirm that the study was legitimate.

Thus far, all of the community organization work described was directed at East Boston or Allston/Brighton. Support, acceptance and recognition were also needed from city and state agencies with branches in these communities, and from city and state law enforcement and correctional agencies. These were usually approached once a local base of support had been developed. For example, local school support was developed before the city school department was approached. This made it possible to show city and state agency staff that the study was acceptable to the local program staff.

Our experiences in the first phase of the study guided our community organizing efforts in Franklin Field/Mattapan. Given the racial composition of the community, we recruited a staff which was predominantly black, several of whom had prior personal or oganizational ties to the Franklin Field/ Mattapan community. (To protect anonymity, interviews were reassigned whenever staff members recognized potential respondents.) Similarly, we maintained frequent contact with a variety of community leaders and agency staff throughout the data collection phase, in order to keep them appraised
of the project's progress.
In three respects, our community organizing efforts differed in the second phase of the project. In Boston $I$, we had worked "up" the organizational ladder (from local staff to central office personnel); in Boston II, we essentially reversed this process, since the project had already obtained clearance at the central office level. Second, we did not promise an individualized report to each participating agency, because our experience in Boston I had convinced us that the resources required for such a report were disproportionate to the benefits to the agencies. Instead, the participating agencies are to be provided with summaries of the final project report. Third, we did not establish a formal community advisory panel in Franklin Field/Mattapan. Our assessment of the local political scene was that a formal advisory panel would inevitably identify the project with one or another of several local factions, thus reducing our ability to gain community-wide acceptance. We thus decided to keep our ties to various community leaders informal and non-bureaucratic.

In all three communities, the support and acceptance which resulted from the community organization process took many forms. On one level, the support consisted of permission to use official agency, school, police, and court records for sampling; to carry out case studies in school and other program settings; and to use workers' time for the interviews. On another level, support was less formal. For example, agency personnel, church leaders and informal neighborhood leaders told youths to take part in the study, and that the study was designed to get information that might help teenagers at some future time. Also, agency personnel assisted us in locating missing records or in interpreting confusing records during the sampling phase of the study. Youth workers discussed the questionnaire with youths who took part in a pretest of instruments, and informed project staff of "real" reactions to the
questions. As a final example of informal community support, rumors about the study were frequently quieted by the network of individuals who were from the three communities, and who wanted to assist the study's staff.

We should also note here two other features of our research design which facilitated cooperation with the research. One is that our youth respondents were paid $\$ 10$ for participating in the interview. Without this incentive, these interviews could not have been conducted. The second feature is anonymity. We promised anonymity not only to our youth respondents, but also to the specific programs and agencies we examined. Knowing that their programs would not be identified in the report enabled agency decisionmakers to participate in the study without fear of any embarrassing or uncomplimentary analysis.

SAMPIING
Our procedures for selecting the youth sample might be described as a combination of purposive and probability techniques. This was necessary because we were trying to achieve two goals. First, we wanted approximately equal numbers of respondents in the various categories of certain variables -COMMUNTY, PENETRAT, SEX, and RACE -- and stratified accordingly. Second, within the stratification constraints, we wanted the selection of respondents to be randam. To achieve these goals, we used a multi-stage procedure.

First, we selected the three communities. As discussed in Chapter 1 , the selection of communities was purposive, since we wanted communities with characteristics which corresponded well with Spergel's (1976) typology. We chose approximately 300 youths in each community.

Because one of our primary concerns in this project is the delivery of services to (officially) delinquent youth, we further stratified the sample on the basis of PENETRAT, penetration into the juvenile justice system. In each community, we wanted 100 youths each who had no recorded contact with the justice system, who had some recorded police contact (but were not referred to
court), and who had contact with the juvenile court (usually resulting in probation, or in a few cases, commitment to the Division of Youth Services). Finally, within each community and each level of PENETRAT, we stratified the youth sample on both race and sex, to equalize the four race-sex groupings.

Our sampling design and the degree to which our youth sample conforms to it are represented in Table 3. As this table indicates, there are considerable departures from our design in several cells. The major departures are attributable to the shortage of females with police or court contact, the shortage of black youths in East Boston and Allston/Brighton, and the shortage of white youths in Franklin Field/Mattapan.

Although we discuss the analysis later in this chapter, one comment about it is appropriate here. Despite our disproportionate sampling procedure, we have not weighted our sample for the analysis. There are three reasons for our decision to use the actual distributions rather than weighted estimates. First, in our own experience and that of others (e.g., Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis, 1981), the decision to apply a weighted or unweighted analysis usually has little effect on the coefficients obtained and none on the substantive interpretation. Second, for several of our stratification variables we are unable to determine what the corrective weights should be. For example, the subsample of youths without contact with the juvenile justice system was drawn from lists of Boston public school children. However, local resistance to court-ordered school integration has resulted in a considerable proliferation of predominantly-white private schools, and we do not have the necessary data for weighting these cases. Weighting factors for police and court contact (by race, sex, and community) are similarly elusive. Finally, our inability to fulfill our sampling design has the ironic result that our samples are more representative of the underlying populations than we had intended (e.g., few

Table 3. Youth Sampling Design and Results

| COMMUNITY | Basis of Stratification |  |  | Sample Size |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | PENETRAT | SEX | RACE | Intended | Achieved |
| East Boston | no contact | male | white | 25 | 66 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 8 |
|  |  | female | white | 25 | 89 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 8 |
|  | police contact | male | white | 25 | 48 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 2 |
|  |  | female | white | 25 | 7 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 0 |
|  | court contact | male | white | 25 | 49 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 1 |
|  |  | female | white | 25 | 8 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 0 |
| Allston/Brighton | no contact | male | white | 25 | 41 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 41 |
|  |  | female | white | 25 | 60 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 46 |
|  | police contact | male | white | 25 | 42 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 6 |
|  |  | female | white | 25 | 11 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 2 |
|  | court contact | male | white | 25 | 30 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 17 |
|  |  | female | white | 25 | 1 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 2 |
| Franklin Field/ Mattapan | no contact | male | white | 25 | 6 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 36 |
|  |  | female | white | 25 | 6 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 34 |
|  | police contact | male | white | 25 | 1 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 53 |
|  |  | female | white | 25 | 0 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 35 |
|  | court contact | male | white | 25 | 1 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 45 |
|  |  | female | white | 25 | 0 |
|  |  |  | nonwhite | 25 | 36 |

Table 3 , continued

## SUBTOTALS

Variable
Sample Size
Intended ..... Achieved
COMMUNTY
East Boston ..... 300 ..... 287
Allston/Brighton ..... 300 ..... 300
Franklin Field/Mattapan ..... 300 ..... 254
missing data ..... 0 ..... 2
PENETRAT
no contact ..... 300 ..... 441
police contact ..... 300 ..... 208
court contact ..... 300 ..... 190
missing data ..... 0 ..... 4
SEX
male ..... 450 ..... 495
female 450 ..... 345
missing data 0 ..... 3
RACE
white ..... 450 ..... 468
nonwhite ..... 450 ..... 373
missing data 0 ..... 2
TOTAL ..... 900 ..... 843

Note: Information on missing data is omitted from the first part of this table, but is included in the subtotals. For this reason, the achieved sample sizes in various categories do not sum to the subtotals or total.
females with court contact, few blacks in East Boston). For this reason, weighting the analysis would be very unlikely to affect our conclusions.

Sampling of agencies and staff was less problematic. We attempted to gather information about every community program providing services for youths. Within each program, we interviewed all staff (or, in large programs, ten randomly-selected staff members). We also interviewed one or two of the primary administrators for each program. It should be noted here that we were refused access to only one program.

## MEASURING RELEVANT CHARACTERISTICS

A general description of the variables used in the analyses for this project has been presented in the previous chapter, and is not repeated here. For those interested in a precise operationalization of these variables, this information is presented in Appendices A and B. Appendix A consists of the interview schedules used in the study, and relates variable names and numbers to specific questions in the interviews. Appendix $B$ presents the details about how variables were combined to form indices. Unless otherwise noted, the scoring of variables is in the direction which makes more sense intuitively. That is, high scores on SES indicate higher SES, high scores on GANGLIKE indicate that the peer group is more like a gang, and so on.

We gathered data on program characteristics by interviewing several staff members in each program. Since we are interested in characteristics of programs rather than characteristics of individual staff members, we have aggregated staff responses to the program level by taking the mean.

## ANALYZING THE DATA

Our plan for the analysis may be better understood if the reader first has an appreciation of the way our data were created. This is described below, and is represented schematically in Figure 3.

Our data-gathering required four different types of interviews, one of which had three subroutines. We conducted 843 Youth interviews. Each one solicited basic demographic and attitudinal data, and then branched into various subroutines. The first of these was a set of questions (adapted from Gold, 1970) pertaining to self-reported delinquency. Then the youth was asked to identify all of the programs in which he/she had participated in the last year. For up to three of these, the Contact interview subroutine was completed, yielding data on 1522 youth/program contacts. These are the data for our major set of dependent variables, youths' experiences in programs. Each youth was also asked to complete a brief Knowledge subroutine for up to three programs he/she knew about but had not participated in during the last year.

Following the youth intexview we attempted to interview one parent (usually the mother) of each youth, either by telephone or in person. We completed 650 such Family interviews (78\%), and later merged these data with those from the youth interviews.
. For each program, we conducted up to 10 Staff interviews and one or two Administrator interviews. In this fashion we interviewed a total of 420 staff from 54 different programs, and 53 administrators from 45 programs.

Having gathered all these data, the next step was to merge the original data sources in ways which would enable the analysis, as indicated in Figure 3. For example, to create a data file of youth characteristics, we had to merge the youth interview, the self-reported delinquency file, and the family interview file. To relate youth characteristics to youth experiences in programs, we also had to merge the program contact data with these. ${ }^{l}$

[^7]
## Figure 3. Data Sources and the Analysis Scheme.

$\qquad$

1. Youth Interview
a. Self-reported . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . YOUTH Delinquency
b. Program Contacts (up to 3 per youth)
c. Program Knowledge* (up to 3 per youth).
2. Family Interview
3. Staff Interview*

PROGRAM
CHARACTERTSTICS
4. Administrator

Interview*
*Note: These data are aggregated to the program level for analysis.

The variables which comprise the program characteristics had to be first aggregated by program and then merged. The result of this matching and merging of files was the creation of rich and complex data sets which made the remainder of the analysis possible.

When files are merged in this fashion, however, the missing data problem is compounded, as there become fewer and fewer cases for which complete information is available. ${ }^{2}$ We have conducted the analyses presented in the next chapter using only those cases without missing data. Since this number differs from one comparison to the next, we also report the $N$ on which the statistics are based. We have also deleted a few marginal variables from the analysis because of the frequency of missing data on those variables. ${ }^{3}$

Our analyses of the data are multivariate, and we use parametric statistical techniques which assume interval data. We feel that this is justified because some of our variables are legitimately interval, others are dichotomous, and still others have several categories (which minimizes the distortions in ordinal data). In any event, regression analysis (our primary technique) is robust with regard to violations of several assumptions (Achen, 1982).

To understand our strategy for the analysis, the reader may wish to refer to our theoretical model and research questions (Figure 2, p.22) and our list of variables (Table 2, p.24). For the first research question ("Do certain types of youths go to certain types of programs?"), we need to relate

[^8]16 youth characteristics to 31 program characteristics. The technique for this is canonical correlation. This technique gives us a useful way of reducing the data to a few major canonical factors, which is interpretively simpler than explaining a $16 \times 31$ matrix of zero-order correlations. Canonical correlation is similar to factor analysis, except that the goal is not to reduce a single set of variables to a few factors, but to reduce two sets of variables to several pairs of factors (one in each set) which are maximally related. We describe this technique more fully in the next chapter.

We examine the second and third research questions ("Which [program] [youth] characteristics are related to the experiences youths have in community programs?") using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression techniques. ${ }^{4}$

The fourth research question ("Do the answers to the above questions depend on the type of community in which the youth lives?") requires repeating the earlier analyses for each of three community subsets of the data. However, due to the small number of programs for which we have complete data, this control can be adequately applied only to the analysis of the effects of youth characteristics on youths' experiences (Question 3).

[^9]
## CHAPTER 4. YOUTHS AND THE PROGRAMS THEY ATTEND

The analysis in this report is guided by the research questions and the model developed earlier (Figure 2, p.22). Accordingly, this chapter discusses the relationships between youth characteristics and program characteristics, both for the total sample program characteristics and for each community. Subsequent chapters discuss the relationships between program characteristics and youths' experiences in programs, and between youth characteristics and youths' experiences in programs. A final section analyzes whether these effects differ by community.

For each part of the analysis, we present first the overall findings, then the findings broken down by school and non-school programs. Schools constitute approximately half of the programs in our study, and have certain common features which differentiate them from other kinds of programs. Specifically, they have both a common mission and a rather uniform structure, and require participation by youths (at least to age 16). Because schools are clearly distinguishable from other programs on characteristics such as these, it seems appropriate to separate them in the analysis.

## YOUTH CHARACTERISTICS AND PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS

Do certain types of youths go to certain types of programs? This is our first research question. The question does not imply a causal relationship, since neither youth nor program characteristics can properly be said to "cause" the other. Rather, we are interested in patterns of association between sets of youth characteristics and sets of program characteristics. The statistical technique for this part of the analysis is canonical correlation.

A canonical correlation analysis begins with two sets of variables, in this case a set of 15 "youth" variables and a set of 31 "program" variables.

The analysis then creates one new variable -- a canonical variable -- for each set, by a linear combination of the original variables:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \underline{Y}=a_{1} y_{1}+a_{2} y_{2}+\ldots+a_{15} y_{15} \text { and } \\
& \underline{p}=b_{1} p_{1}+b_{2} p_{2}+\ldots+b_{31} p_{31} \text { where }
\end{aligned}
$$

$y_{i}$ and $p_{i}$ are the original program and youth variables, $a_{i}$ and $b_{i}$ are regression coefficients, and $\underline{Y}$ and $P$ are canonical variables.

These two canonical variables are created in such a way as to maximize the correlation between them ( $x_{c}$, the canonical correlation).

Having done this, the analysis then creates a second pair of canonical variables which are maximally correlated to each other, under the constraint that they must be orthogonal (statistically uncorrelated) to the first canonical variable in each set, respectively. The analysis then creates a third pair of canonical variables which are orthogonal to each of the first two, and so on. At each step there is a test of the significance of the canonical correlation. ${ }^{1}$

In some respects, canonical correlation is similar to factor analysis. However, factor analysis seeks to maximize the explanatory power within a single set of variables, whereas canonical correlation seeks to maximize the explanatory power between two sets of variables. For more detail on the technique, see Levine (1977) or Pedhauser (1982).

For all programs combined, the results of our canonical correlation analysis are presented in Table 4. Because canonical correlation is not a widely-used technique in criminology, we will discuss this table in some detail.

[^10]The first page of Table 4 consists of the structure matrices. The coefficients in this matrix are the correlations between the original variables and the canonical variables, and are used for making substantive interpretations about the content of the canonical variables. For clarity of presentation, we have rounded to zero all coefficients whose absolute value is less than .25. Coefficients below .4 may also generally be ignored, although we have left them in the table. Our interpretations are based on the largest coefficient(s) for each canonical variable. In the first canonical youth variable, race is clearly the most important variable ( $x=.897$ ), although we might also note that these youths' families encourage participation in programs ( $r=.490$ ) and have relatively weak ties to the community $(x=-.425)$. In the corresponding canonical program variable, the dominant variable is the proportion of black staff in a program ( $r=.643$ ), although we might also note that program staff are likely to have specific job descriptions ( $r=.493$ ).

Now turn to the second page of Table 4. In response to the question, "Do certain types of youths go to certain types of programs?", our analysis so far lets us answer, "Yes. Nonwhite youths tend to attend programs with relatively more black staff." Thus, of all the youth and program characteristics we have measured, the race of the youth and the staff appear to be the most salient in determining which youth attend which programs. We suspect that this is an artifact of the commuities in which youth and programs are located, and will explore this later in the chapter. ${ }^{2}$

We also note from Table 4 that the correlation between the first canonical youth variable and the first canonical program variable is .769, which is highly significant. This does not complete our interpretation of the first

[^11]Table 4. Canonical Structure Matrices and Redundancy Analysis of Youth and Program Characteristics for All Programs Combined.

|  |  | STRUCTURE | MATRICES ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Youth |  | Canonical | Vaxiables |  |  |
| Character- |  |  |  |  |  |
| istics | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| DELINDRG | . 0 | . 322 | . 362 b | . 0 | $-.402{ }^{\text {b }}$ |
| PENETRAT | . 0 | . 0 b | $.636{ }^{\text {b }}$ | $-.582^{\text {b }}$ | . 299 |
| AGE | . 0 | $.884^{\text {b }}$ | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| SEX | .0 b | . 0 | . 0 | $.595{ }^{\text {b }}$ | $.563{ }^{\text {b }}$ |
| RACE | $.897^{\text {b }}$ | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| SES | . 0 | . 0 | -. 299 | -. 334 | . 0 |
| GANCLIKE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| COHESIVE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ATTACHMT | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| JOBASPIR | . 0 | . 0 | -. 254 | . 0 | . 306 |
| STRAIN | . 0 | . 0 | . 291 | . 289 | . 0 |
| PROGENCR | . 490 | . 0 | -. 322 | . 0 | . 0 |
| SERVUSED | . 351 | . 0 | . 272 | . 0 | . 0 |
| PAREVAL | . 0 | . 0 | -. 327 | . 0 | . 0 |
| FAMTIES | -. 425 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| Program |  |  |  |  |  |
| Character- |  |  |  |  |  |
| istics | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| STAFSIZE | -. 256 | $.384^{\text {b }}$ | . 0 | $.477{ }^{\text {b }}$ | . 0 |
| FTEMPL | -. 267 | $.376^{\circ}$ | .0 | . $452^{\circ}$ | . 0 |
| NUMSERVD | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 360 |
| ADMINTRS | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 232 |
| ADMINCOM | . 0 | . 0 | . 290 | -. 396 | . 0 |
| COMPLEX | . 0 | $.392{ }^{\text {b }}$ | . 0 | $.574^{\text {b }}$ | . 0 |
| SERVRANG | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| LATERAL | -. 307 | . 332 | . 282 | . 0 | . 0 |
| LONGITUD | . 311 | . 0 | -. 263 | . 0 | -. 265 |
| ACCAPPMT | . 396 | -. 320 | . 0 | -. 269 | -. 311 |
| ACCHOURS | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 388 | . 0 |
| ACCPLACE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| BOUNDARY | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | $-.488$ | . 0 |
| YTHPART | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| INCENTIV | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .0 b |
| LVLRULBK | . 0 | . 316 | . 0 | . 274 | -. 401 |
| STEXPEL | .0 b | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| BLKSTAFF | $.643^{\circ}$ | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| GREWUPIN | . 0 | . 335 | . 413 | . 0 | . 0 |
| KNOWAREA | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 363 |
| STFSIMIL | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 380 | . 0 |
| STFRESID | . 0 | . 0 | . 292 | -. 518 | . 0 |
| STAFFSES | . 382 | . 0 | -. 359 | -. 509 | . 0 |
| STAFFED | . 0 | . 0 | -. 546 | . 253 | . 0 |
| STAF'FAGE | -. 251 | . 0 | . 0 | . 472 | . 0 |
| STFYEARS | -. 343 | . 0 | . 0 | . 397 | . 0 |
| JOBCODIF | . 0 | . 0 | -. 310 | -. 379 | . 0 |
| RULCODIF | . 0 | -. 261 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| RULEMAN | -. 284 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| JOBDESCR | . 493 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |


| Canonical <br> Variable | Interpretation ${ }^{\text {b }}$ | ```Canonical Corre- lation``` | Significance | $\begin{aligned} & Y \rightarrow P \\ & \text { Redun- } \\ & \text { dancy } \end{aligned}$ | $\underline{P} \rightarrow Y$ <br> Redun- <br> dancy |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Nonwhite youth attend programs with many black staff. | . 769 | . 0001 | . 035 | . 059 |
| 2 | Older youth attend programs with large staffs and a wide range of staff specializations. | . 604 | . 0001 | . 017 | . 023 |
| 3 | Official delinquents attend programs with staff who have low education and who grew up in similar areas. | . 464 | . 0001 | . 010 | . 017 |
| 4 | Females and official nondelinquents attend large, diverse programs with lowSES staff who do not live in the community. | . 434 | . 0001 | . 019 | . 012 |
| 5 | Females and self-reported nondelinquents attend programs with little rulebreaking. | . 407 | . 0112 | . 006 | . 009 |
| TOTAL |  |  |  | . 086 | . 120 |
| $N=381$ youths attending 30 programs |  |  |  |  |  |
| $a_{\text {As }}$ an aid to interpretation, coefficients between -.25 and .25 in the structure matrices have been rounded to zero. |  |  |  |  |  |
| b Interpretation is based on the variable(s) with the highest correlation (s) with each canonical variable. |  |  |  |  |  |
| CThis is the correlation between the canonical variable of the first set (youth) and the canonical variable of the second set (program). |  |  |  |  |  |
| d This is the significance of the F-test approximation (Rao, 1973) that each canonical correlation and all smaller ones are zero in the population. The table presents all canonical variables which are significant at the .05 level or better. |  |  |  |  |  |
| ${ }^{\text {e }}$ This is the proportion of variance in the program variables which is explained by the canonical youth variables. |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\mathrm{F}_{\text {This }}$ is the proportion of variance in the youth variables which is explained by the canonical program variables. |  |  |  |  |  |

pair of canonical variables, however.
If we know the characteristics of youths, how well can we predict the characteristics of the programs they attend (or vice-versa)? This question is answered by the redundancy statistics in Table 4. Redundancy is an asymetric measure of predictability, comparable to $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ in a regression framework. Its value varies between zero and one, and is determined jointly by (a) the canonical correlation and (b) how well the canonical variable of the dependent set represents the original variables in that set.

