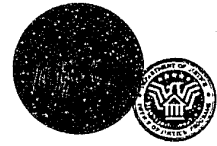


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Juvenile Intensive Supervision

An Assessment

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Juvenile Intensive Supervision

An Assessment

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I. INTRODUCTION

This assessment report is the initial product of the juvenile intensive supervision demonstration project funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP). The project, known as the Demonstration of Post-Adjudication Non-Residential Intensive Supervision Programs, is designed to identify promising and effective non-residential programs which provide intensive supervision for delinquent juveniles. The project also includes implementing promising program models in selected demonstration sites. It is hoped that through this overall effort, more effective, humane and less costly non-residential programs can be implemented throughout the country as an alternative to out-of-home placements for serious and chronic juvenile offenders.

OJJDP organized the project into four distinct stages to accomplish its overriding purposes of assessment and program demonstration. This report outlines the findings of Stage One, the assessment phase. The purpose of this stage was to identify existing programs and assess relevant research related to the implementation and operation of post-adjudication, non-residential, intensive supervision. Of the four project stages summarized below, assessment is the most critical in that it establishes the basis for subsequent analysis and development:

- Stage 1 Conduct a comprehensive assessment of existing programs and information related to the implementation and operation of post-adjudication, non-residential, intensive supervision programs;
- Stage 2 Develop comprehensive, descriptive program operational manuals;
- Stage 3 Incorporate the program operation manuals and related materials into a training and technical assistance package for independent agency use and formal training sessions; and
- Stage 4 Provide intensive training and technical assistance to support selected demonstration sites.

Both the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) and OJJDP recognize that many jurisdictions operate promising juvenile intensive supervision programs (ISPs). In addition to a comprehensive review of the literature, NCCD conducted a nationwide search to identify current ISP models. Based on assessment of the research, review of program descriptions and with input from the OJJDP-appointed Advisory Board, 11 ISPs were selected for further investigation through on-site visits. These on-site visits, in combination with the literature review, form the basis for the findings and discussion contained in this report. The

appendices include brief introductory summaries for each of the 11 programs visited. Comprehensive program descriptions are included in a separate report, "Selected Program Summaries."

The literature review raises several critical program issues and provides the theoretical structure for the project. On-site program assessments provide examples of both strengths and weaknesses of various approaches. The project strategy for subsequent stages is to incorporate strengths from existing programs into the development of operational manuals and program demonstration. To the degree that deficiencies were observed in current programs, recommendations will be made for alternative approaches and enhancements. Throughout the project, all activities and products will contribute to accomplishing the three major goals established by OJJDP:

- Goal 1 To identify and assess operational and effective intensive supervision programs;
- Goal 2 To provide capability to selected localities to implement effective intensive supervision programs for serious offenders through intensive training and technical assistance; and
- Goal 3 To disseminate effective post-adjudicatory, non-residential, intensive supervision program designs for the supervision of serious juvenile offenders.

This report, together with the second document, "Selected Program Summaries," conclude the assessment phase and accomplish the first project goal by identifying and assessing operational or effective intensive supervision programs. The assessment also provides the basis for proceeding with Stages Two through Four. During these stages, operational manuals, training strategies, and technical assistance structures will be developed for demonstration of program models in selected sites.

The following discussion of the literature summarizes the theoretical and analytical basis for juvenile intensive supervision. Section Three outlines the strategy utilized by NCCD to complete the assessment. Section Four provides a discussion of the Stage One findings. The report concludes in Section Five with NCCD's recommendations for developing an ISP prototype. Appendices summarize each of the 11 programs for which NCCD conducted on-site assessments.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this report is to assess the state of the art of juvenile intensive supervision programs (ISPs). Generally non-residential in nature, they are characterized by high levels of contact and intervention by the probation or surveillance officer, small caseloads, and strict conditions of compliance. Some programs incorporate the use of electronic surveillance and/or periodic drug testing. These programs are gaining popularity as juvenile facilities become increasingly overcrowded, budgets are strained, and public sentiment for juvenile offenders is limited.