In Table 4, we see that knowledge of the first canonical youth variable explains only $3.5 \%$ of the variance in the set of program variables; moreover, knowledge of all five canonical youth variables explains only $8.6 \%$ of the variance in the set of program variables. ${ }^{3}$ similarly, knowledge of the first canonical program variable explains only $5.9 \%$ of the variance in the set of youth characteristics, and knowledge of all five canonical program variables explains only $12 \%$ of the variance in the set of youth variables.

The second pair of canonical variables reveals a relationship between older youths and programs with large, diverse staffs. Note, however, that the structure coefficients for these program variables are quite low, and that the redundancy in this relationship is only about $2 \%$ in either direction (.017 and .023).

Penetration into the juvenile justice system is the major feature of the third canonical youth variable. This is related to staff who grew up in similar communities and who have relatively less formal education. The redundancy of this relationship is low.

The fourth canonical youth variable is females and official nondelinquents. This is associated with programs with large, diverse staffs who do not live in the community and who have relatively lower social class backgrounds.

[^12]The fifth canonical correlation relates females and self-reported nondelinquents to programs with little rulebreaking, although the relationship is very slight $\left(x_{c}=.407\right.$, redundancy less than 18).

Having studied Table 4 in some detail, we should now consider its major implications. Briefly stated, Table 4 reveals some relations between the race, age, sex and delinquency of youth and various program characteristics, but that these relationships do not enable us to predict youth characteristics from program characteristics, or vice versa, since the total redundancy is only $12 \%$ for the youth variables and $8.6 \%$ for the program variables.

## SCHOOLS VERSUS OTHER PROGRAMS

We noted earlier that there are some systematic differences between schools and other progreins. It is therefore possible that some relationships between youths and the programs they attend are conditional on the type of program. In Tables 5 and 6 we present the findings for schools and other programs separately.

Table 5 describes the relationship between characteristics of youths and characteristics of the schools they attend. Note first that there are only two significant pairs of canonical variables, rather than the five found for the combined sample. The first canonical youth variable is essentially a racial variable. This is strongly related $\left(r_{c}=.802\right)$ to a complex general set of school characteristics which defy simple characterization. Broadly speaking, however, these schools seem to be small, relatively informal (no rule manual), and staffed by people who are readily accessable to students.

The second canonical variable relates older youths to schools with a higher level of rulebreaking. This appears to be a distinction between midale schools and high schools.

The redundancy coefficients in Table 5 are interesting. As with the full sample (Table 4), school (program) characteristics do not enable us to predict

Table 5. Canonical Structure Matrices and Redundancy Analysis of Youth and Program Characteristics for Schools.


youth characteristics very well ( $r d_{Y}=.094$ ). However, if we know youth characteristics, we can predict school characteristics much better than we could predict program characteristics for the cambined sample $\left(r d_{P}=.259\right.$ versus .086).

The comparable data for programs other than schools are summarized in Table 6. Here we find three pairs of significant canonical variables, which are fairly easy to interpret. White youths attend programs with few black staff. Females attend programs which serve few youths and in which the staff (who are often seen by appointment) do not know the community well. Selfreported nondelinquents attend programs with higher-SES staff who are seen primarily at the program site. These relationships, however, improve the predictability of sets of variables only slightly, when compared to the redundancy coefficients from Table $4\left(r d_{Y}=.126\right.$ versus $.120 ; r d_{P}=.139$ versus .086) .

All in all, we find in the structure of the relationship between youth and the programs they attend, some differences between schools and other programs (compare Tables 5 and 6). In schools, the race of youths is associated with a complex cluster of school variables; in other programs, the race of the youth is associated primarily with the race of the staff. In schools, the age of the youth is related to the level of rulebreaking in the school; in other programs neither of these variables is particularly important. (Note that schools, unlike most other programs, are stratified by age groupings.) Finally, in programs other than schools, the sex of the youths is related to the number of youths served by the program, and the delinquency of the youths is related to the likelihood of seeing staff elsewhere than the program site; neither of these relationships is found for schools.

COMMUNITY CONTEXT
In this section we examine the relationship between youths and the

Table 6. Canonical Structure Matrices and Redundancy Analysis of Youth and Program Characteristics for Programs Other than Schools.


| Table 6, <br> Canonical <br> Variable | continued <br> Interpretation | $\begin{gathered} \text { Canonical } \\ \text { Corre- } \\ \text { lation } \end{gathered}$ | Signifi- cance | $\begin{aligned} & Y \rightarrow P \\ & \text { Redun- } \\ & \text { dancy } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{\mathrm{P}}{\mathrm{Redun}} \mathrm{Y} \\ & \text { dancy } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | White youth attend programs with few black staff. | . 800 | . 0001 | . 045 | . 061 |
| 2 | Females attend programs which serve few youths, where the staff axe seen by appointment and do not know the community well. | . 701 | . 0004 | . 040 | . 037 |
| 3 | Self-reported nondelinquents attend programs which restrict delivery of services to the office and have staff with highSES backgrounds. | . 619 | . 0414 | . 054 | . 028 |
| TOTAL |  |  |  | . 139 | . 126 |

[^13]programs they attend within each of the three communities. There are two reasons for doing this. First, one of our research questions is whether effects differ by community. Second, we suspect that the apparent matching of youth ard program staff by race may be attributable to a community effect (see note 2 ).

In each of the three communities, only a single canonical correlation is significant, so we are able to present the data for all three communities in Table 7.

Table 7 supports our earlier speculation that the association between the race of the youth and the race of the staff is actually a community effect rather than a direct racial matching. In none of the three communities is race an important youth variable, and the race of program staff is important only in East Boston (where older youths attend programs with fewer black staff).

If we examine the structure matrices in Table 7 more closely, we find that there are no consistent effects at all. Although age appears to be the most important youth characteristic, this turns out to be a consequence of the age-group stratification between middle schools and high schools. 4 Turning to the program characteristics, we find that there is no variable which is important in all three communities. Two variables (ADMINTRS and RULCODIF) are related to age in each of two communities, but the direction of that relationship differs by community. ${ }^{5}$

[^14]Table 7. Canonical Structure Matrices and Redundancy Analysis of Youth and Program Characteristics, by Community.

| StRUCTURE MATRICES ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Community |  |  |  |
| Youth |  |  |  |
| Character- | East | Allston/ | Franklin Field/ |
| istics | Boston | Brighton | Mattapan |
| DELINDRG | . 0 | -. 346 | . 559 |
| PENETRAT | . 0 | . 0 | . $556{ }_{\text {b }}$ |
| AGE | . $968{ }^{\text {b }}$ | $-.727^{6}$ | . $829{ }^{\text {b }}$ |
| SEX | . 0 | -. 256 | . 0 |
| RACE | . 0 | . 370 | . 449 |
| SES | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| GANGLIKE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| COHESIVE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ATtACHMT | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| Jobaspir | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| STRAIN | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| PROGENCR | . 0 | . 0 | -. 254 |
| SERVUSED | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| PAREVAL | . 0 | . 0 | -. 307 |
| FAMTIES | . 0 | -. 319 | . 0 |
| program Characteristics |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| StAFSIZE | . 401 | -. $661{ }^{\text {b }}$ | . 0 |
| FTEMPL | . 405 | -. $638{ }^{\text {b }}$ | . 0 |
| NUMSERVD | . 268 | -. 343 b | . 0 b |
| ADMINTRS | -. 331 | $-.736{ }^{\text {b }}$ | $-.676^{\text {b }}$ |
| ADMINCOM | . 0 | . 0 | . 411 |
| COMPLEX | . 372 | -. 536 | -. 271 |
| SERVRANG | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| Lateral | . 435 | $-.670^{\text {b }}$ | . 383 |
| LONGITUD | . 0 | . 457 | -. 581 |
| ACCAPPMT | . 0 | . 621 | -. 298 |
| ACCHOURS | . 0 | . 0 | . 342 |
| ACCPLACE | . 0 | . 0 | $-.639{ }^{\text {b }}$ |
| BOUNDARY | . 0 | . 358 | . 484 |
| YTHPART | . 0 | . 0 | . 273 |
| INCENTIV | . 0 | . 0 | -. 474 |
| LVLRULibk | . 388 | -. 366 | . 0 |
| STEXPEL | . 0 | -. 502 | . 0 |
| BLKStaff | $-.570^{\text {b }}$ | . 0 |  |
| GREWUPIN | . 0 | -. 410 | . $609{ }^{\text {b }}$ |
| KNOWAREA | . 266 | . 424 | . 579 b |
| STFSIMIL | . 0 | . 0 | $-.762^{\text {b }}$ |
| Stpresid | . 0 | . 0 | . 543 |
| STAFFSES | . 0 | . 385 | . 0 |
| Staffed | . 0 | -. 515 b | -. 568 |
| Staffage | . 0 | -. 623 b | -. 264 |
| STFYEARS | . 0 | -. $635^{\text {b }}$ | . 330 |
| Jobcodif | . $282{ }_{\text {b }}$ | . 401 | . 0 |
| RULCODIF | . $558{ }^{\text {b }}$ | . 484 | -. $959{ }^{\text {b }}$ |
| RULEMAN | . 313 | . 0 | . 738 |
| Jobdescr | . 0 | . 0 | . $689{ }^{\text {b }}$ |
| torbeter | mo |  | $10 \sim$ |

Table 7, continued

| Community | Interpretation ${ }^{\text {b }}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Canonical } \\ \text { Corre- } \\ \text { lation } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Signifí- } \\ & \text { cance } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \underline{Y} \rightarrow P \\ & \text { Redun- } \\ & \text { dancy } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \underline{P} \rightarrow Y \\ & \text { Redun } \\ & \text { dancy } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| East <br> Boston | Older youths attend programs with few black staff and with formal rules for staff. | . 589 | . 0117 | . 027 | . 026 |
| Allston/ <br> Brighton | Younger youths attend small programs with a narrow range of services and a young staff. | .679 | . 0001 | . 083 | . 033 |
| Franklin <br> Field/ <br> Mattapan | Older youths attend programs with few administrators, where contacts are limited to the program site, with staff who grew up in a similar area but do not consider themselves similar to program participants, and with little staff rule codification despite the existence of a formal rule manual and job description. | . 794 | .0001 | . 136 | . 070 |

$\mathrm{N}=163$ youths attending 15 programs in East Boston, 142 youths attending 8 programs in Allston/Brighton, and 76 youths attending 7 programs in Franklin Field/Mattapan
$a_{\text {As }}$ an aid to interpretation, coefficients between -.25 and .25 in the structure matrices have been rounded to zero.
$b_{\text {Interpretation }}$ is based on the variable(s) with the highest correlation (s) with each canonical variable.
${ }^{C}$ This is the correlation between the canonical variable of the first set (youth) and the canonical variable of the second set (program).
$d_{\text {This }}$ is the significance of the F-test approximation (Rao, 1973) that each canonical correlation and all smaller ones are zero in the population. The table presents all canonical variables which are significant at the . 05 level or better.
${ }^{e}$ This is the proportion of variance in the program variables which is explained by the canonical youth variables.
$\mathrm{f}_{\mathrm{Th}}$
This is the proportion of variance in the youth variables which is explained by the canonical program variables.

## SUMMARY

We can now answer our first research question. Is there a relationship between characteristics of youths and characteristics of the programs they attend? Yes, but the effects are small, inconsistent, and not particularly useful for delinquency program planning. Nevertheless, a series of short summary statements about the major conclusions to be drawn from Tables 4-7 may be useful.

1. An apparent racial matching of youth and program staff disappeared when we controlled for community. This indicates simply that youths attend programs within their own community, and that two of the three communities are racially homogenous (one predominantly white, one predominantly black). It should be noted that we did not find matching of youth and staff by race in Allston/Brighton, our most racially mixed community.
2. In schools, but not in other programs, we found a relationship between the age of the youth and the level of rulebreaking in the program. We think this simply indicates that high schools have more disorder than middle schools. This could be because high schools are larger, because older adolescents break more rules, or both.
3. There was no consistency in the relationships between youths and programs across the three communities. This severely limits our ability to make generalizable statements about effects.
4. The extent of youths' contact with the juvenile justice system (PENETRAT) is not importantly related to program characteristics, once type of program or community is controlled. 6
5. In programs other than schools, there is a small relationship between self-reported delinquency/drug use/ peer delinquency (DELINDRG) and programs which are more accessable (in terms of place) and have relatively lower-SES staff. This is not a major relationship, however (it explains $5 \%$ of the variance in the set of program characteristics), nor is it stable across communities.

[^15]6. The magnitude of the effects described above is quite small. ${ }^{7}$
7. The effects described above are suggestive rather than conclusive. We should emphasize that we have not disproved the existence of important youth-program relationships; we have simply failed to find them. In large part, this may be due to the small number of programs for which we have complete data. This severely limits our ability to properly elaborate the model (e.g., to control for community and program type at the same time), and makes our findings unreliable, in the statistical sense. ${ }^{8}$ That is, we are not confident that an equivalent study would replicate our findings.

Having addressed the first research question, we now turn to the second: Do characteristics of programs predict the kinds of experiences youths have in those programs? This issue is discussed in the following chapter.

[^16]
## CHAPTER 5. PROGRAMS AND YOUTHS' EXPERIENCES

In this chapter and the next we treat the experiences which youths have in programs as dependent variables, and assess how well we can predict these experiences based on our knowledge of program characteristics (this chapter) or youth characteristics (Chapter 6). Our analytical technique for this is stepwise multiple regression.

Although we have an ample number of cases ( $\mathrm{N}>750$ ), we must remember that these represent youths' experiences in only about 30 different programs. Our data can therefore only be suggestive of underlying relationships. For this reason, we pay rather little attention to the specific coefficients of the regression parameters, but instead try to identify consistent and inconsistent patterns of effects in the data. In the tables, we present the standardized Beta coefficients for all effects which are significant at the .lo level; the stepwise procedure is stopped at that point, and all other effects are rounded to zero.

In this chapter and the next, we are interested in nine aspects of youths' experiences in programs: three aspects of participation (ATTENDNC, WANTTOGO, EXPELIED), three aspects of the social environment (SCLIMATE, ROIEREL, DISORDLY), perceived stigma (SELFSTIG), the perception that the youth is like other participants in the program (SIMILAR), and referrals to other programs or resources (IINKAGE).

FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE
Programs are presumably of little benefit to youths who attend them very infrequently. It is therefore of interest to determine whether variation in the frequency of attendance is predicted by variation in characteristics of programs. These data are presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Beta Coefficients for Yrogram Characteristics Predicting ATIENDNC.

| Program Characteristics | Total <br> Sample | Type of Program |  | Community |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | East <br> Boston | Allston/ <br> Brighton | Franklin Field/ Mattapan |
| STAFSIZE | -1.06* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| FTEMPL | 1.26** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ADMINTRS | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 75*** | . 0 |
| ADMINCOM | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | $-.10$ | . 0 | . 0 |
| COMPLEX | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .15* | 1.06*** | . 0 |
| LONGITUD | . 0 | -. 39 *** | . 0 | -.27*** | . 0 | . 0 |
| ACCPLACE | .21*** | . 0 | .44*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| BOUNDARY | -.33*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| YTHPART | .22*** | . 14 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .41* |
| INCENTIV | -.22*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| LVIRULBK | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .51*** | .21** | . 0 |
| STEXPEL | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 39*** | . 0 | . 0 |
| BLKSTAFF | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 42 *** | . 0 | . 0 |
| GREWUPIN | .13* | -.37*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| STFSIMIL | . 0 | . 0 | .29*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| STFRESID | -.26*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| STAFFED | . 0 | . 0 | . 01 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| STAFEAGE | -. 22* | . 0 | -. 15** | . 0 | . 0 | .91*** |
| STFYEARS | .14* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| JOBCODIF | . 23 *** | . 0 | .27*** | .20*** | . 0 | . 0 |
| JOBDESCR | -.08* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 15 |
| (N) | (777) | (534) | (336) | (330) | (283) | (153) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 273 | . 064 | . 172 | . 265 | . 338 | . 239 |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the . 10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero.

[^17]For the total sample, we find a large number of moderate-size coefficients ${ }^{1}$ which, taken together, account for $27 \%$ of the variance. We need to elaborate the analysis, however, to see whether some of this predictability is actually attributable to differences between types of programs or differences by community.

Controlling for type of program, we can examine the predictability of attendance for schools and for other programs. For schools, only a trivial amount (6\%) of the variance in frequency of attendance is explained by characteristics of the schools themselves, so we will not consider this further.

For programs other than schools, a few variables account for $17 \%$ of the variance in ATTENDNC. While not trivial, this is considerably smaller than the $R^{2}$ value for the full sample (.273); this indicates that much of the variance for the total sample is accounted for by the differences between schools and other programs. The non-school programs attended most frequently are those which have a young, accessable staff of people who consider themselves similar to the program participants. The staff also have jobs which are clearly defined.

When we control for community, the $R^{2}$ values remain substantial, but we must interpret these data cautiously. Because the number of programs here (30) is too small to subdivide further, within each comannity the sample includes both schools and other programs. For this reason we think it would be unwise to try to interpret the observed differences in effects between communities. Rather, we attend to the similarities in effects across communities as having heuristic value.

[^18]In Table 8 , we find two somewhat consistent effects by community. In both East Boston and Allston/Brighton, more frequent attendance is found for programs which are more complex ${ }^{2}$ (i.e., which have a large diversity of staff roles) and which have a higher level of rulebreaking. Apparently, in these two communities more diverse programs attract both more frequent attendance and a higher level of rulebreaking than more narrowly-focused programs. This does not appear to be the case in Franklin Field/Mattapan, however.

## DESIRE TO ATTEND

The ability of program variables to predict youths' desire to continue attending the program (WANTrOGO) is indicated in Table 9. For the total sample, only four of the 31 program variables predict wANTTOGO, and together they explain only five percent of the variance $\left(R^{2}=.050\right)$. We consider this a trivial amount of explained variance.

It is possible, of course, that this observation is confounded by contradictory effects for different subgroups. For example, the proportion of black staff in a program (BLKSTAFF) might have a strong positive effect on WANTIOGO in Franklin Field/Mattapan, a strong negative effect in East Boston, and no net effect when the three communities are combined.

We can examine the data for such interactions by repeating the regressions separately for subgroups by community or program type. When this is done (Table 9, columns 2-6), we find no such interactions, as the amount of explained variance remains trivial for each of the subgroups as well as for the total.

Substantively, this simply means that our program variables are poor predictors of youths' desires to continue attending the programs they currently attend.

[^19]Table 9. Beta Coefficients for Program Characteristics Predicting WANTTOGO

| Program Characteristics | Total Sample | Type of Program |  | Community |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | East <br> Boston | Allston/ Brighton | Franklin <br> Field/ <br> Mattapan |
|  |  | School | Other |  |  |  |
| NUMSERVD | .177*** | . 0 | . 138 | .261* | . 0 | . 0 |
| COMPLEX | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 131 | . 0 | . 0 |
| LAtERAL | . 0 | .216*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| LONGITUD | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 265 |
| YTHPART | . 0 | . 0 | . 135 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| STEXPEL | -.106* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| BLKStafe | -.138*** | . 0 | -.284*** | . 6 | . 0 | . 0 |
| Staffage | .075* | . 0 | . 143 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| JOBCODIF | . 0 | . 052 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| JOBSPEC | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | :147* | . 0 |
| (N) | (734) | (486) | (248) | (304) | (281) | (151) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 050 | . 051 | . 077 | . 029 | . 022 | . 071 |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the .10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero.

```
    * p < . 05
    ** p < . Ol
    *** p < .col
```


## FREQUENCY OF EXPULSION

Taly 10 presents the data relating program variables to EXPELIED, the rate of expulsion. Note that for both the total sample and for each subsample, the amount of variance explained is less than $10 \%$. In general, the rate of expulsion is low, and it is not predicted by the program characteristics we have measured.

SOCIAL CLIMATE

Before considering Table 11, a reminder about our dependent variable, SCLIMATE, is in order. Recall that we had initially planned to use each of Moos's (1975) nine subscales as separate indicators of aspects of social climate. However, neither our factor analyses (data not shown) nor those of Wright and Bondouris (1982) replicated Moos's subscales. Our measure of social climate, then, is simply an additive combination of six of the Moos subscales which repeatedly clustered together: involvement, support, autonomy, practical orientation, order and organization, and clarity. Thus, SCLIMATE represents a rather confusing cluster of underlying dimensions.

In Table ll, SCLIMATE is not well predicted by the program variables, but the explained variance is more than trivial, at least for some subgroups.

Controlling for the type of program reveals an interesting interaction. Although program characteristics do not predict SCLIMATE for schools ( $\mathrm{R}^{2}=.027$ ), they do for other programs $\left(\mathrm{R}^{2}=.138\right)$. Controlling for community, we find slightly better predictability in East Boston and Allston/Brighton than we do in Franklin Field/Mattapan.

If we examine the regression across subgroups (i.e., comparing columns 2-6 in Table 11), we find no consistent effects predicting SCLIMATE. Only two variables (FTEMPL and STAFFSES) enter the prediction equation for SCLIMATE for more than one subgroup, and in those instances the direction of the effect differs. For example, having a staff with a higher social class background

Table 10. Beta Coefficients for Program Characteristics Predicting EXPELLED.

| Program Characteristics | Total <br> Sample | Type of Program |  | Community |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | Franklin |
|  |  | School | Other | Boston | Brighton | Mattapan |
| NUMSERVD | -.098* | . 0 | -.130* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| LONGITUD | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.118* | . 0 |
| ACCAPPMT | . 0 | . 0 | . 102 | .147* | . 0 | . 0 |
| ACCPLACE | . 0 | .134** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| BOUNDARY | -. 072 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| KNOWAREA | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.257** |
| Staffed | .136** | . 0 | . 0 | .224** | . 0 | . 0 |
| (N) | (734) | (486) | (248) | (304) | (281) | (151) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 032 | . 018 | . 024 | . 033 | . 014 | . 066 |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the . 10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero.

```
    * p < .05
    ** p < .Ol
*** p < .001
```

Table 11. Beta Coefficients for Program Characteristics Predicing SCLIMATE.

| Program Characteristics | Total <br> Sample | Type of Program |  | Community |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | Al1ston/ | Franklin |
|  |  | School | Other | Boston | Brighton | Mattapan |
| FTEMPL | . 0 | . 0 | -.336*** | . 0 | . 0 | .179* |
| NUMSE RVD | . 0 | . 0 | . 264 ** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ADMINCOM | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .174** | . 0 | . 0 |
| SERVRANG | .100* | . 0 | .183* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ACCHOURS | . 0 | . 0 | -.411** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| BOUNDARY | .111* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| INCENTIV | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .167** | . 0 |
| LVLRULBK | -. 185*** | . 0 | . 0 | -. 149* | . 0 | . 0 |
| STEXPEL | . 0 | -. 081 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| BLKSTAFF | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 174 ** | . 0 | . 0 |
| GREWUPIN | . 0 | . 0 | .271** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| KNOWAREA | . 079 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 157 |
| STAFFSES | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -317*** | -.276** |
| STAFFAGE | . 0 | . 0 | . $547 * * *$ | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| RULEMAN | . 0 | -0 | . 160 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| JOBSPEC | .083* | . 162 *** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| (N) | (734) | (486) | (248) | (304) | (281) | (151) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 088 | . 027 | . 138 | . 112 | . 122 | . 090 |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables signifcant at the . 10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero.

$$
\begin{aligned}
* \mathrm{p} & < \\
* * \mathrm{p} & <.05 \\
* * * \mathrm{p} & <.01 \\
& .001
\end{aligned}
$$

predicts a positive social climate in Allston/Brighton, but a negative social climate in Franklin Field/Mattapan.

There are three possible explanations for this inconsistency of effects. First, the data may be unreliable; given the small number of programs being analyzed (30), this is a serious threat (Nunnally, 1978). Second, the dependent variable (SCLIMATE) may be so heterogenous that different variables are related to different parts of it. Third, the inconsistent effects may indicate true differences by community and type of program. Unfortunately, our data do not allow us to choose among these competing explanations. Given the paucity of explained variance and the threats to validity described above, we believe it would be injudicious to attempt substantive intexpretation of these effects.

## ROLE RELATIONSHIPS WITH STAFF

As Table 12 indicates, only trivial amounts of variance in ROIEREL are explained by program variables. Thus, the nature of youths' relationship with staff is not predicted by differences in program characteristics.

PROGRAM DISORDER
One potentially important feature of youths' experiences in programs is the level of disorder in the program. If rules are frequently broken and youths are often expelled, then the program would not be providing a reinforcing model for appropriate behavior. Table 13 indicates that our measure of this, DISORDLY, is reasonably well predicted by program variables, both for the total sample and for some subsamples.

When we control for the type of program, we find that program variables are poor predictors of DISORDLY for schools, but are good predictors for other programs. For programs other than schools, the best predictor of DISORDLY is BLKSTAFF. Thus, non-school programs with many black staff are likely to have higher levels of disorder than other non-school programs.

Table 12. Beta Coefficients for Program Characteristics Predicting ROLEREL.

| Program Characteristics | Total Sample | Type of Program |  | Community |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | East Roston | Allston/ Brighton | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Franklin } \\ & \text { Field/ } \\ & \text { Mattapan } \end{aligned}$ |
|  |  | School | Other |  |  |  |
| ADMINCOM | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 036 | . 0 | . 0 |
| SERVRANG | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 018 | . 0 | . 0 |
| LONGITUD | -. 094 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ACCAPPMT | . 053 | . 0 | .136* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ACCHOURS | . 061 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| Incentiv | . 0 | . 0 | -.143* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| STFSIMIL | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 139 | . 0 | . 0 |
| StAFFSES | .223*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 110 |
| Staffage | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.215*** | . 0 |
| JOBCODIF | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 090 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ruleman | . 070 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| Jobdescr | -. 066 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| (N) | (734) | (485) | (248) | (304) | (281) | (151) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 039 | --- | . 047 | . 036 | . 046 | . 012 |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the . 10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero.

* $\mathrm{p}<.05$
** p < . 01
*** p < . 001

Table 13. Beta Coefficients for Program Characteristics Predicting DISORDLY.

| Program Characteristics | Total Sample | Type of Program |  | Community |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | East <br> Boston | Allston/ <br> Brighton | Franklin Field/ Mattapan |
|  |  | School | Other |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| FTEMPL | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 166 | . 0 | . 0 |
| NUMSERVD | -.181*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ADMINTRS | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 093 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ADMINCOM | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 067 | . 0 |
| COMPLEX | .117* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .452*** | . 0 |
| IATERAL | .108* | . 0 | .157* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ACCAPPMT | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .185* |
| Incentiv | . 077 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| LVLRULBK | .200*** | . 0 | . 0 | .244*** | . 0 | . 0 |
| BLKSTAFF | .249*** | . 0 | .532*** | .214*** | . 0 | . 0 |
| KNOWAREA | . 0 | -. 068 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| STAFFED | .164*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| StFYEARS | .194*** | . 0 | .135* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| RULCODIF | . 0 | . 0 | . 074 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| JOBDESCR | . 0 | .164*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| JOBSPEC | .177*** | .304*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| (N) | (734) | (486) | (248) | (304) | (281) | (151) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 281 | . 084 | . 321 | . 231 | . 225 | . 034 |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the . 10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero.

$$
\begin{array}{rl}
* & \mathrm{p} \\
* * & <.05 \\
* * & \mathrm{p}
\end{array}<.01
$$

However, it is possible that this apparent effect of BLKSTAFF on DISORDLY is an artifact of community, since most programs with many black staff are located in Franklin Field/Mattapan. ${ }^{3}$ As a partial check, we control for community.

Doing so, we find that DISORDLY is reasonably well predicted only in East Boston and Allston/Brighton, and there by different variables. In East Boston, program disorder is predicted by the proportion of black staff and the level of rulebreaking reported by staff, ${ }^{4}$ while in Allston/Brighton the major predictor is the complexity of the program.

STIGMA

A youth's perception of stigma as a result of program participation is obviously relevant for delinquency research. It is therefore disappointing that, in most instances, program characteristics are such poor predictors of stigma (see Table 14). Only for programs other than schools, and only in East Boston, ${ }^{5}$ do we find more than trivial amounts of explained variance for SELFSTIG. In both cases, the best predictor of stigma is the frequency of staff's resorting to expulsion as a means of social control. That is,

In non-school programs, the proportion of black staff is $1.2 \%$ in East Boston, 0.1\% in Allston/Brighton, and $94.2 \%$ in Franklin Field/Mattapan. For schools, the proportions are more evenly distributed: $11.4 \%, 21.8 \%$, and $21.9 \%$ respectively.

4
Note the logical redundancy here. LVLRULBK is the average staff perception of the level of rulebreaking in a program, while DISORDLY is (in part), the youths' perceptions of the level of rulebreaking in a program. It is surprising that LVLRULBK is not a more consistent predictor, and that STEXPEL is not a predictor at all (by similar logic). Apparently youths' and staffs' perceptions on these matters are quite different.

5
There is some confounding of the data by type of program and community. In East Boston we have 3 schools and 12 other programs. In Allston/Brighton we have 2 schools and 6 other programs. In Franklin Field/Mattapan we have 4 schools and 3 other programs. Thus, the highest concentration of "other" programs is in East Boston.

Table 14. Beta Coefficients for Program Characteristics Predicting SELFSTIG.

| Program Characteristics | Total <br> Sample | Type of Program |  | Community |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | East <br> Boston | Allston/ Brighton | Franklin Field/ Mattapan |
| COMPLEX | . 0 | .115* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| LATERAL | -.087* | -.161*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 1.53 |
| ACCAPPMT | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | $-.145$ | . 0 | . 0 |
| ACCHOURS | . 0 | . 0 | -. $163^{*}$ | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| STEXPEL | .230*** | . 0 | . 385 *** | .628*** | . 0 | . 0 |
| BLKSTAFF | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 356 *** | . 0 | . 0 |
| GREWUPIN | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .203*** | . 0 |
| STFSIMIL | . 0 | . 0 | -. 086 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| STERESID | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 149* | . 0 | . 0 |
| STAFFED | -.094* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| JOBCODIF | . 0 | . 0 | -.285*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| RULCODIF | -.117** | . 0 | . 0 | -. 405 *** | . 0 | . 0 |
| JOBDESCR | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .285*** | . 0 | . 0 |
| (N) | (734) | (486) | (248) | (304) | (281) | (151) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 046 | . 027 | . 121 | . 128 | . 041 | . 023 |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the .10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero.

| $* \mathrm{p}$ | $<.05$ |
| ---: | :--- |
| $* * \mathrm{p}$ | $<.01$ |
| $* * * \mathrm{p}$ | $<.001$ |

programs from which youth are often expelled are seen as stigmatizing by other youths. It is interesting to note that youths do not perceive stigmatizing programs as more disorderly than other programs ( $x=.01, n . s$. . . SIMILARITY TO OTHER PARTICIPANTS

The extent to which a youth feels an affinity to the other participants in a program might be important to the program's ability to provide services to that youth. However, this feeling (SIMILAR) is not predicted by our set of program characteristics, as Table 15 indicates. Both for the total sample and for each subsample, program characteristics explain only trivial amounts of the variance in SIMILAR.

## LINKAGE TO OTHER PROGRAMS

Youths were asked whether program staff had ever helped them to get a job, get into a school or do better in school, or provided other assistance, such as getting into some other program. This LINKAGE is particularly important, since few programs are likely to be able to provide all necessary services to youth.

In Table 16, we see that IINKAGE is somewhat predictable from program characteristics, although not in a consistent fashion. For schools, we find that those with large numbers of students and a wide range of services are more likely to provide LINKAGE. For other programs, lower SES backgrounds for staff and higher degrees of job specificity predict IINKAGE.

Controlling for community, we again find erratic predictors and only modest predictability (except in Franklin Field/Mattapan, where predictability is somewhat better). In East Boston, job specificity predicts LINKAGE; in Allston/Brighton, program complexity predicts it; and in Franklin/Mattapan IINKAGE is negatively predicted by the length of service provision (LONGITUD) and positively predicted by the extent of staff rule codification. This erratic patterning of effects, coupled with the modest amounts of variance

Table 15. Beta Coefficients for Program Characteristics Predicting SIMILAR.

| Program Characteristics | Total <br> Sample | Type of Program |  | Community |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | East <br> Boston | Allston/ <br> Brighton | Franklin Field/ Mattspan |
| STAFSIZE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 529 *** | . 0 | . 0 |
| NUMSERVD | .164*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| COMPLEX | . 0 | . 075 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| BOUNDARY | -. 070 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| LVLRULBK | -. 123* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| STEXPEL | -.150** | . 0 | -. 275 | -. 297 *** | . 0 | . 0 |
| BLKSTAFF | -.096* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| RULCODIF | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.309** | . 0 | . 0 |
| JOBDESCR | -.121** | -. 276 *** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| (N) | (734) | (486) | (248) | (304) | (281) | (151) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 080 | . 071 | . 075 | . 052 | -- - ${ }^{\text {? }}$ | -_- ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression; with all variables significant at the . 10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero.
a No variables were significant at the. 10 level.

* $\mathrm{p}<.05$
** p < . 01
*** p < . 001

Table 16. Beta Coefficients for Program Characteristics Predicting LINKAGE.

| Program Characteristics | Total Sample | Type of Program |  | Community |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | Franklin |
|  |  | School | Other | Boston | Brighton | Mattapan |
| NUMSERVD | . 0 | .198*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| COMPlex | .205*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .290*** | . 177 |
| SERVRANG | . 0 | .262*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| LONGITUD | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.391*** |
| ACCAPPMT | .144*** | . 0 | .178*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ACCPLACE | .111** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| BOUNDARY | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 088 | . 0 | . 0 |
| GREWUPIN | . 0 | -.142* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| Stapfses | . 0 | . 0 | -. 499 *** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| RULCODIF | -. $159 * *$ | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .215* |
| JOBSPEC | .404*** | . 0 | .511*** | .276*** | . 0 | . 0 |
| (N) | (734) | (486) | (248) | (304) | (281) | (151) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 174 | . 111 | . 178 | . 109 | . 084 | . 243 |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the . 10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero.

* $\mathrm{p}<.05$
** $\mathrm{p}<.01$
*** p < . 001
explained, suggests that it would be inappropriate to make much of any substantive interpretation $0 \underset{\text { thes }}{ }$ theffects.

SUMMARY

Throughout this chapter we have been unable to make definitive statements about effects of program variables on youths' experiences in those programs. For four of our dependent variables (WANTTOGO, EXPELLED, ROLEREL, and SIMILAR), program variables account for less than $10 \%$ of the explained variance, and we consider those effects trivial. For the other five dependent variables (ATTENDNC, SCLIMATE, DISORDYY, SELFSTIG, and LINKAGE) we found generally inconsistent effects by type of program and across communities. Thus, if there are effects of program characteristics on youths' experiences, our data suggest that these effects are both small and inconsistent.

Methodologically, the major reason for the indeterminancy of the analysis in this chapter is that we have complete data on only about 30 programs. With so few programs, we are unable to elaborate the analysis fully (e.g., controlling for both program type and community at the same time, and we are likely to have insufficient variance on the predictor variables. Although this problem has plagued the analysis in both this chapter and the previous one, we are freed from it in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6. YOUTHS AND THEIR EXPERIENCES IN PROGRAMS

In this chapter we address the final research question: Which youth characteristics are related to the experiences youths have in community programs? We also examine whether these effects differ by community.

In the two previous chapters our analysis was largely frustrated by our having complete program data on only a few programs. Happily, in this chapter we do not have this problem, since all of the variables analyzed in this chapter were obtained from youths and their parents (see Figure 3, p. 40). We are therefore able to control for both community and type of program at the same time, with at least 100 cases in every community/program type combination but one. ${ }^{1}$

Our dependent variables for this chapter are the same youth experience variables we considered in the previous chapter: ATTENDNC, WANTTOGO, EXPELTED, SCLIMATE, ROLEREL, DISORDLY, SELFSTIG, SIMILAR, and LINKAGE. In contrast to the previous chapter, however, we are now predicting these experiences based on characteristics of youths rather than characteristics of programs.

FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE
The data describing ATTENDNC are presented in Table 17. For the full sample, only a triwial amount of variance (1\%) is explained. When we control for type of program and community, we still find only trivial amounts of variance explained, with one exception.

That one exception is East Boston schools, where males and self-reported delinquents attend school less frequently. Still, the major implication of
$I_{\text {During the }}$ data collection, several youths and program staff pointed out that there were not many programs for youths in Franklin Field/Mattapan, and that youths in this community often attended programs in other communities, particularly Dorcester. Our data are consistent with this, since we have only 71 youth/program contacts for non-school programs in Franklin Field/ Mattapan.