This chapter begins with a background discussion of juvenile ISPs, including the philosophy and theoretical basis for the programs. This is followed by sections which review the research findings and outline the criteria for evaluating juvenile ISPs.

A. BACKGROUND

A survey completed in 1986 concluded that intensive supervision programs were operating in 35 percent of the juvenile justice agencies across the country (Armstrong 1986). There is no reason to believe that this percentage has decreased. Rather, it is more likely that many more programs have been implemented.

Enthusiasm for intensive supervision programs (ISPs) comes from individuals who view the problems of the juvenile justice system from very diverse perspectives. On the one hand, critics charge that juvenile offenders are treated too leniently and should be held more accountable for their actions. These critics look for strict controls, primarily incarceration, to achieve that accountability. Other critics maintain that too many juveniles are sent to institutions and that only a small percentage require secure facilities. These reformers opt to develop alternative, non-institutional programs. Another group of observers who are frustrated with the handling of juvenile offenders are those whose primary concern is the cost of supervising youths in the juvenile justice system. Constrained budgets force legislators and administrators to establish priorities for precious criminal justice dollars. Their concern is to improve the impact of public expenditures through reduced delinquent activity per dollar spent.

The concept of intensive supervision appeals to all these groups. Offender accountability is enhanced through rigorous supervision conditions. These conditions are monitored by officers having small caseloads and extensive contact with the offenders. The non-residential nature of ISPs pleases those who believe that juvenile offenders can be successfully managed within the community. Because they are non-residential, ISPs are also touted as being more cost effective than placing youths in juvenile institutions for long periods of time.

Intensive supervision programs (ISPs) are not new to probation and parole. In 1977, for instance, one research report identified 46 operating or recently completed programs (Banks et al. 1977). These early ISPs were principally experimental projects focused on adult offenders, and were generally based on the premise that reduced caseloads and increased contacts with probationers would lead to better outcomes. Emphasis was placed on assisting offenders to overcome problems thought to be related to criminal behavior. Success was usually measured in terms of recidivism with other indicators (employment, substance abuse) added at the discretion of the agency or evaluators involved. ISP was rarely considered as an alternative to incarceration. In fact, the 1977 National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice publication Evaluation of Intensive Special Probation Projects listed 15 issues regarding intensive supervision; reduction of prison population was not cited (Banks et al.).

In the early 1980s, corrections' concept of the role of adult intensive supervision programs changed dramatically. Spurred by crowding in prisons and jails, court decisions regarding the totality of conditions of confinement and legislative demands for increased accountability, decision makers began to look for more ways to deal effectively and efficiently with offenders. Traditional probation did not offer a viable solution to the problem because in most jurisdictions probation resources had been cut back severely or had at least failed to keep pace with increases in caseloads. As probation resources declined, the gap between the degree of public protection offered by incarceration and probation widened. Intensive supervision was an obvious choice to help fill this gap. On an average cost basis, there was little doubt that it could be run less expensively than incarceration, and correctional administrators were equally certain that a substantial number of offenders currently incarcerated could succeed in the community under stringent supervision. The need for viable alternatives, together with public acceptance of programs stressing heavy surveillance, restitution and community service, and excellent marketing efforts by corrections departments, resulted in intensive supervision quickly becoming a national trend at the adult level.

Juvenile corrections, faced with similar problems (though on a smaller scale), saw even more promise in intensive supervision programs. Generally unwilling to abandon the ideals of treatment and services to help children overcome problems, intensive supervision programs offered potential to provide services at a level many felt had long been needed, while avoiding the potentially harmful effects of incarceration. Thus, interest in juvenile intensive supervision grew exponentially.

The focus of this report is the discussion of several ISP approaches that currently exist in jurisdictions across the country. Diverse factors served as the impetus for their creation and the programs remain operational in a variety of political

atmospheres. What is common to all is that they provide an alternative to traditional probation and residential placement.