Table 17. Beta Coefficients for Youth Characteristics Predicting ATTENDNC.

| Youth Characteristics | Total <br> Sample | Type of Program |  | Schools |  |  | Other Programs |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | East <br> Boston | Allston/ <br> Brighton | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Franklin } \\ & \text { Field/ } \\ & \text { Mattapan } \end{aligned}$ | East <br> Boston | Allston/ Brighton | Franklin <br> Field/ <br> Mattapan |
| AGE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 12 | . 0 | -. 09 | . 0 | . 0 |
| SEX | . 0 | -.12** | . 0 | -. 20** | . 0 | . 0 | -. 04 | . 0 | . 0 |
| RACE | .07** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| DELINDRG | -.07* | -. 17*** |  | -.34*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 16 |
| GANGLIKE | . 0 | . 0 | -.09* | . 0 | -. 16* | . 0 | . 0 | -.11* | . 0 |
| ATTACHMT | . 0 | . 06 | . 0 | . 09 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| JOBASPIR | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 11 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| (N) | (1481) | (693) | (779) | (239) | (267) | (103) | (349) | (359) | (67) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 012 | . 039 | . 007 | . 132 | . 048 | --- | . 011 | . 012 | . 026 |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the . 10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero.
$a_{\text {No }}$ variables were significant at the .10 level.

* $\mathrm{p}<.05$
** $\mathrm{p}<.01$
*** $\mathrm{p}<.001$
this table is clear. Characteristics of youths -- or at least, those characteristics which we have measured -- are peor predictors of how frequently those youths attend programs.

DESIRE TO ATTEND
Table 18 presents the data pertaining to WANTTOGO, our measure of the desire to continue attending programs which a youth currently attends. The $R^{2}$ values indicate that this variable is not well predicted by characteristics of youths. In eight of our nine categories, the amount of explained variance is trivial (i.e., less than 10\%) and not worth interpreting.

In the remaining category -- other programs in Allston/Brighton -- the explained variance is also small (13\%), but more than we consider trivial. For these programs, we find that both official and self-reporting delinquency (PENETRAT and DELINDRG) negatively predict WANTTOGO. That is, for youths attending non-school programs in Allston/Brighton, delinquents are less likely than other youths to want to continue attending those programs. This is also consistent with the obseryation from the previous section (Table 17, column 8) that youths with a ganglike peer group attend programs less frequer:ty, ${ }^{2}$ Remember, however, that these relationships explain only a small part of the variance.

## EXPULSION FROM THE PROGRAM

Variables predicting whether youths have been EXPELLED from programs are presented in Table 19. Examining the second and third columns of Table 19, we find that EXPELLED is better predicted for schools than for other programs $\left(R^{2}=.114\right.$ and .046 , respectively), so we discuss schools first.

[^20]Table 18. Beta Coefficients for Youth Characteristics Predicting WANTTOGO.

| Youth Characteristics | Total <br> Sample | Type of Program |  | Schools |  |  | Other Programs |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | East | / | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Franklin } \\ & \text { Field/ } \end{aligned}$ | East | on/ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Franklin } \\ & \text { Field/ } \end{aligned}$ |
|  |  | School | Other | Boston | Brighton | Mattapan ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | Boston | Brighton | Mattapan ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
| SEX | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.17* | --- | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| SES | -. 03 | -. 03 | -. 06 | . 0 | . 0 | --- | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| DELINDRG | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | - | . 0 | -.18* | -- |
| PENETRAT | . 0 | . 0 | -.18*** | . 0 | . 0 | - | . 0 | -.27*** | -- |
| COHESIVE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | --- | -. 16* | . 0 | --- |
| ATTACHMT | .11*** | .12** | . 0 | . 0 | . 13 | --- | . 0 | . 0 | -- |
| STRAIN | -. 01 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | --- | . 0 | . 0 | - |
| PROGENCR | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 19 * | . 0 | - | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| PAREVAL | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | , 0 | .19* | --- | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| (N) | (918) | (459) | (345) | (124) | (171) | (103) | (161) | (190) | (58) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 013 | . 015 | . 037 | . 034 | . 081 | --- | . 024 | . 128 | --- |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the . Io level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero. The N's are not additive due to missing data.
No variable met the minimum .10 inclusion level requirement in this case.

[^21]Table 19. Beta Coefficients for Youth Characteristics Predicting EXPELLED.

| Youth Characteristics | Total <br> Sample | Type of Program |  | Schools |  |  | Other Programs |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | East <br> Boston | Ailston/ <br> Brighton | Franklin Field/ Mattapan | East <br> Boston | Allston/ Brighton | Franklin Field/ Mattapan |
| AGE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.27* |
| SEX | -.07* | . 0 | -. 16** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.24** | . 0 | . 0 |
| RACE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.28** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| SES | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .26*** | . 0 |
| DEIINDRG | .18*** | .31*** | . 07 | . 26 ** | .46*** | . 0 | . 13 | . 0 | . 19 |
| ATTACHMT | -. 05 | -. 07 | -. 07 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 20* | . 0 | . 0 | -. 21 |
| STRAIN | . 0 | $-.07$ | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| PROGENCR | .07* | . 0 | . 08 | -. 16 | . 0 | . 0 | . 10 | . 0 | . 0 |
| PAREVAL | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 15 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| FAMTIES | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .24* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ( N ) | (918) | (459) | (3A5) | (124) | (171) | (103) | (161) | (190) | (66) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 054 | . 114 | . 046 | . 096 | . 211 | . 187 | . 103 | . 067 | . 114 |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the . 10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero. The N's are not additive due to missing data.

[^22]In East Boston and Allston/Brighton schools, DELINDRG is the best predictor of EXPELJED. Delinquents are more likely than other youths to be kicked out of school. In Franklin Field/Mattapan schools, the following types of youths are most likely to be expelled: whites; youths who are unconcerned about the opinions of others (low ATTACHMT); youths whose parents do not evaluate them positively in comparison to their peers; and youths whose parents have strong ties to the community. This last predictor is counterintuitive, but the others make sense: alienated white youths in a predominantly black community are more likely to be expelled or suspended from school.

The data on other programs (Table 19, columns 7-9) are less clear and less consistent. In East Boston, males are more likely to be expelled than females. In Allston/Brighton, youths with higher socioeconomic status backgrounds are more likely to be expelled, but the amount of variance explained by this relationship is trivial. In Franklin Field/Mattapan, younger respondents are more likely to be expelled than older respondents are.

Considering Table 19 as a whole, there is one rather consistent predictor of expulsion: DELINDRG, our measure of self-reported delinquency, drug use, and peer delinquency.

## SOCIAL CLIMATE

Table 20 reveals that, with one exception, SCLIMATE is poorly predicted by our set of youth variables. However, in East Boston schools a few youth variables combine to explain $20 \%$ of the variance in SCLIMATE. There, males, youths with a ganglike peer group, and youths with strong attachments to others are more likely to attend programs where they experience a positive social climate. Only the effect of ATMACHMT was expected theoretically, and the positive effect of GANGLIKE is unexpected.

The most consistent predictor of social climate is ATTACHMT, which has a positive effect in all three communities' schools, as well as in other

Table 20. Beta Coefficients for Youth Characteristics Predicting SCLIMATE.

| Youth Characteristics | Total <br> Sample | Type of Program |  | Schools |  |  | Other Programs |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | East Boston | Allston/ <br> Brighton | Franklin <br> Field/ <br> Mattapan | East Buston ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | Allston/ <br> Brighton | Franklin <br> Field/ <br> Mattapan |
|  |  | School | Other |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| AGE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 16 | . 0 | . 0 | --- | . 0 | . 0 |
| SEX | -.08** | -.14** | . 0 | -.24** | . 0 | . 0 | --- | . 0 | . 0 |
| GANGLIKE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .21* | -. 11 | . 0 | --- | . 0 | . 0 |
| ATtachmp | .23*** | .27*** | .19*** | .31*** | . 15 | . 19 | --- | .26*** | . 0 |
| STRAIN | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 11 | . 0 | --- | . 0 | . 0 |
| SERVUSED | . 0 | .09* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | --- | . 0 | .23* |
| famties | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | --- | . 12 | . 0 |
| (N) | (918) | (459) | (345) | (124) | (171) | (103) | (161) | (190) | (70) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 060 | . 089 | . 037 | . 204 | . 048 | . 036 | --- | . 077 | . 055 |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the . 10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero. The N's are not additive due to missing data.
${ }^{\mathrm{a}}$ No variable met the minimum .10 inclusion level requirement in this case.

* $\mathrm{p}<.05$
** $\mathrm{p}<.01$
*** $\mathrm{p}<.001$
programs in Allston/Brighton.
ROLE RELATIONSHIP WITH STAFF

Our measure of the role relationship between youths and staff is ROIEREL. For this variable, higher scores indicate a relationship we describe as formal, that is, one which is competitive, unequal, and task-oriented rather than cooperative and egalitarian. The youth variables predicting ROLEREL are presented in Table 21.

Table 2l reveals that ROLEREL is poorly predicted for non-school programs, but moderately predicted for schools in two of the three communities. In East Boston schools, formal staff-student relations are predicted by official delinquency (PENETRAT) and by weak attachments to others. In Allston/Brighton schools, DELINDRG and younger AGE predict formal role relationships with staff. In Franklin Field/Mattapan schools, delinquents and females are more likely to have formal relationships with staff.

The consistent predictor of ROLEREL is delinquency, either self-reported (DELINDRG) or official (PENETRAT). ${ }^{3}$ Generally, it seems that the greater the social distance between youth and school staff, the more likely the relationship between them is to be formal and heirarchical rather than informal and egalitarian. ${ }^{4}$

PROGRAM DISORDER
DISORDIY is measured by a youth's perception of the frequency of rulebreaking which occurs in a program and the severity of the staff's reaction.

[^23]Table 21. Beta Coefficients for Youth Characteristics Predicting ROLEREL.

| Youth Characteristics | Total <br> Sample | Type of Program |  | Schools |  |  | Other Programs |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | East <br> Boston | A.llston/ <br> Brighton | Franklin Field/ Mattapan | East <br> Boston | Allston/ <br> Brighton | Franklin Field/ Mattapan ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
| AGE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 23** | . 0 | .18* | . 0 | - |
| SEX | . 0 | . 0 | -. 05 | . 0 | -. 10 | .21* | . 24 ** | . 0 | --- |
| DEIINDRG | .13*** | . 14 *** | . 10 | . 0 | .31*** | .22* | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| PENETRAT | . 0 | . 07 | . 0 | .21* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| GANGLIKE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.19* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| COHESIVE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 14 | - |
| ATTACHMT | . 0 | -.16*** | . 0 | -.33*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| JOBASPIR | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .17* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| PROGENCR | . 0 | . 06 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | - |
| PAREVAL | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 15 | . 0 | . 0 | -- |
| ( N ) | (918) | (459) | (345) | (124) | (171) | (103) | (161) | (190) | (69) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 018 | . 071 | . 015 | . 195 | . 119 | . 090 | . 093 | . 019 | -- |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the . 10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero. The N's are not additive due to missing data.
${ }^{\text {a }}$ No variable met the minimum . 10 inclusion level requirement in this case.

```
    * p}<.0
** p<.01
*** p <.001
```

Our data on this variable are presented in table 22. This table indicates that program disorder is somewhat predictable by youth characteriseics for most subgroups, particularly in East Boston and Allston/Brighton.

For both schools and other programs, DELINDRG is a consistent predictor of program disorder. Self-reported delinquents attend programs which have more rulebreaking and which resort to expulsion more frequently. This relationship is found for schools in every community and for other programs in two of the three communities.

For schools in two communities, AGE also predicts DISORDLY. As we noted in Chapter 4, this probably indicates simply that high schools are more disorderly than midale schools.

In Franklin Field/Mattapan schools, there is an unexpected negative effect of PENETRAT on DISORDLY, indicating that official delinquents attend schools with relatively little disorder. We should not make too much of this relationship, however, because the negative effect of PENETRAT and the positive effect of DELINDRG are largely offsetting, due to multicollinearity.

For non-school programs we find no significant predictors in Franklin Field/Mattapan. In East Boston and Allston/Brighton, however, DELINDRG predicts program disorder. In addition, high job aspirations (in East Boston) or strong attachments to others (in Allston/Brighton) seem to inhibit program disorder, as a social control theory of delinquency would predict. STIGMA

Our measure of the stigma associated with a program in SELFSTIG, which was obtained by asking respondents whether youths who attend a program are like the other youths he/she knows. If not, and if the respondent indicated that the youths in the program were "worse" in some fashion than other youths, then the program was considered stigmatizing.

Table 22. Beta Coefficients for Youth Characteristics Pređicting DISORDLY.

| Youth Characteristics | Total <br> Sample | Type of Program |  | Schools |  |  | Other Programs |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | East | Allston/ | Franklin <br> Field/ | East | Allston/ | Franklin <br> Field/ |
|  |  | School | Other | Boston | Brighton | Mattapan | Boston | Brighton | Mattapan ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
| AGE | .11*** | .16*** | . 0 | . 32 *** | .21** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| SEX | .15*** | .18*** | . 0 | . 0 | .31*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -- |
| RACE | .15*** | .11* | .18*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| SES | .11*** | .13** | . 06 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| DELINDRG | .31*** | .38*** | . 32 *** | -35*** | . $36 * * *$ | .23* | .24** | .27*** | --- |
| PENETRAT | -.06* | -. 09 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.27** | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| COHESIVE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .18* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| ATTACHMT | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.15* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.15* | --- |
| JOBASPIR | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 19* | . 0 | --- |
| SERVUSED | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 13 | -. 17 | . 0 | . 0 | --- |
| PAREVAL | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 13 | . 0 | --- |
| FAMTIES | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .19** | . 0 | . 0 | .15* | . 0 | --- |
| (N) | (918) | (459) | (345) | (124) | (171) | (103) | (161) | (190) | (37) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 136 | . 197 | . 109 | . 400 | . 279 | . 121 | . 169 | . 119 | - |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the . 10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero. The N's are not additive due to missing data.
$a_{\text {No }}$ variable met the minimum .10 inclusion level requirement in this case.

| $* p$ | $<.05$ |
| ---: | :--- |
| $* * p$ | $<.01$ |
| $* * * p$ | $<.001$ |

The data on stigma are presented in Table 23. Generally, this table indicates that youth characteristics are not good predictors of SEIFSTIG. In schools, for example, we find only trivial amounts of variance explained in two communities, and only $11 \%$ in the third. In Franklin Field/Mattapan, females and youths whose parents do not encourage program participation are more likely to feel stigmatized. (Note that PROGENCR also predicts SEIFSTIG in Allston/ Brighton schools -- but in the opposite direction.)

In programs other than schools, we find non-txivial amounts of variance explained only in East Boston and Franklin Field/Mattapan. In East Boston, RACE is the strongest predictor of SELFSTIG. In this predominantly white community, nonwhites are more likely to feel stigmatized by the programs they attend.

In non-school programs in Franklin Field/Mattapan, the best predictor of stigma is STRAIN (the discrepancy between the kind of job a youth expects to get and the kind of job he really wants). This effect is also found in East Boston, to a lesser extent.

SIMILARITY TO CTHER PARTICIPANTS
In Table 24, we find that a youth's feeling that he/she is like other participants in the program (SIMILAR) is preatctable only for programs in East Boston ana Franklin Field/Mattapan. lnterestingly, in East Boston we find that the same variables predict SIMILAR for both schools and other programs. In East Boston, regardless of the type of program, females, youths with little discrepancy between occupational aspirations and expectations, and youths with relatively low parental evaluations are likely to feel more SIMILAR to other youths in the program.

In Franklin Field/Mattapan schools, the youths who feel most SIMILAR to others are those whose peer groups have few of the characteristics of a gang.

Table 23. Beta Coefficients for Youth Characteristics Predicting SELFSTIG.

| Youth <br> Character- <br> istics | Total sample ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | Type of Program |  | Schools |  |  | Other Programs |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | Franklin |  |  | Franklin |
|  |  | School ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | Other | Boston | Brighton | Mattapan | Boston | Brighton | Mattapan |
| AGE | --- | --- | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 14 | . 0 | . 0 |
| SEX | --- | --- | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .24* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| RACE | --- | --- | .18*** | . 0 | . 0 | -. 19 | .29*** | . 0 | . 0 |
| penetrat | --- | --- | . 0 | . 0 | -. 10 | . 11 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| GANGLIKE | --- | --- | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 14 | . 0 |
| cohesive | --- | --- | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.18* | . 0 |
| ATTACHMP | --- | --- | . 0 | -.188* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| Strain | --- | --- | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .18* | . 0 | .34** |
| Progencr | --- | --- | -.11* | . 0 | .20** | -.23* | -. 15 | . 0 | -. 19 |
| SERVUSEd | --- | --- | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .18* | . 0 | . 0 |
| PAREVAL | --- | --- | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.17* | . 0 | . 0 |
| FAMTIES | --- | --- | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 13 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ( N ) | (918) | (459) | (345) | (124) | (171) | (103) | (161) | (190) | (67) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | --- | --- | . 038 | . 035 | . 045 | . 105 | . 146 | . 044 | . 162 |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the . 10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero. The $N$ 's are not additive due to missing data.
$a_{\text {No }}$ variable met the minimum .10 inclusion level requirement in this case.

Table 24. Beta Coefficients for Youth Characteristics Predicting SIMILAR.

| Youth Characteristics | Total <br> Sample | Type of Program |  | Schools |  |  | Other Programs |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | East <br> Boston | Allston/ <br> Brighton | Franklin Field/ Mattapan | East <br> Boston | Allston/ <br> Brighton | Franklin Field/ Mattapan |
| AGE | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 10 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| SEX | .11*** | .11* | .14** | .25** | . 0 | . 0 | .26*** | . 0 | . 0 |
| RACE | -.21*** | -.23*** | -.27*** | . 0 | -.18* | . 0 | . 0 | -.17* | . 0 |
| DELINDRG | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 20** | . 0 |
| PENETRAT | $-.04$ | . 0 | -. 14** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 11 | -.30* |
| GANGLIKE | . 0 | . 01 | . 0 | .0 | . 0 | -.24* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| cohesive | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 05 | -. 14 | . 29 |
| ATTACHMP | .13*** | .17*** | . 05 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| STRAIN | -. 01 | -. 04 | . 0 | -. 20* | . 0 | . 0 | -.25*** | . 0 | . 0 |
| PROGENCR | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 16 | . 0 | . 0 | .26 |
| SERVUSED | -.08* | -. 08 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| PAREVAL | -. 06 | -. 08 | . 0 | -.18* | . 0 | . 0 | -. 15* | . 0 | . 0 |
| FAMTIES | . 0 | . 0 | -.13* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 29 |
| (N) | (918) | (459) | (345) | (124) | (171) | (103) | (161) | (190) | (40) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 099 | . 127 | . 092 | . 147 | . 031 | . 100 | . 210 | . 072 | . 286 |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the .10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero. The N's are not additive due to missing data.

* $\mathrm{p}<.05$
** $\mathrm{p}<.01$
*** $\mathrm{p}<.001$

In other Franklin Field/Mattapan programs, SIMILAR is predicted for those youths who are not officially delinquent, who have cohesive peer groups and weak family ties, and whose families encourage participation in programs. 5 IINKAGE TO OTHER RESOURCES

Youth variables predicting LINKAGE are summarized in Table 25. This table indicates that LINKAGE is not well predicted by youth variables, and that the findings for both Allston/Brighton and Franklin Field/Mattapan may be dismissed as trivial. ${ }^{6}$

In East Boston, there are similar predictors of IINKAGE in both schools and other programs. In schools, those most likely to experience LINKAGE are females, older students, and official delinquents. In other programs, older youths and self-reported delinquents are most likely to be assisted in this fashion. In East Boston, at least, it appears that those who are being referred to additional resources are those most likely to need them.

## SUMMARY

In the two previous chapters, the small number of programs for which we had complete data severely restricted our ability to analyze and interpret the data. In contrast, in this chapter our effective sample size is large enough (in most cases) to allow elaboration of the data by both community and type of program. We have done so, and have presented the detailed findings in Tables 17-25. These findings are somewhat complex and occasionally inconsistent. To facilitate an overview of this chapter, the major findings from Tables 17-25 are summarized in Table 26.
${ }^{5}$ This finding may be unreliable, due to the small $N$ (40).
${ }^{6}$ Although the $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ values for schools in Allston/Brighton and Franklin Field/ Mattapan are only slightly below our "trivial" cutoff point (.10), we do not feel that these coefficients should be substantively interpreted. The small explained variance and the contradictory effects (of SEX and COHESIVE) indicate that these effects are neither appreciable nor reliable.

Table 25. Beta Coefficients for Youth Characteristics Predicting LINKAGE.

| Youth Characteristics | Total Sample | Type of Program |  | Schools |  |  | Other Programs |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | Franklin |  |  | Franklin |
|  |  | School | Other | East <br> Boston | Allston/ Brighton | Field/ <br> Mattapan | East <br> Boston | Allston/ <br> Brighton | Field/ <br> Mattapar |
| AGE | .18*** | .18*** | .17** | . 23 ** | . 0 | . 0 | .17* | . 0 | . 22 |
| SEX | . 15 *** | .14** | . 0 | .24** | . 14 | -.19* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| RACE | .13*** | .21*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -.18* | . 0 |
| SES | .07* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| DEIINDRG | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .24** | . 0 | . 0 |
| PENETRAT | . 0 | .13** | . 0 | .21* | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | .0 |
| COHESIVE | . 0 | . 0 | -. 14** | . 0 | -. 20** | .24* | . 0 | -. 23 ** | . 0 |
| ATTACHMT | . 0 | .16*** | . 0 | . 0 | . 20 ** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 |
| JOBASPIR | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | . 16 | . 0 | . 0 |
| PROGENCR | .11*** | .11* | .14** | . 0 | . 0 | . 0 | -. 08 | . 0 | . 0 |
| ( N ) | (918) | (459) | (345) | (124) | (171) | (103) | (161) | (190) | (67) |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | . 100 | . 142 | . 069 | . 128 | . 099 | . 093 | . 103 | . 060 | . 047 |

Note: These coefficients are based on stepwise multiple regression, with all variables significant at the .10 level entered into the model. All other effects are rounded to zero. The N's are not additive due to missing data.

```
    * p<.05
** \(\mathrm{p}<.01\)
*** \(\mathrm{p}<.001\)
```

Table 26 is a verbal summary of the quantitative tables presented throughout this chapter. In it, we list only those predictors whose effects we consider substantively significant. This process is somewhat subjective, but generally we apply the following criteria to determine which variables we considex "substantively significant." First, the explained variance for the regression equation must be at least $10 \%$ for any of the effects to be considered substantively significant. Second, a substantively significant effect must also be statistically significant. Third, the substantively significant effects are those which are the strongest, or among the strongest, in each regression equation. We diverge from these guidelines when it seems useful to point out either consistencies or contradictions in the data.

Table 26 reveals four major patterns of effects which may be usefully sumarized here. These are the effects of demographic variables, deinquency variables, program type, and community.

Demographic effects.
One-third of the 53 effects identified in Table 26 as "substantively significant" in one setting or another are demographic -- age, sex, or race. Younger youths are more likely to be expelled from non-school programs in Franklin Field/Mattapan and are more likely to have a formal., task-oriented relationship with staff in Allston/Brighton schools. Older youths are more likely to attend disorderly schools in two communities and are more likely to be referred to other resources in East Boston.

Males are more likely to be expelled from non-school programs in East Boston, but they are also more likely to experience a positive social climate in East Boston schools. Females are more likely to have a formal and taskoriented relationship with staff in two settings, and are more likely to perceive their schools as disorderly in Allston/Brighton. Franklin Field/

Table 26. Substantively Significant Effects of Youth Characteristics on Youths' Experiences in Programs: A Summary of Tables 17-25.

| Dependent Variables | Schools |  |  | Other Programs |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | East <br> Boston | Allston/ <br> Brighton | Franklin <br> Field/ <br> Mattapan | East <br> Boston | Allston/ <br> Brighton | Franklin Field/ Mattapan |
| ATTENDNC | (-) DELINDRG <br> (F) SEX | NONE | NONE | (+) GANGLIKE | (-) GANGLIKE | NONE |
| WANTTOGO | NONE | NONE | NONE | NONE | (-) PENETRAT <br> (-) DELINDRG | NONE |
| EXPELIED | (+) DELINDRG | (+) DELINDRG | (W) RACE <br> $(+)$ FAMTIES <br> (-) ATTACHMT | (M) SEX | NONE | (-) AGE |
| SCIIMATE | (+) ATTACHMT <br> (M) SEX <br> $(+)$ GANGLIKE | NONE | NONE | NONE | NONE | NONE |
| ROLEREL | (-) ATMACHMT <br> (+) PENETRAT | (+) DELINDRG ( - ) AGE | (+) DELINDRG <br> (F) SEX | (F) SEX | NONE | NONE |
| DISORDLY | (+) DELINDRG <br> (+) AGE | (+) DELINDRG <br> (F) SEX <br> (+) AGE | $(-)$ PENETRAT <br> $(+)$ DELINDRG | (+) DELINDRG <br> (-) JOBASPIR | ( + ) DELINDRG | NONE |
| SELFSTIG | NONE | NONE | (F) SEX <br> (-) PROGENCR | (NW) RACE <br> (+) STRAIN <br> (+) SERVUSED <br> (-) PAREVAL | NONE | (+) STRAIN |
| SIMILAR | (F) SEX <br> (-) STRAIN <br> (-) PAREVAL | NONE | (-) GANGLIKE | (F) SEX <br> (-) STRAIN <br> (-) PAREVAL | NONE | (-) PENETRAT |
| LINKAGE | (F) SEX <br> $(+)$ AGE <br> (+) PENETRAT | NONE | NONE | (+) DELINDRG <br> (+) AGE | NONE | NONE |

Mattapan females feel more stigmatized by their schools than males do. In East Boston, females feel more like the other program participants (in both schools and other programs) and attend school more often; there, they are more likely than males to be referred to other sources of assistance.

In Table 26 , race is an important predictor only twice, but both times the effect seems to be disadvantageous to the minority-group youths in a racially-homogenous community. White youths in Franklin Field/Mattapan are more likely to be expelled from school, and nonwhite youths in East Boston are more $\dot{\text { ikely }}$ to feel stigmatized in other programs. Delinquency effects.

Self-reported and official delinquency (DELINDRG and PENETRAT) are conceptually distinct, but empirically they are so closely related that it would be misleading to try to separate their effects. ${ }^{7}$ Here we simply use the term "delinquency" to refer to either of these two variables. In one or more contexts, delinquency is an important predictor of six of the youth experience variables discussed in this chapter.

Delinquents have more formal and task-oriented relationships with school staff than other youths do. They attend school less often than other youths in East Boston, and are more likely to be expelled from school in two communities. In Allston/Brighton, delinquents are less likely to want to continue attending non-school programs than other youths are. In almost every context, delinquents experience (and presumably contribute to) more program disorder than other youths. In Franklin Field/Mattapan non-school programs, delinquents feel somewhat out-of-place, unlike the other youths. In East Boston, delinquents are more likely to find linkage to other community resources than other youths are.

[^24]Effects of program type.
Here we are looking for patterns of effects which are similar in two or three communities within program type, but which differ between schools and other programs. Two, perhaps three, such patterns are evident in Table 26. In two communities, delinquents are more likely to be expelled from schools, but not from other programs. Similarly, in schools in all three communities, delinquents are less likely than other youths to form affective and egalitarian relationships with staff, but this pattern is not found in programs other than schools. These suggest that schools are systematically more formal and rigid settings than other types of programs, and are less likely to tolerate the misbehavior of delinquent youths.

The other possible program type effect is that of STRAIN on SEIFSTIG. The discrepancy between occupational aspirations and expectations apparently contributes to a feeling of stigmatization in non-school programs (in two communities), but not in schools in these communities.

## Community effects.

In this section we are interested in effects which are similar for schools and other programs within a given community, but different in other communities. There are two instances of this, both in East Boston.

In East Boston, youths' feelings of similarity to other program participants are predicted by the same three variables for both schools and other programs. Similarly, both delinquency and age predict LINKAGE in East Boston, regardless of the type of program. These patterns, while not overwhelming, do indicate that East Boston is the most internally homogenous of our three communities. This is hardly surprising, since East Boston was chosen as a project site in the first place on the basis of its similarity to Spergel's (1969) description of the "communal" community. East Boston's homogeneity is also
likely attributable to its partial physical isolation from the rest of the city, due to its peninsular setting (see Figure 1, p. 16).

## CHAPIER 7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The general goal of this research has been to enhance our understanding of two broad questions affecting community-based corrections: First, what affects the degree of a youth's integration into his or her community, as indicated by the experiences he/she has in various programs? Second, how do these experiences differ in different types of communities?

These broad questions were broken down to four more precise research questions reflecting the theoretical model below:


This model specifies one set of non-causal associations and two sets of causal effects. First, it hypothesizes that certain kinds of youths attend certain kinds of programs. This analysis was presented in Chapter 4. Second, the model hypothesizes that various features of the programs that youths attend affect the experiences they have in those programs. This was addressed in Chapter 5. Third, the model hypothesizes that characteristics of the youths themselves affect their experiences in programs. This was the subject of Chapter 6. Finally, we asked whether these effects varied by community. This was discussed in each of Chapters 4-6. Our findings on these questions are briefly summarized below. ${ }^{1}$

[^25]1. Do certain types of youths go to certain types of programs? Four comments seem justified here. First, youths tend to participate in programs which are located in their own communities. In racially-homogenous communities such as East Boston or Franklin Field/Mattapan, this results in a racial matching of youths and program staff. Because this racial matching was found in the analyses between communities but not within communities, it is a community effect rather than a racial effect.

Second, older youths attend schools (but not other programs) which have more rulebreaking. We think this simply indicates that high schools experience more disorder than middle schools do. This could be because high schools are larger, their students are older, or (most likely) both.

Third, delinquency, whether measured by self-reports or by penetration into the juvenile justice system, is not importantly related to the types of prograns youths attend. ${ }^{2}$ While we cannot quite conclude that delinquents attend the same programs as everyone else, ${ }^{3}$ our data do not reveal large, systematic, or consistent patterns of segregation based on delinquency status.

Finally, we must recall that we have complete data on only a small number of programs (30). This has at least two harmful consequences. First, it questions the generalizability of the few relationships we did find. More importantly, however, it lessens the chance of discovering other relationships which might be important, and which would be revealed if we had a larger sample of programs.

[^26]2. Which program characteristics are related to the experiences youths have in community programs? The problem noted above also limits our ability to explore this question. In almost every case, the effects we found were either trivial or small and inconsistent. Still, we can identify a few effects here for their heuristic value.

With one exception, youths' experiences in school are not predicted by characteristics of the schools they attend. The one exception is LINKAGE. Large schools with a wide range of services also refer youths to external resources more frequently than smaller schools do. We might have expected the opposite pattern, but apparently schools which provide the widest range of services themselves also have the ability to keep track of external resources and make appropriate referrals.

In programs other than schools, LINKAGE is predicted by programs which have lower-SES staff and more specifically-defined jobs. We don't know why this should be the case.

The frequency of youths' participation is somewhat predictable, but only for programs other than schools. Youths attend programs more frequently when they are accessable (in terms of place) and have younger staff who consider themselves similar to the youths they serve. This suggests that programs with outreach or detatched worker components do have some success increasing the frequency of participation by youths.

Programs (other than schools) with a higher proportion of black staff tend to be more disorderly than other programs. This effect is also found, for schools and other programs combined, in East Boston. We are not able to statistically determine whether this effect is primarily a type-of-program effect or a community effect, ${ }^{4}$ but we suspect the latter. Blacks are a very

[^27]small minority in East Boston (less than one percent), so it would not be surprising for East Boston youths to have trouble relating to, or being supervised by, black staff members.

Finally, our data indicate that programs (other than schools) with a high rate of expulsion are likely to be considexed stigmatizing by the youths who attend them. Programs with a high rate of expulsion also have a high level of rulebreaking ( $x=.54, p<.001$ ), so it is not surprising that youths consider these programs stigmatizing.
3. Which youth characteristics are related to the experiences youths have in community programs? Rather than repeat the extensive summary contained in the previous chapter, here we simply highlight three of the more interesting patterns of relationships. These are the effects of race, the effects of delinquency, and the conditioning effects of program type.

In two settings, race has a significant effect on youths' experiences in the programs they attend. In Franklin Field/Mattapan, white youths are more likely to be expelled from school. In East Boston programs other than schools, black youths are more likely to feel stigmatized by the programs they attend. In both cases, youths in a small racial minority within a raciallyhomogenous community have more negative experiences than youths of the majority race.

The effects of a youth's delinquency are predominantly negative. In schools, delinquents attend less frequently (in East Boston), are more likely to be expelled (in East Boston and Allston/Brighton), and have more formal and impersonal relationships with staff than other youths do (in all three communities). In most settings, delinquents attend programs which experience more disorder than others.

The effects of delinquency are not entirely negative, however. In East Boston, in both types of programs, delinquents are more likely than other youths to be referred to other resources in the community. In East Boston, at least, the youths most likely to receive program referrals include those (presumably) most in need of them.

Finally, we note that the distinction between schools and other programs is important. Most of the negative effects of delinquency noted above were found only in schools, not in other settings. This is consistent with the finding that schools are often particularly problematic for delinquents, and that the rate of a youth's committing delinquent acts often decreases after he/she drops out of school (Elliott and Voss, 1974).
4. Do the answers to the above questions depend on the type of community in which the youth lives? We think so, but we must exercise caution in drawing this conclusion.

For questions One and Two above, we have not been able to isolate community effects. The first two research questions (Chapters 4 and 5) required us to use the program as the unit of analysis. Since we had only 30 programs, we could not simultaneously control for both community and type of program. Consequently, our efforts to identify community effects were confounded by the effects of program type.

This confounding can be clarified by reference to the data in Table 27. In several of our previous tables, we found similar effects for "East Boston" and "other programs." ${ }^{5}$ This is likely because 12 of the 15 programs in East Boston are "other programs," and 12 of the 21 "other programs" are in East Boston, as rable 27 indicates. With a small number of programs, this

[^28]Table 27. Numbers of Programs and Youths by Community and Type of Program.

|  | Schools | Other Programs |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Community | Programs (Youths) | Programs (Youths) |
| East Boston | 3 (199) | 12 (106) |
| Allston/Brighton | 2 (178) | 6 (103) |
| Franklin Field/Mattapan | 4 (109) | 3 (38) |
| Note: These figures are "program" and "ex overlap, the numb with the N's in | on complete data a e" variables. Due youths are not add tables. | ty for both the ng data and d may not coincide |

confounding makes it impossible to separate the effects of community from those of program type.

We can look for community effects when considering the effects of youths' characteristics on their experiences in programs (Question Three). Here, the youth-program contact is the unit of analysis, and our sample is large enough ( $N>750$ ) to control for community and program type simultaneously.

Doing so, we find numerous effects which differ by community. These differences are too detailed to present here, but are summarized elsewhere in this report. ${ }^{6}$ Instead, here we describe only those effects which are unique to a single community, regardless of the type of program.

Both instances of this are in East Boston. Feelings of similarity to other participants are predicted by the same cluster of variables for both schools and other programs in East Boston, but not in otner communities. Similarly, age and delinquency both predict IINKAGE in East Boston (regardless of program type), but not in other communities. Substantively, we think this suggests that East Boston is the most homogenous and analytically distinct of our three communities. This is also consistent with Spergel's (1976) typology and our initial selection of East Boston as an example of a "communal" community.

More broadly, this suggests that Spergel's typology does have heuristic value for community analyses, but we must be careful here. Most of the community effects we found (see Table 26) are small and inconsistent, and we cannot determine whether these observed differences are due to (a) differences in the community types, (b) differences in these specific communities,

[^29]or (c) random or systematic errors in the data. This indeterminancy might be resolved by a replication of this study in another city, but we do not recommend such a replication, for reasons discussed below.

## LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

Since this is an exploratory study, our findings necessarily have more heuristic value than immediate applicability. Even granting this, our findings are more tentative and less conclusive than we had hoped they would be. There are several reasons for this, and we believe it may be instructive to future researchers for us to identify them here.

There are four types of limitations to this study. These are problems associated with the design and conceptualization of the study, measurement, execution of the study (i.e., data collection), and analysis.

With the benefit of hindsight, we can identify a mistake in the design of the study. We chose to analyze programs at the wrong level of abstraction. That is, our design assumed that the type of program (medical, recreational, educational, etc.) was less salient than the common characteristics which we measured (size of staff, duration of service provision, etc.). If this assumption had been correct, then all programs could have been grouped together for an analysis undifferentiated by program type. The assumption was not correct, and we therefore had too few programs of any one type to enable a thorough analysis. A better approach would have been to select only programs of one or a few particular types, sampling in such a way as to ensure that we had a sufficient number of each type to enable the analysis.

Second, we encountered problems of measurement for two of our key variables, We adapted the Moos (1975) Correctional Institution Environment Scale, but found that our factor analyses did not replicate the patterns Moos
had described. (After our project was well underway, the same problem was reported by Wright and Bondouris [1982].) Consequently, our measure of social climate (SCLIMATE) is at best an eclectic clustering, at worst meaningless.

Our other measurement problem concerned the role relationship of youth and staff. Wish et al. (1976) had identified four subscales which characterized this relationship, but these differences did not appear in our analyses. We therefore combined the subscales to form a single variable, ROLEREL. Unfortunately, we suspect that this finding is the result of a response set bias. All of these questions were worded in the same direction, and they came near the end of a lengthy and tiring interview schedule.

The third set of problems is related to the execution of the study during the data collection stage. One of these problems was that, for a project of this complexity, this research was relatively underfunded and understaffed. Related to this is the problem of researchers as "outsiders." In the second phase of this research, the Principal Investigator was based in a city several hundred miles away from Boston, and was committed to the project only on a part-time basis. This dual disadvantage made effective monitoring and supervision of the data collection virtually impossible. As a result, several small problems (if they had been dealt with immediately) turned into rather large problems.

The major specific problem encountered in the data collection was sampling. As Table 3 (p. 36) indicates, we experienced major departures from our sampling design. Although some of these departures may have resulted from inadequate supervision as noted above, we think most of them reflect characteristics of our population. That is, there are few blacks in East Boston, few whites in Franklin Field/Mattapan, and few females with court contact. Ironically, our failures make our sample more representative, and
reduce whatever damage might otherwise result from our unweighted analysis. The final set of problems relates to our analysis itself. One of these, just noted, is that we did not weight the various strata (race, sex, penetration into the justice system, community) in the analysis because we did not have the necessary population data. We do not believe this introduced much error, but we cannot support this belief statistically.

A second problem in the analysis is multicollinearity. Several of our variables are conceptually or empirically so close to each other that we cannot reliably separate their effects (e.g., DELINDRG and PENETRAT, FTEMPL and STAFSIZE, STAFFAGE and STFYEARS). We have attempted to clarify the consequences of this multicollinearity. at numerous points throughout the text, but it remains a possible source of confusion.

The final analytical problem was the small number of cases (30) available for those parts of the analysis which used the program as the unit of analysis. This made it impossible for us to fully elaborate the analysis. The result of this was that we were unable to distinguish the effects of program type from the effects of community in Chapters Four and Five.

Despite these problems, we hasten to add that this is a data set which is rich in possibilities for secondary analysis. The data are (or soon will be) available through the Criminal Justice Archive Information Network at the University of Michigan, and we encourage other reseaxchers to consider their possibilities.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on our experiences in this project and our analyses, we offer a set of recommendations for future research and, much more tentatively, some possible policy considerations.

We offer five recommendations for future research of this sort. First, it is most desirable for researchers to study the communities in which they live, both to take full advantage of informal community ties and to effectively supervise the project. If this is not possible for some reason, the nextbest alternative is to have the researcher relocate in the community to be studied for the duration of the project. In the current project, we found that the data collection went more smoothly in Phase one because the Principal Investigator (Morash) had previously worked in Boston and was living In Boston at the time. Neither of these characterized the PI in Phase Two (Minor), and the data collection suffered as a result of it.

Second, we encourage subsequent researchers to pay particular attention to conceptual matters. Inadequate attention to these issues in the design stage can lead to multicollinearity in the analysis and to confusion over the content of some variables. Our most serious instance of this concerned the variable SCLIMATE, and resulted from our attempt to use a scale which did not replicate (Moos, 1975).

A third resommendation is that future research narrow the scope of its focus. Our research was exploratory, and we attempted to measure too many things. Ar a result, our youth interview schedule was cumbersome and much too long; many youths lost interest and became restless after the first 45 minutes or so. At that point, their responses tended to become automatic.

Fourth, we believe that it will be important to distinguish specific types of programs in future research in this area. In our analysis we merely distinguished schools from all other types of programs, and found some important differences (for example, schools seem to be less tolerant of rulebreaking). However, we expect that there are also significant differences between medical programs, recreation programs, employment programs, and so forth.

Finally, and consistent with the two previous recommendations, we suggest that future research in this area concentrate on those programs which specifically serve delinquents, are designed to prevent delinquency, or have a sizeable delinquent clientele. This should naxrow the focus somewhat and make the analysis more manageable.

Our policy recommendations based on this project are much more tentative than the research recommendations above. Our empirical findings have generally been weak and have often been inconsistent. Nevertheless, there are some ideas derived from our research which policymakers may at least want to consider.

First, when planning programs for delinquents or other youths, we suggest that planners pay careful attention to characteristics of the specific community for which the program is designed. For example, the degree of racial homogeneity in a community may affect the way youths respond to a multiracial staff. (Recall that we found such problems in East Boston and Franklin Field/ Mattapan, but not in Allston/Brighton.)

Related to this, we also suggest that programs be decentralized and located in multiple sites throughout the city, in order to facilitate access. This is more important for some communities than for others. Franklin Field/ Mattapan seems to be relatively underserved by programs for youths, but the street network and the public transportation system provide access to programs in other communities (especially Dorchester) for Franklin Field/ Mattapan youths. In contrast, the bottleneck created by the traffic tunnel linking East Boston to the rest of the city, the reluctance of some adolescents to use the subway, and the strong ethnic identification of many East Boston residents tend to limit these youths' participation to programs in their own community.

A third suggestion is that an outreach component (such as a detatched youth worker) seems to increase the frequency of program participation by youths. Thus, such services may be a useful way of attracting youths to have greater involvement in programs.

Fourth, like previous research (Elliott and Voss, 1974; Hirschi and Hindelang, 1977), we found that schools were more problematic for delinquents than other types of programs were. We do not want to leap to the simplistic recommendation that delinquents be allowed to leave school at will, because this might purchase a short-term behavioral improvement at the price of a long-term vocational disability. However, we do encourage experimentation with alternative forms of education programs for those with behavior problems and/or aversion to traditional schools.

Finally, we are encouraged by the finding that East Boston delinquents are referred to other resources more often than other youths are. We believe that this type of linkage is especially important for youths with multiple problems. Therefore, we recommend that staff in each program attempt to become and remain aware of resources that are available through other programs, and to make appropriate referrals. Consolidating and distributing this sort of information could be an important, effective, and relatively inexpensive role for the city government.

## Appendix A

## Interview Schedules and Answer Sheets

## Contents

Youth Interview Schedule
Youth Interview Answer Sheet (V102-V264)
Self-Reported Delinquency Checklist (V267-v290)
Program Contact Answer Sheet (V301-v447)
Program Knowledge Answer Sheet (V501-v527)
Family Interview Schedule (V602-V624)
Staff Interview Schedule (V701-v863)
Administrator Interview Schedule (V901-V950)

## INTERVIEW FOR YOUTHS

## Introduction

We are doing a study of the way kids in Franklin Field/Mattapan spend their time. We want to know about this so that we can plan things for kids to do.

Some of the questions we are going to ask you are about things for kids to do that you have heard of or that you go to. Other questions are about you as a person:

We will not show or tell your answers to anybody, including your parents. We do not keep your name on your answer sheet.
$\left(\begin{array}{l}\text { - You do not' have to take part in this study. Nothing will happen to you ) } \\ \text { (and nobody will know if you decide not to answer these questions. }\end{array}\right.$
If you do answer these questions, we can pay you $\$ 10$ in exchange for your time and help. We will give you a check at the end of the interview.

There are no right. or wrong answers to any of these questions. Most of them are about how you see things and about your feelings. If a question does not make sense, be sure to stop me and ask me what it means. We want to get the most honest answer you can give to each question.

First, IUd like to ask a few general questions.

1. How old are you?
2. Sex (OBSERVE)
3. Male
4. Female.
5. Race/ethnicity (OBSERVE) (ASK IF NECESSARY: what is your ethnic background?)
6. White (not Hispanic)
7. Black
8. Hispanic
9. Other
(specify)
10. Are you in school now?
11. Yes (Go to 5)
12. No (Go to 6)

ASK ONLY
ONE OF
these two
QUESTIONS

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 5. What grade are you in? (GO TO 7) } \\
& \text { 6. What was the last grade you completed in school? (GO TQB) } \\
& \text { IF IN SCHOOL: } \\
& \text { In general, how do you like school? } \\
& \text { (READ CHOICES) } \\
& \text { 1. Dislike it } \\
& \text { 2. Have mixed feelings about it } \\
& \text { 3. Like it } \\
& \text { 4. Like it a lot } \\
& \text { 8. What is your religious preference? } \\
& \text { 1. Protestant } \\
& \text { 2. Catholic } \\
& \text { 3. Jewish } \\
& \text { 4. Muslim } \\
& \text { 5. other } \text {. } \\
& \text { 6. None } \\
& \text { 9. } \\
& \text { How often do you attend religious services? } \\
& \text { 0. Never or almost never } \\
& \text { 1. once or twice a year } \\
& \text { 2. once every two or three months } \\
& \text { 3. once or twice a month } \\
& \text { 4. Once a week } \\
& \text { 5. More than once a week }
\end{aligned}
$$

10. How many people live in your home now, including yourself?

11-23. Who are they? (PROBE)


NOTE: Total number of people in questions ll-23 should be one less than the number in question 10. Reconcile any differences.

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about you and other kids.
25. Do you spend your free time with other kids?

1. Yes
2. No .
3. Which of these statements gives the best description of how you get along with your friends?
4. I am a leader
5. I am a regular member
6. I do not really belong to the group, just spend some time with them
7. I really spend most of my time alone
(IF THE ANSWER TO QUESTION 25 IS NO AND THE ANSWER TO QUESTION 26 IS "I REALLY SPEND MOST OF MY TIME ALONE," SKIP TO QUESTION 61.)
8. Does your group of friends usually meet in the same place?

If yes, where? (DO NOT RECORD PRIVATE RESIDENCE)
28. Who can join your group?
29. How old were most of the kids when they first joined the group?
30. How old do you think most of the kids will be when they leave the group?
31. Does your group have a name? .

If yes, what is the name?
32. Are there places where your group will not go?

If yes, where?
33. Do kids in your group come from-

1. All over Franklin Field/Mattapan


One part of Franklin Field/Mattapan
35. Which of these statements best describes how you feel about your friends.

1. I am really a part of my group of friends
2. I am included in the group in most ways
3. I am included in some malays, but not others
4. I don't really belong to the group
5. I don't belong to just one group of kids
(SHOW CARD \#1)
6. If you had a chance to join another group of kids and spend most of your time with them, how would you feel about joining?
7. I would want to join the new group very much
8. I would rather join. the new group than' stay with my group
9. It would make no difference to me
10. I would rather stay in the group $I$ belong to now
11. I would very much want to stay in the group $I$ belong to now
(SHOW CARD \#2)

FOR THE NEXT THREE QUESTIONS, HOW WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOUR GROUP OF FRIENDS COMPARES WITH OTHER GROUPS IN FRANKLIN FIELD/MATTAPAN? ARE THEY BETTER THAN MOST GROUPS, ABOUT THE SAME AS MOST GROUPS, OR NOT AS GOOD AS MOST GROUPS?
(SHOW CARD \#3)
37. The way the kids get along together
38. The way that kids stick together
39. The way that kids help each other out

HOW MANY OF YOUR FRIENDS HAVE DONE ENCH OF THE THINGS LISTED BELOW? THE CHOICES ARE: "ALL OR ALMOST AIL, ABOUT HALF, A FEW, NONE. (SHOW CARD \#4)
40. Had a fist fight with someone else in the group
41. Played sports with other kids in the group
42. Earned good grades
43. Had a knife or a gun
44. Gambled for money
45. Worried about getting somebody pregnant or being pregnant
46. Stole a car
47. Held a job at some time
48. Been attacked or jumped
49. Driven a car without permission
50. Had a fight with another group of kids
51. Had sex
52. Attacked or jumped somebody
53. Brought a date to the group or dated somebody in the group
54. Got high on drugs with others in the group
55. Planned a group dance or 'party, or went to a party with the group
56. Run away from home
57. How many days a week do you get together with your group of friends?
58. Is there a streetworker that sees your friends regularly? This would be a person who comes to talk to your group, sets up sports and trips, or gives counselling.

If yes, from where?
59. Are there both boys and girls in the group?
60. About how many kids are in your group ef-ixierds?

The next set of questions is about work.
61. Do you have a job now?

1. No (SKIP TO 64)
2. Yes
3. If 61 IS "YES" What do you do?
4. About how many hours do you work each week? (RECORD ONE NUMBER, NOT A RANGE. )
5. If you could get the same amount of money by washing cars or going on welfare, which would you rather do?
6. Go on welfare
7. Wash cars
8. If you got arrested for something - saye shoplifting - how much do you think it would hurt your chances of getting a good job? (READ CHOICES 1,3, \& 4)
9. Wouldn't make any difference
-4-2 Don't know-
10. Would hurt a little
11. Would hurt a lot

The next set of questions is about your future.
66. How far would you. like to go in school, if you could?

1. lst grade
2. 2nd grade
3. 3rd grade
4. 4th grade
5. 5th grade
6. 6th grade
7. 7th grade
8. 8th grade
9. 9th grade

10. IOth grade
$x$
11. llth grade
12.-High School Graduate....
12. One year of College
13. Two years of College; junior college or technical school degree.
14. Three years of College
15. College Graduatr
16. (Master's degree
17. Ph.D:, M.D., or J.D.
18. How far do you think you actually will go in school?
(SAME CODE AS 66.)
19. How much moneywould you like to make per year at your first job after you leave school?
(CODE NEAREST $\$ 1,000$, e.g., $\$ 8,000=08 ; \$ 25,000=25$ )
20. How much money do you think you actually will make each year at your first job after you finish school?
(CODE NEAREST. $\$ 1,000$, e.g., $\$ 8,000=08 ; \$ 25,000=25$ )
21. What kind of job would you like to have when you are an adult?
22. What kind of job do you think you will have when you are an adult?

WE MAX CARE WHAT SOME PEOPLE THINK OF US AND NOT CARE TOO MUCH WHAT OTHER PEOPLE THINK. I AM GOING TO MENTION SOME PEOPLE AND I WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL ME HOW MUCH YOU CARE ABOUT WHAT THEY THINK OF YOU. IF YOU DO NOT HAVE ANY CONTACT. WITH SOME OF THESE PEOPLE, LET ME. KNOW THAT.
(SHOW CARD \#5)
72. First, how much do you care about what your MOTHER thinks of you? Do you care very much, some, not very much, or not at all?
73. How much do you care about what your FATHER thinks of you?
74. How much do you care about what MOST KIDS IN YOUR CLASS think of you?
75. How much do you care what your TEACHERS think of you?
76. How much do you care what your FRIENDS think of you?
77. How much do you care about what your BROTHERS AND SISTERS think of you?
78. How much do you care about what the POLICE think of you?

79-98. Besides spending time with friends, what kinds of things did you do last year?


Did you have a job?
Did you have any job training?
Did you play any organized sports?
Did you go on any group trips?
What did you do last summer?
What did you do after school?
Where did you go for advice or counseling when you had problems?
Where did you go to school?

99-118. In addition to the things you did personally last year, what other things are there for kids to do in Franklin Field/Mattapan?

ALLOW RESPONDENT TO ANSWER, THEN PROBE:
Here is a list of the things we know about for kids to do in Franklin Field/Mattapan. Are there some things named here that you know about but forgot to name? (SHOW LIST) Are there any of these things that you participated in last year but forgot to

119. RECORD THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PROGRAMS IISTED IN ITEMS 79-98 (CONTACT).
120. RECORD THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PROGRAMS LISTED IN ITEMS 79-98 WHICH ARE WITHIN THE FRANKLIN FIELD/MATTAPAN AREA (CONTACT).
121. RECORD THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PROGRAMS LISTED IN ITEMS 99-118 (KNOWLEDGE).
122. RECORD THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PROGRAMS LISTED IN ITEMS 99-118 WHICH ARE WITHIN THE FRANKLIN FIELD/MATTAPAN AREA (KNOWLEDGE).

FOR EACH OF THE PROGRAMS LISTED IN ITEMS $79-98$ (UP TO THREE), FILL OUT A GREEN CONTACT SHEET. Hi -1
FOR EACH OF THE PROGRAMS TISTED' IN -ITEMS 99-118 (UP TO THREE), FILL OUT A BLUE KNOWLEDGE SHEET: $\qquad$
123-125. What are the three most important activities they could have for kids in your community?

126-128. In Franklin Field/Mattapan, which of these things are there for kids to do now?

129-133. What things about an activity or a program for kids would make you want to go to it?

134-138. What are some reasons that kids don't like to go to some of the activities and programs that are here in Franklin Field/Mattapan?

These next items are about the law. For each of these statements, tell me which of these responses comes closest to the way you feel about the statemont. (SHOW CARD NUMBER 6.).
139. I feel a strong moral obligation to obey the law.
5. Strongly agree
4. Agree
3. Undecided
2. Disagree

1. Strongly disagree
2. Sometimes people get into situations where they have to break the law, even if they don't want to.
3. Strongly agree
4. Agree
5. Undecided
6. Disagree
7. Strongly disagree
8. If you have a problem, the law won't help you unless you have a lot of money.
9. Strongly agree
10. Agree
11. Undecided
12. Disagree
13. Strongly disagree
14. People should always obey the law, even if they disagree with it.
15. Strongly Agree
16. Agree
17. Undecided
18. Disagree
19. Strongly disagree

Now for each of these things, tell me what you think the chances of getting caught and arrested for it are. That is, of the next 100 people in Boston who do each of these, how many will be arrested?
143. Puxposely damage or, mess up something not belonging to them.
144. Try to get something by lying about who they are or how old they are.
145. Take a car without permission of the owner.
146. Take something else not belonging to them.
147. Threaten to hurt or injure someone (but don't.do it).
148. Hurt or injure someone on purpose.
149. Go onto someone's property when they're not supposed to.
150. Go into a house or building when they're not supposed to.
151. Smoke marijuana.
152. Use other drugs or chemicals to get high or for kicks, except marijuana or alcohol.
153. Get in a fight of one group against another group.
154. Carry a gun or knife other than an ordinary pocketknife.

NEXT, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT RULES AND LAWS YOU MIGHT HAVE BROKEN. ON EACH CARD IN THIS STACK IS A SENTENCE ABOUT SOMETHING LIKE THAT -- SUCH AS "SKIPPED A DAY OF SCHOOL" OR "TOOK SOMETHING THAT DIDN'T BELONG TO YOU". I'D LIKE TO KNOW WHICH OF THE THINGS ON THESE CARDS YOU HAVE. DONE IN THE LAST YEAR, WHETHER YOU WERE CAUGHT OR NOT.

IF YOU THINK THAT YOU CAN'T TELL ME THIS KIND OF THING HONESTLY, THEN IT IS BETTER THAT YOU DON'T TRY TO ANSWER AT ALL.

LET ME REMIND YOU AGAIN THAT EVERYTHING THAT YOU TELL ME IS COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL: NO ONE WILL EVER SEE YOUR NAME TOGETHER WITH YOUR ANSWERS.

CAN WE GO AHEAD?

IF YES


HERE ARE THREE CARDS TO-NARK THE STACKS. (PUT EACH RESPONSE CARD ON THE TABLE AS YOU READ IT) . NEVER IN THE LAST YEAR, ONCE IN THE LAST YEAR, MORE THAN ONCE IN THE LAST YEAR." PUT EACH CARD UNDER THE CARD ON THE TABLE THAT TELLS HOW OFTEN YOU HAVE DONE WHAT IT SAYS ON THE CARD.

WHEN YOU ARE FINISHED, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE THINGS'. YOU'VE DONE.

HERE ARE THE CARDS. TELL ME IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS.
(FILL OUT: APPROPRIATE INCIDENT FORMS)
155. Have you ever been caught doing any of these things, or other things, by the police?
156. Have the police ever taken you to the police station?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Have the police ever told your parents that you broke the law?
4. Yes
5. No

## CONTACT SHEET

1. Program Name and Code:
2. Youth Code:
3. In an average month, how many days do you go to (activity or program)?
4. Do you want to keep going to (activity or program)?
5. Yes
6. No
7. Not sure
:5-10. Why (or why not)? (PROBE: WHAT THINGS THERE DO YOU LIKE AND WHAT THINGS THERE DON'T YOU LIKE?)
11-17. What do you do at (activity or program)? Name. 0 f pidypu.
18-24. How important is it to you that you do each of these things?
8. Very important
9. Not very important
10. Not important at all.
11. Did you ever get asked to leave (activity or program)?
12. Yes
13. No (SKIP TO 31)
14. What was the longest time they told you to stay out?
15. Permanently
16. For a year or more "
17. For a month or more, but less than a year
18. For a week or more, but less than a month
19. For less than a week
20. How many times did this happen during the last year? (PROBE: THAT WOULD BE SINCE LAST [name of month].)

28-30. For each time, what did you do that they told you to leave?


We'd like to know what people think of the kids that go to that activity on program.

31-34. Do you think they are like other kids in Franklin Field/ Mattapar?

1. Yes (Skip to 35)
2. No
3. Don't know

32-34. (If 31 is No) How are they different?

35. Do the staff think they are Like other kids in Franklin Field/ Mattapar?

1. Hes (Skip to 39)
2. No
3. Don't know

36-38 (If 35 in No) How are they different?
39. Are you like the kids who go to that activity or program? (Show card \#7)

1. In just about every way
2. In a few mays
3. Not at all
 OF THE REASONS LISTED BELOW.
4. Required by the court
5. Required by the police
6. Required by DYS
7. Parents sent ine
8. For fun
9. I was worried about my physical wéll being
46.. I wanted help with personal problems
10. I wanted to get a job
11. I wanted to learn
12. My friends told me to' go
50-54. Other (List)
13. Who are the two best staff people at the program, in your opinion? Who are the two leust: helpliul staff people at the program, in your opinion?
1-Identifies helpful and unhelpful staff
2 - Only krows one or two staff, and sees them as alike 3-States that all of the staff people are alike
Who is the person on the staff that you spend the most time with? For this person, how would you describe the way that you get along?

14. How much do you care about what (name of staff person) thinks of you?
1 - Very much
3 - Not very much
2 - Some
4 - Not at all

NEXT, WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF YOU AGREE OR DXSACIUSL WITH EACH OF THIDSE THINGS ABOU'I THE PROGRAM, $\qquad$ -
70. The kids in this program are proud of it.
71. Staff in the program have very little time to encourage kids.
72. Other people try to get kids to show their feelings.
73. The staff do things that the kids here suggest.
74. There is very little time spent on making plans for a kid's future.
75. Kids are expected to share their personal problems with each other.
76. The people who work here make sure that our meeting place is always neat.. …-.........
U 1 F 77. Staff here sometimes fight or hassle each other.
78. Once a plan for what to do is set up for a kid in this program, he must follow it.
79. Kids here really try to better themselves.
80. People who work here want to find out what happens to kids once they stop coming to this program.
81. Kids usually hide their feelings from the staff.
82. Kids are expected to be leaders in this program.
83. Other people try to get kids to plan for their future.
84. Kids don't usually talk about their personal problems with other kids.
85. The place where kids in this program meet is often messy.
86. If a kid is asked to do something fiffor the program, a staff person. always tells him why.
87. Kids may say bad things about someone who works here to their faces.
$\because$ 88. Kids in this program care about each other.
89. People who work here help new kids get to know other people in the program.
90. People who work here and kids say how they feel about each other.
91. The people who work here give kids very little responsibility.
92. People who work here try to get kids to learn new ways of doing things.
93. Personal problems are talked about without any secrecy.
94. The place where we meet for this program usually looks a little messy.
95. When kids First join this progran, someone slows them around and tells them how the program runs.
96. Kids will be thrown out of this program if they don't go by the rules.
97. There is very little group spirit in this program.
98. The more mature kids in this program help out the less mature ones.".
99. People say what they really think around here.
100. Kids have a say about what yoes on here.
101. Nobody cares what kids will be doing after they leave this program.
102. Talks in this program are usually about personal problems.
103. This is a very well organized program. $\because$
104. People who work here are always changing their minds.
105. All decisions about this program are made by the staff and not by the kids in the programs.
$\begin{array}{ccc}\text { 106. Have staff helped you get into public sohool } \\ \text { or another school? } & \text { YES } & \text { NO } \\ 2\end{array}$
107. Help you do better in school? $\quad 1.2$
108. Get you a job or give you a job? $\quad$. 2

109-111. Other $\qquad$ $?$

## (SHOW CARD \# 4)

WHEN STAFF NEMBERS CATCH KIDS DOING THINGS THAT ARE AGAINST THE RUIES, TFERE ARE SEVERAI THINGS THEY CAN DO ABOUT IT. FIRST, TELL ME YES OR NO TO MY QUESTIONS ABOUT WHETHER SOMEONE YOU YNOW OR YOU YOURSELF EVER HAVE BEEN CAUGIT DOING EACH OF THE THINGS I NAME. THEN, WE'LL GO BACK TO THE THIKGS YOU KNOW ABOUT: AND YOU CAN TELL ME WHAT THE STAFF PERSON USUALLY DOES WHEN THEY CATCH A KID DOING EACH OF TEESE THINGS.

are there other things that are against the rules that you or other kids you know have been caught doing? What ARE THEY?

|  | What Does Staff Usually Do? | Does Nothing | Reminds Kid <br> It Isn't <br> Allowed | Physically <br> Stops it | Keeps <br> Kid out of <br> Activities <br> Temporarily | Keeps Kid Out. Forever |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 146. | 151. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 147. | 152. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 148. | 153. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 149. | 154. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 150. | 155. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

## KNOWLEDGE SHEET

1. Program Name and Code:
2. Youth Code Number:
3. Do you want to go to (activity or program)?
4. Yes
5. No
6. Not sure

4-9. Why? (PROBE: WHAT THINGS THERE DO YOU LIKE AND WHAT THINGS THERE DON'T YOU LIKE?)

10-15. What do kids da at (activity or program)?
16. Did you ever try to get into (activity or program)?

1. Yes (GO To fata)
2. NO (GO TQ力t)
3. What happened?
4. Got in (IF CONTACT W/IN LAST 12 MO., FILL OUT CONTACT SHEET)
5. Didn't get in

18-20. (IF 17 IS "DIDN'T GET IN") Why? What stood in the way of your getting in?
We'd like to know what people think of the kids that go to (activity or program).


1. Yes (SKIP TO 25)
2. No
3. Don't know

INTERVIEWER: FOR THESE ITEMS 22-24, 2G28, RECORD "DIFFERENCES" VERBATIM, THEN CODE AS, FOLIOWS:

1. "Better" in sume way (smarter, more money, etc.)
2. Neither better nor worse, just different
3. "Worse" in some way (bad kids, not as smart, etc.)

22-24. How are they different?
25. Do the staff think they are like other kids in Franklin Field/Mattapan?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know
26-28. How do the staff think these kids are different?
4. Are you like the kids who go to (activity or program)? (SHOW CARD \#7)
5. In just about every way
6. In most ways
7. In a few ways
8. Not at all
If you were going to (program or activity), would you care if
9. other kids knew about it ..... 1 ..... 2NO. other kids knew about it
10. your parents knew about it 1 ..... 2
11. your teachers knew about it ..... 1 ..... 2
12. anyone else kenw about.it ..... 1 ..... 2



## SELF REPORTED DELINQUENCY CHECKIIST

|  | In the past year, have you | How many times? |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| V267. purposely damaged or messed up something not belonging to you? | 0. No 1. Yes | (V268) |
| V269. tried to get something by lying about who you were or how old you were? | 0. No 1. Yes | (V270) |
| V271. taken something not belonging to you (not including a car)? | 0. No 1. Yes | (V272) |
| V273. hurt or injured someone on purpose? | 0. No 1. Yes | (V274) |
| V275. threatened to hurt or injure someone (but didn't actually do it)? | 0. No 1. Yes | (V276) |
| V277. gone onto someone's property when you knew you were not supposed to? | 0. No 1. Yes | (V278) |
| V279. gone into a house or building when you knew you were not supposed to? | 0. No 1. Yes | (V280) |
| V281. smoked marijuana (or hashish)? | 0. No 1. Yes | (V282) |
| V283. used any drugs or chemicals to get high or for kicks, except marijuana or alcohol? | 0. No 1. Yes | (v284) |
| V285. taken part in a fight where a bunch of your friends were against another bunch? | 0. No 1. Yes | (V286) |
| V287. carried a gun or knife besides an ordinary pocketknife? | 0. No 1. Yes | (v288) |
| V289. taken a car without permission of the owner leven if the car was rented)? | 0. No 1. Yes | (V290) |





## Family Interview

THIS FIRST SET' OF QUESTIONS IS ABOUT YOUR FAMILY AND HOW LONG THEY HAVE LIVED IN THIS AREA.

1. How many years have you (child's mother) lived in Franklin field/Mattapan? V603
1 (under 1)
2 (1 to 5)
3 (6 to 10)
4 (ll to 20)
5 (over 20)
6 (entire life)
2. How many years has the child's father lived in Franklin field/Mattapan? V604
1 (under l)
2 (1 to 5)
3 ( 6 to 10)
4 (11 to 20)
5 (over 20)
6 (entire life)
3. Do (did) the child's grandparents live in Franklin Fjeld/Mattapan? V OO

1 yes, both sets 2 yes, one set 3 no, none
4. Do you pwn your home? V606

1 yes 2 no
5. Do (did) any of the child's grandparents own a home in Franklin Field/Mattapan? 1607 1 yes, both sets 2 yes, one set 3 no, none
6. Do most of your (CHILD'S MOTHER) close friends live in this neighborhood? 1608 1 yes 2 no
7. Do most of the child's father's friends live in this neighborhood? V60 1 yes 2 no
8. Do either you or your spouse have relatives, other than your parents, who live in Franklin Field/Mattapan? $/ 610$ 1 yes 2 no


- CODE

9. What is the main breadwinner's job?
10. How much education did he/she (the breadwinner) complete? $1 / 6 / 4$

| 1 (graduate degree) | 3 ( $1+$ years of college) | 5 (grades 10-11) | 7 (grades 1-6) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 (2 or 4 year degree) | 4 (high school degree) | 6 (grades 7-9) |  |

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU WHAT NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICES YOUR FAMILY USES.
11. Do you or your spouse belong to a local church?


1 yes 2 no
12. How often do you attend religious services?

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
0 & \text { never/almost never } & 2 \text { every } 2 \text { or } 3 \text { months } 4 \text { once a week } \\
1 \text { once/twice a year } 3 \text { once/twice a month } 5 \text { more than once a week }
\end{array}
$$

I'M GOING TO READ TO YOU SOME OTHER KINDS OF SERVICES THAT YOUR FAMILY MIGHT HAVE USED DURING THE PAST YEAR. FOR EACH KIND OF SERVICE THAT I MENTION, PLEASE TRY TO REMEMBER IF ANYONE IN YOUR FAMILY HAS USED SUCH A SERVICE AND, IF SO, THE NAME OF THE SERVICE AND WHO USED IT. READY?
(Interviewer: Read the SERVICE TYPES listed below one by one, giving the respondent sufficient time to consider possible responses. For each positive response, enter the name of the service in the space provided and consult the Interviewer's Manual for the appropriate codes. Finally, determine whether the CHILD and/or any OTHER family member used the service.) SERVICE TYPES:

- MEDICAL SERVICES - doctor, nurse, clinic o JOB TRAINING/PLACEMENT - CETA, Job Corps

O RECREATION PROGRAMS - BOY/Girl Scouts, sports,arts o LEGAL SERVICES - lawyer, law clinic
o LEARNING/EDUCATION PROGRANS - in and out of school o FINANCIAL AID - AFDC, disability, food

- COUNSELING - alcohol, drugs, family problems

NAME OF SERVICE/ACTIVITY Stamps, unemployment



## Introduction

We are doing a study of programs for youths in Franklin Field/Mattapan. As one part of this study, we are trying to get a good understanding of the differences between the programs that are available. We are doing this by averaging the answers from several staff people in each program.

None of your answers will be given to any person outside of our rorsearch staff. We are taking care to keep your answers confidential. Your name will not be kept on the questionnaire.

Your participation in this interview is voluntary. Nobody will be told whether you participate or not.

The purpose of this study is to understand the program characteristics which are related to participation by youtins. This information is expected to be useful. to the community in planning for future programs. We are not interested in any specific agencies, and will not be naming specific agencies in our report. Instead, we will be talking more generally about the relation of agency characteristics to the delivery of services to youths.

Our first set of questions is about the type of work you do.

## Questions

$\frac{\text { Mark Answer }}{\text { Yes No }}$
$\sqrt{ } 703$ 1. Do you specialize in providing just one type of service to youths, such as counseling or recreation?
$1 \quad 2$

Which of these services do you normally provide during the course of a week's work?


| $V 713$ | 11. Counseling for youth's family | 1 | 2 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $V 7 / 4$ | 12. Counseling for youth's peers | 1 | 2 |
| $V 7 / 5$ | 13. Residence (food and/or shelter) | 1 | 2 |

15. Usually, for how long a time period do most of the kids you see actually come here?
16. For a short period, until a crisis is resolved or a specific activity is finished.
17. For up to three months
18. For four to six months
19. For over six months up to a year
20. For more than one year
21. Until the youth becomes an adult and/or self-supporting or even longer

Do you work during the time listed below ALWAYS, AIMOST ALWAYS, ABOUT HALF OF THE, TIME, NOT USUALLY BUT SOMETIMES, or NEVER.

V718 16. During weekdays, regular office hours

1719 17. During the daytime on weekends
V720 18. During weekdays, evening hours
V721 19. During the evening on weekends $v 12^{2}$ 20. Do youths need an appointment to see you?

|  | MOST ABOUT HALF | SOME- |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ALWAYS | ALWAYS | THE TIME | TIMES | NEVER |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

21. How many youths do you see in an average week?

1724 22. on the average, how long do you spend with them each time?
$\gamma 725$ 23. How many of the youths do you see in your office (as opposed to in their homes or neighborhoods) during an average week?

$\begin{array}{ll} \\ V 26 & 24 . \\ \text { Do youths in this program actually have work responsibilities yes } \\ \text { heres }\end{array}$
$V 727$ 25. Are there any staff here who were once clients or program participants? . I

2
$V 728$ If yes, how many?
V72 26. As a regular part of your program, are youths expected to yes No help other youths?
$V 730$ 27. Do you give paid employment to youths who are in this program? $1 \quad 2$ LIST TYPES OF WORK RESPONSIBILITIES
28. Do youths take part in planning and carrying out their activities in this program?
$1 \quad 2$
If yes: list the way they do this.
V732 29. Are there youths on the board of directors or advisory board?
$\vee 733$ 30. Do youths set their own goals?
12

V734 31. Do youths add to or read records on themselves?
$1 \quad 2$
$\sqrt{ } 73532$. Do youths participate in setting their own goals?
12
$1 \quad 2$
If yes: how?

I'm going to read a series of statements that may or may not be true for your job in (name of organization). For each item I read, please answer as it applies to you and your organization; using the answer categories on this card.

1. Definitely true 3. More false than true
2. More true than false
3. Definitely false
4. First, I feel that I am my own boss in most matters.
Definitely More True More False Definitely

True | Man False Than True False |
| :---: |
| than |

$\sqrt{ } 737$ 34. $A$ person can make his own decssions here without checking with anybody else.

| Definitely More True More Falso Definitel. |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| True | Than False Than Truo Falso |

V73835. How things are done around here
is left pretty much up to the
person doing the work.
V73\%36. People here are allowed to do almost as they please. 1
$V 7 \mathscr{O}_{37}$. Most people here make their own rules on the job. $\quad 1$

V741R 38. The employees are constantly - being checked on rule violations. 1

V742R39: People here feel as though they are constantly being watched to see that they obey all the rules. 1
$\sqrt{73} 40$. There is no rules manual. 1
V744R41. There is a complete written job description for my job.
V74SR42, Whatever situation arises, we have procedures to follow in dealing with it. 1
V746R43. Everyone has a specific job to do. 1
$\sqrt{7} 7>$ 44. Going through the proper channels is constantly stressed. 1

NT48R45. The organization keeps a written record of everyone's job performance.
V749R46. We are to follow strict operating procedures at all times.

Y750R47: Whenever we have a problem we are supposed to go to the same person for an answer

1

1

1
1

1 -
2
-
2

2
3

3
2

4 4

```
4
```

4

Adolescents can be quite disruptive to programs. Listed below are several types of possibly disruptive behavior. For each of the behaviors mentioned, how often does this occur in your program? If the behavior does occur sometimes, what is usually done? The answer to the first question should be recorded on the left side of the behavior described. The answer to the second question should be recorded on the right side of the behavior described.

| Frequency of Behavior <br> in the Program |
| :--- |
| 1 - Happens daily |
| 2 - Happens several times a month |
| 3 - Happens several times a year |
| 4 - Happens occasionally |
| 5 - Never happens to my knowledge |

## Staff Reaction

[^30]Frequency of Behavior
51. $1 \begin{array}{lllll}1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5\end{array}$
52. $1 \begin{array}{lllll}1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5\end{array}$
53. $1 \begin{array}{lllll}1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5\end{array}$
54. 1231345
55. $1 \begin{array}{lllll}1 & 2 & 3 & 5\end{array}$
56. $1 \begin{array}{lllll}1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5\end{array}$
57. $1 \begin{array}{lllll}1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5\end{array}$
58. $1 \begin{array}{llllll}1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5\end{array}$
59. 142345
60. 122345
61. 122345
62. $1 \begin{array}{lllll}1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5\end{array}$
63. 122345

V 767

## Smoking grass <br> Drinking alcohol <br> Hitting other kids

## Staff Reaction

Wrecking equipment or the meeting place
$\checkmark 770$
$V 771$ 66. $1 \begin{array}{llllllll} & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 8\end{array}$
(ate.) 67. $1.2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 8$

Stealing from other kids
Missing appointments or meetings
Bringing friends that don't belong $71 . \begin{array}{llllllll} & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 8\end{array}$
Hitting a staff person
Swearing alot
Gambling with other kids
Selling something stolen
Stealing from staff
Making out
Bcing pregnant
Using drugs besides grass

| 68. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 69. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 |

70. 12 |  | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
71. 1 |  | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
72. 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
73. $1 \begin{array}{lllllll}1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 8\end{array}$
74. $1 \begin{array}{llllllll}1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 8\end{array}$
75. $1 \begin{array}{lllllll}1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 8:\end{array}$
76. $12.23 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 8$
77. $1 \begin{array}{lllllll}1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 8\end{array}$
78. $1.2 \begin{array}{lllllll} & 2 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 8\end{array}$

Being high on grass or alcohol $\downarrow 785$ 80. $17 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 3$


Are there other things that are against the rules which kids in this program have been caught doing? What are they?


The next set of questions are about the Franklin Field/Mattapan community.
92. Where do most of the youths that you work with spend their leisure time?

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 1=k_{n o w s} \\
& 2=\text { doesn't know }
\end{aligned}
$$

93. Do you know any adults in the Franklin Field/Mattapan community who are seen as informal neighborhood or community leaders?

Who?

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 1=\text { know } \\
& z=\text { dosing know }
\end{aligned}
$$

94. Do you know of any social or political clubs for adults in Franklin Field/ Mattapan? What are they?

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 1=\text { know, } \\
& 2=\text { doit know }
\end{aligned}
$$

95. What are the programs in Franklin Field/Mattapan which you coordinate with most effectively in giving services to youth? (Probe: What do you see as effective coordination? Why can you coordinate?)
(Show Program List)
96. What are the programs in Franklin Field/Mattapan which you coordinate with least effectively in giving services to youth? (Probe: What are the stumbling blocks in coordination? What happens when you try to coordinate?)
(Continue to show Program List)

1825 97. In the past year, have you tried to get any kids into any of these other
programs in the community?

1. Yes

If yes: which ones?
2. No

What did you do to try to get them in? work out?


Now I'd like to ask you some questions about yourself.
98. What is your ethnic background?

1. White (not Hispanic)
2. Hispanic
3. Black
4. Other
5. Sex (observe): 1. Male 2. Female
6. Did you grow up in a community like Franklin Field/Mattapan?
7. Yes

If yes, where?
2. No
$\sqrt{830} 101$. How old are you?
183(102. How many years have you worked in Franklin Field/Mattapan?
1832103. How many forcign languages do you spoak? $\qquad$
V833104. Do you live in Frankin Field/Mattapan?

1. Yes 2. No
$\sqrt{834} 105$. Were you ever a participant in a program like tho one where you work now?

V835 106. How many years of school did you finish?
V836 107. What was your father's occupation?
V837 108. What was your father's educational level?

Now I'd like to ask you a few things about services and programs for youths in this community.
109. In this community, what are the three most important activities they could have for kids?
110. Which of these are available now?
111. What things about an activity or a program for kids make them warst to go to it?
112. What are some reasons that kids don't like to go to some programs or activities in the community?
113. In your job, do you spend any time advocating for youths to get services from other agencies or programs?
If yes: About how much time a week?
What kinds of programs?

1. Yes
What is the usual outcome?
2. No
3. Do you spend any time starting or developing programs for kids? 1. Yes
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { If yes: About how much time a week? } \\ & \text { What kinds of programs? } \\ & \text { What is the outcome of these efforts? }\end{array}$

# IBIIMClustrome Institute 

INTERVIEW FOR PROGRAM ADMINISTRATORS
(ALL ADMINISTRATORS SHOULD ALSO ANSWER THE INTERVIEW FOR STAFF)


V903 _ 1. About how many youths are you in contact with during the year?
$\qquad$ - 2. At the present time, how many full-time employees do you have, besides maintenance staff?
$V 905$ 3. At the present time, how many part-time employees do you have, besides maintenance staff, who work over 20 hours a week?
$V 906$ 4. At the present time, how many part-time employees do you have, besides maintenance staff, who work 20 hours or less a week?

How many youths who come to your program receive these services?

All or Almost About All Half Some None

| $V 907$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $V 908$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| $V 909$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| $V 910$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| $V 911$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

5. Help with physical problems or physical development, such as illness, physical activities, obesity.
6. Help with emotional problems or development, such as mental illness or sense of self-worth.
7. Help with.social problems or development, such as getting along with friends or parents.
8. Legal assistance, such as obtaining counsel for a court appearance, understanding rights.
9. Financial assistance, such as provision of funds or jobs.

Are these occupational groups represented on your staff?

|  | No | Yes |  |  |  | No | Yes |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| V912 | 0 | 1 | 10. | Psychiatrist |  | 0 | 1 | 18. | Physician |
| V913 | 0 | 1 | 11. | Psychologist |  | 0 | 1 | 19. | Jobs for Youth |
| ate | 0 | 1 | 12. | Social worker - Masters | level |  |  |  | Supervisor |
|  | 0 | 1 | 13. | General Counselor |  | 0 | 1 | 20. | Vocational Counselor |
|  | 0 | 1 | 14. | Recreation Leader | $v 923$ | 0 | 1 | 21. | Clergyman (priest or |
|  | 0 | 1 | 15. | Lawyer |  |  |  |  | Minister) |
|  | 0 | 1 | 16. | Nurse | $v 924$ | 0 | 1 | 22. | List others |
|  | 0 | 1 | 17. | Teacher |  |  |  |  |  |

$\checkmark 925$ 23. How many full-time administrators are there in this program?
V926 24. How many people in this program provide direct services to youths?
$\vee 927$ 25. Do you ever drop clients who do not comply with program requirements?
Yes $=1 \quad$ No $=2$
V828 If yes: What type of requirements?
$v 929 \quad V 930$
_ to to 26. What age group do you accept into your program?
$\sqrt{ } 931$ 27. Will you accept males and females? Yes $=1 \quad$ No $=2$
Of the characteristics listed below, which ones influence you to accept a youth and which ones influence you not to accept a youth into your program?
$1=$ this would influence us to accept a youth
$2=$ this would influence us not to accept a youth
$3=$ this would have no effect on us
Not No
Accept Accept Infl.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | V932 | 28. | Emotionally disturbed |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | $\vee 933$ | 29. | Low IQ |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | te. | 30. | Physical handicap |
| 1 | 2 | 3 |  | 31. | History of drug abuse |
| 1 | 2 | 3 |  | 32. | History of violence towards others |
| 1 | 2 | 3 |  | 33. | Currently pregnant |
| 1 | 2 | 3 |  | 34. | Family cooperation |
| 1 | 2 | 3 |  | 35. | Family disapproval of youth's participation |
| 1 | 2 | 3 |  | 36. | Status as a delinquent |
| 1 | 2 | 3 |  | 37. | Status as a CHINS |
| 1 | 2 | 3 |  | 38. | Status as dependent or neglected |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | $V 943$ | 39. | From Franklin Field or Mattapan |

$$
(\text { Yes }=1 \quad N O=2)
$$

Yes No
$V 9441$ 40. Do you have a waiting list?

| $V 945$ | 41. If yes, what is the usual wait in days? |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\sqrt{ } 946$ | 2 | 22. |
| 4s your program especially designed to treat or prevent |  |  |
| delinquency? |  |  |

$V 9471$ 43. Does your funding depend on your treating or preventing delinquency?
$V 948$ 44. How many years has your program been in Franklin Field/Mattapan?
$\frac{1949}{\sqrt{950}}$ of . Do you have any local residents on the Board? If yes, how many?

## Appendix B

```
Creation of Key Variables
```

The variable numbers used here are identified on the interview schedules and answer sheets presented in Appendix A. Letter endings on variable numbers indicate reversed scoring. Thus, $\mathrm{V} 319=(1,2)$, and $\mathrm{V} 319 \mathrm{~A}=3-\mathrm{V} 319=$ $(2,1)$. The variables are substantively described in Chapter 2 , beginning on page 21.

Youth Characteristics
AGE $=$ V104
SEX $=\mathrm{V} 105$

RACE $=$ Vl06 (Recoded $W=1, N W=2$ )
SES $\quad=15-(V 611+V 614)$ (See Hollingshead and Redlich)
PENETRAT $=1$ (school subsample, no justice system contact) (from Vlo2)
2 (police contact subsample)
3 (court contact subsample)
4 (MDYS subsample)
DEIINDRG $=Z(D E I I N Q C Y)+Z(D R U G U S E)+Z(P E E R D E L)$, where $Z$ indicates $a$ standardized variable, and

DELINQCY $=$ COUNT V267, V269, V271,. . ., V287, V289 (I)
DRUGUSE $=$ COUNT V 281 V 283 V 283 (1)
PEERDEL $=49-(V 144+V 147+V 148+V 149+V 150+V 152+V 153+$
$\mathrm{V} 154+\mathrm{V} 155+\mathrm{V} 156+\mathrm{V} 158+\mathrm{V} 160)$
ATTACHMT $=22-(V 184+$ V185 + . . + V190 $)$, where V184, V185, . . . V190 are recoded $(3,4,5=3)$

```
JOBASPIR = 8-V178
JOBEXPEC = 8 - VI81
STRAIN = JOBASPIR - JOBEXPEC, but if (STRAIN < 0), STRAIN = 0
GRPAFFIL = 0 if Vl28 = 2 and Vl29 = 4, l otherwise
GANGLIKE = COUNT V130,V131, Vl35, Vl36, Vl37, Vl38 (1)
COHESIVE = 14 - Vl39 + V140 - V14I - Vl42 - Vl43
SERVUSED = COUNT V617, V618, . . ., V624 (1,2,3)
PROGENCR = COUNT V633, V634,. . ., V638 (1,2,. . ., 29)
PAREVAL = 25 - (V625 + V626 + . . + V632)
FAMTIES = 16 + (higher of V603 or V604) - (V605 + V606 + V607 + V608 +
    V609 + V610 + V615)
```

Program Characteristics
FTEMPL = V904
STAFSIZE $=\mathrm{V} 904+(\mathrm{V} 905+\mathrm{V} 906) / 2$ (rounded)
NUMSERVD $=$ V903
ADMINTRS $=\mathrm{V} 925$
ADMINCOM $=(100 * \operatorname{V925}) /(\mathrm{V} 925+\mathrm{V} 926) \quad$ (rounded)
COMPLEX $=$ COUNT V912, V913, . . ., V922 (1)
SERVRANG $=$ COUNT V704, V705, . . ., V715 (I)
INCENTIV $=5-(\mathrm{V9} 46+\mathrm{V} 947)$
BLKSTAFF $=$ COUNT V827 (2)
STAFFSES $=15-(V 836+V 837)$
STAFFED = 8-V835
STAFFAGE = V830
STFYEARS $=\mathrm{V} 831$
LATERAL $=21-(V 907+V 908+\ldots .+\operatorname{V911})$

```
LONGITUD = V7I7
YTHPART = COUNT V726, V727, V729, V730, . . ., V735 (1)
BOUNDARY = COUNT V932, . . ., V937, V939, . . .jV942 (2) V938 V943 (1)
ACCAPPMT = 6-V722
ACCHOURS = v718 + v719 + v720 + v721
ACCPLACE = 100-V725
JOBCODIF = V736 +V737 + . . + V740
RULCODIF = 9 - (V741 + V742)
RULEMAN = V743
JOBDESCR = 5 - V744
JOBSPEC = 25 - (V745 + V746 + . . . + V750)
GREWUPIN = 2 - V829
KNOWAREA = COUNT V796, V797, V798 (I)
STFRESID = 2 - V833
STSIMII = 2 - V834
LVLRULBK = COUNT V751, . . ., V767 (1,2,3,4) V751, ...,V767 (1,2)
STEXPEL = COUNT V770, . . ., V786 (4,5) V770, . . ., V786 (5)
```

Characteristics of Youths' Experiences in Programs

```
ATTENDNC = V303
WANTTOGO = V304A (0 = no, 1 = uncertain, 2 = yes)
EXPELLED = V319A
SCLIMATE = MOOSINV + MOOSSUP + MOOSAUT + MOOSPRAC + MOOSORDR + MOOSCLAR,
    where
    MOOSINV = COUNT V364 V373 V382 V391A (1)
    MOOSSUP = COUNT V365A v374 v383 v392 (1)
    MOOSAUT = COUNT V367 V376 V385A V394 (1)
```

```
    MOOSPRAC = COUNT V368A V377 V386 V395A (1)
    MOOSORDR = COUNT V370 V379A V388A V397 (I)
    MOOSCLAR = COUNT V371A V380 V389 V398A (1)
ROLEREI = COMPETIT + UNEQUAL + INTENSE + TASKFORM, where
    COMPETIT = V347 + V348 + . . . + V352
    UNEQUAL = V353 + V354
    INTENSE = V355 + V356 + V360
    TASKFORM = V361 + V362
DISORDIY = RULEBRK + EXCLUSON, where
    RULEBRK = COUNT V405, V406, . . ., V421 (1)
    EXCLUSON = COUNT V422,. . ., V433, V437, . . ., V441 (4,5)
        V422, . . ., V433, V437, . . ., V44I (5)
SELFSTIG = COUNT V326 V327 (3)
SIMILAR = 5-V333
LINKAGE = COUNT V400, V401, V402 (1) V404 (6,8)
```

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[^0]:    In recent years, disenchantment with rehabilitation in general, coupled with continuing high fear of crime among citizens, has led to greater concern with just deserts (Von Hirsch, 1976), deterrence, and incapacitation, all of which tend to concentrate on institutional corrections. Nevertheless, community-based approaches will continue to flourish, in part because the building of new institutions has not kept pace with the growth in crime.
    ${ }^{2}$ This history of MDYS is primarily based on Coates, Miller, and Ohlin (1978). The reader is referred to this source or other volumes in the series (Miller, et al., 1977; Ohlin, et al., 1978) for more detail.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ The descriptions presented here and in Table 1 are based on Buglass, Jaster, 0 'Brien and Wermeil (1981), and on the "District Profile and Proposed 1979-1981 Neighborhood Improvement program" for East Boston, Allston-Brighton, Franklin Field, and Mattapan, each published in 1979 by the Boston Redevelopment Authority.

[^2]:    Source: Except as noted, these data are adapted from Buglass et al. (1981). The l980 figures are based on a survey of 1,449 households, while earlier data are derived from various sources (usually the U.S. Census). All percentages have been rounded to the nearest $1 \%$, and may not total 100 due to rounding error or elimination of some categories.
    $I_{\text {These }}$ data do not include Franklin Field North, although it was included in our research.
    ${ }^{2}$ Crime data were provided by the Research and Planning Office of the Boston Police Department. The overlap between the Boston Redevelopment Authority planning districts (which we used fox the present study) and police districts (the data reported here) was perfect for East Boston and Allston/Brighton, but only approximately 80\% for Franklin Field/ Mattapan. Population data for computing crime rates were obtained from the 1980 census; the data for Franklin Field/ Mattapan are approximate.

[^3]:    The crime data in Table 1 are based on crimes known to the police, and thus include both adult crime and juvenile delinquency.
    $3_{\text {Based }}$ on discussions with Boston city planners.

[^4]:    ${ }^{4}$ In Table 1 , income data for Franklin Field/Mattapan are probably inflated, since they are based on secondary data for a geographic area which excludes Franklin Field North, one of the poorest areas in the community. However, our study does also include those youths and programs located in Franklin Field North.
    ${ }^{5}$ Our sampling plan called for stratification in each community by race, sex, and level of contact with the juvenile justice system. In Franklin Field/ Mattapan, however, we were unable to meet our quota of white youths, especially in the police and court subsamples. We had a similar problem in East Boston and Allston/Brighton, where we had shortages of black youths.

[^5]:    ${ }^{6}$ Because we have neither longitudinal data nor an experimental design, the present data do not allow us to draw any conclusions about the effectiveness of various programs in reducing delinquency.

[^6]:    This clustering may indicate a response set bias. The format for these questions was hard for many youths to understand, the questions were all scored in the same direction, and they came rather late in a lengthy interview.

[^7]:    $l_{\text {The }}$ need to perform a series of complex file management tasks led to the selection of SAS as the primary statistical package. At this stage of the analysis, the SPSS package then available was incapable of performing these tasks.

[^8]:    ${ }^{2}$ For purposes of illustration, suppose we are merging six files, each of which has missing data for $5 \%$ of the cases. If the same cases are missing in each file, our merged data set would still be 95\% complete. If different cases are missing in each file, however, our merged data set would have complete data on only $70 \%$ of the cases. If the missing data are randomly distributed in the original files, our merged file would have complete data on $74 \%$ of the cases (i.e., .95 ${ }^{6}$ ).
    ${ }^{3}$ For example, a question on religion was often missed, due to its placement on the answer sheet. Similarly, the Knowledge file was missing for several programs, so we eliminated its measures of program stigma from the analysis.

[^9]:    ${ }^{4}$ Initially, we planned to use canonical correlation for these analyses also, but our preliminary analyses did not adequately explicate the relationships among variables. We then decided to regress our dependent (youth experience) variables, one at a time, on the sets of youth or program variables.

[^10]:    $I_{\text {In }}$ this report we present the findings for those canonical correlations which are significant at the . 05 level or better.

[^11]:    ${ }^{2}$ Since both East Boston and Franklin Field/Mattapan are racially homogenous (predominantly white and predominantly black, respectively), we would expect programs in these two communities to attract both youth and staff from a single racial group. If so, the apparent racial matching in Table 4 would be a consequence of attending local programs.

[^12]:    ${ }^{3}$ Because the canonical variables are orthogonal, the redundancy coefficients are cumulative.

[^13]:    $\mathrm{N}=137$ youths attenaing 21 programs.
    $\mathrm{a}_{\text {As }}$ an aid to interpretation, coefficients between -.25 and .25 in the structure matrices have been rounded to zero.
    ${ }^{b}$ Interpretation is based on the variable(s) with the highest correlation(s) with each canonical variable.
    $C_{\text {This }}$ is the correlation between the canonical variable of the first set (youth) and the canonical variable of the second set (program).
    $\mathrm{d}_{\mathrm{t}}$
    This is the significance of the F-test approximation (Rao, 1973) that each canonical correlation and all smaller ones are zero in the population. The table presents all canonical variables which are significant at the .05 level or better.

    This is the proportion of variance in the program variables which is explained by the canonical youth variables.
    $f_{\text {This }}$ is the proportion of variance in the youth variables which is explained by the canonical program variables.

[^14]:    ${ }^{4}$ When we control further for type of program, age is the most important youth characteristic for schools, but not for other programs. We do not present these data here, due to the extremely small Ns.
    $5_{\text {By.multiplying the signs, we see that } A G E \text { and ADMINTRS are positively }}$ related to each other in Allston/Brighton, but negatively related in Franklin Field/Mattapan. Similarly, older youths attend programs with more rule codification in East Boston, but less in Franklin Field/Mattapan.

[^15]:    ${ }^{6}$ Table 7 appears to contradict this statement in Franklin Field/Mattapan, but this is not so. The major youth variable here is AGE, and PENETRAT (at least partially) is correlated with the program variables because of its association with AGE ( $x=.21$ in $F F / M$ ).

[^16]:    7 The reader should not be misled by the increased size of the redundancy coefficients for programs in Tables 5 and 6 compared to Table 4. This is a consequence of the fact that elaborating the data (Rosenberg, 1968) reduces the number of programs in subsequent tables. For example, Table 4 deals with 30 programs, whereas Table 5 deals with 8 schools. Other things being equal, the smaller the number of programs, the less there is to be explained in the data, and the larger the redundancy coefficients will be, automatically.

    8 Generally, to have reliable results for an analysis such as this, we should have ten times as many programs as program variables (Nunnally, 1978). We would thus need a minimum of ( 10 programs/variable $\times 31$ variables $\times 3$ communities $\times 2$ program types $\Rightarrow 1860$ programs, with at least one youth per program. This is not only impractical, it is impossible. There are not 310 schools or 310 other programs in any of the three communities. What this analysis may be most useful for is suggesting which program variables are most important for subsequent studies of this type, and which might safely be excluded. For example, Tables 4-7 reveal that STAFSIZE and FTEMPL contain virtually the same information, and one or the other of them could be omitted in a future study.

[^17]:    * $\mathrm{p}<.05$
    ** $\mathrm{p}<.01$
    *** $p<.001$

[^18]:    The large coefficients associated with STAFSIZE and FMEMPI are offsetting, due to the multicollinearity of these two variables. The net effect is that large programs are attended somewhat more frequently than small ones.

[^19]:    ${ }^{2}$ Due to multicollinearity, this effect is largely offset by ADMINTRS in Allston/Brighton. Still, the net effect is positive, and of a magnitude of approximately . 3.

[^20]:    ${ }^{2}$ For other programs in Allston/Brighton, the correlations between DELINDRG (D), PENETRAT (P), and GANGLIKE (G) are as follows: $r_{D P}=.26, p<.001$; $r_{D G}=.34, \mathrm{p}<.001 ; r_{\text {PG }}=.09, \mathrm{p}<.10$.

[^21]:    * $\mathrm{p}<.05$
    ** $\mathrm{p}<.01$
    *** $\mathrm{p}<.001$

[^22]:    * $\mathrm{p}<.05$
    ** $\mathrm{p}<.01$
    *** p < . 001

[^23]:    $\overline{3_{\text {DELINDRG }}}$ is a predictor in two communities, and PENETRAT is a predictor in the third. We do not make much of this distinction here because this pattern appears to be a consequence of collinearity between these two variables. When two variables are strongly related to each other, whichever one enters the regression equation first will suppress the effect of the other. In East Boston, Allston/Brighton, and Franklin Field/Mattapan schools respectively, the correlations between DELINDRG and PENETRAT are . 37, .31, and . 30, each significant at $p<.001$.
    ${ }^{4}$ This generalization is based on the effects of age (in Allston/Brighton). attachment (in East Boston) and delinquency (in all three communities).

[^24]:    ${ }^{7}$ Again, this is the statistical problem of multicollinearity.

[^25]:    Tror more detail, the reader is referred to the summary sections of the three preceding chapters, on pages $58-59,76$, and 91-97.

[^26]:    'Some readers may disagree with this statement, based on the data presented in Tables 6 and 7. However, the relationships reported there are small, inconsistent, and conditional on both the community and the type of program. We do not consider them important.
    ${ }^{3}$ ro do so would be to commit the logical error of affirming the null hypothesis.

[^27]:    4Most of our non-school programs are located in East Boston.

[^28]:    ${ }^{5}$ See, for example, the effects of BLKSTAFF in Table 13, or STEXPEL in Tables 14 and 15.

[^29]:    6For example, having a GANGLIKE peer group apparently encourages participation in non-school programs in East Boston, discourages it in Allston/Brighton, and has no effect in Franklin Field/Mattapan. The patterns of communityspecific effects are summarized in Table 26 , page 94.

[^30]:    1 - Does nothing
    2 - Reminds kid it isn't allow
    3 - Physically stops it
    4 - Keeps kid out temporarily
    5 - Keeps kid out forever
    6 - Never happened
    8 - Other