Empirical data on the efficacy of juvenile ISPs are limited, and the findings from the available research is, admittedly, mixed. Our purpose within this project is to assess the degree to which intensive supervision programs are able to identify and meet their stated goals. Can serious juvenile offenders be successfully treated within the community? Is intensive supervision more cost effective than placement in a traditional institution? Does the existence of an ISP in a jurisdiction reduce the number of commitments to institutions? Are the youths who are targeted for the program the ones who are actually assigned to the program? The extent to which ISPs meet these goals will help to assess whether they are really a new, viable alternative or just a new name for an old "probation" concept.

Identifying the Serious Juvenile Offender

There are those who have suggested that nothing is particularly innovative about the "new" intensive supervision programs. As Armstrong (1988) pointed out, the concepts of structure, individualized treatment, and protection of the community have long been part of the definition of "probation."

One way that the ISPs propose to be innovative is by targeting serious, chronic juvenile offenders. Traditionally, probation has been considered a "first step" in the formal juvenile corrections system. Placement on probation was used for youths who did not need to be locked in a secure facility or placed out of home in a non-secure facility. As juvenile facilities became seriously overcrowded, administrators have been forced to reconsider the criteria used to determine which youths need to be placed in an institution. ISPs provide an alternative, intermediate sanction for youths who would otherwise be in a facility. As an alternative to institutionalization, the ISPs must target offenders who are more serious, chronic delinquents than those on regular supervision.

While the definition of "serious" juvenile offender varies among programs, it includes the chronic juvenile offender, the individual who began his or her delinquent career at an early age, who has numerous offenses and who is most likely to continue to an adult criminal career. These youths represent the biggest drain on the juvenile justice system. Research tells us that while the chronic recidivists (Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin 1972) comprise a relatively small proportion of the delinquent population, they commit the vast majority of offenses. Youths who are most likely to be found in juvenile facilities are repeat property offenders (Allen-Hagen 1988).

The violent offender is also a serious offender, but this population is not necessarily representative of chronic, repeat offenders. The public tends to overestimate the role that juvenile offenders play in the commission of violent crime (NCCD

1988a). Research shows that the majority of violent offenses are not committed by juveniles (Hamparian et al. 1985; Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin 1972; Wolfgang 1984). It is not easy to identify who will become a member of the "violent few" (Hamparian et al. 1985) because one violent offense is not a good predictor of future violence (Hamparian et al. 1985; Monahan 1981). The findings of the Philadelphia birth cohort study indicate that the level of violence does not necessarily escalate with each new offense (Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin 1972; Figlio 1981).

These findings need to be weighed against the fact that cities across the country are experiencing a resurgence of violent gang activity. Much of the violence is motivated by drug trafficking and related territorial disputes. The youths are sophisticated and often better armed than the police officers. While removal from the community may be the most viable option for many of these offenders, some intensive supervision programs do target the youths who are violent offenders. Even in a city as gang-ridden as Los Angeles, an intensive supervision program is in operation. However, in these cases, it is generally the combination of chronicity and violence which targets them for intensive supervision.

Targeting the more serious juvenile offender to remain in the community under ISP parallels the increased use of probation for the more serious felony offender in the adult system. As Petersilia (1985) explains, from 1974 through 1983 when the prison population increased by 48 percent, the probation population nationwide also increased by 63 percent (Petersilia 1985:1). Over one-third of the adult probation population are people who were convicted of felony offenses (Petersilia 1985:2). As adult probation populations have grown and include relatively serious offenders, administrators have been forced to re-think the purpose and structure of probation. While no comparable data exist about the composition of juvenile probation caseloads, reports from around the country suggest that juvenile probation officers are dealing with more chronically delinquent clients.

Intensive supervision programs propose to serve as alternatives to juvenile institutions. A number of states have initiated limits to the discretionary power of the juvenile court. These limitations clarify the type of sanction that youths can receive and the length of time they must spend in an institution. Though not universal, the trend in juvenile justice is towards determinate or presumptive sentencing structures (National Conference of State Legislatures 1988). Overall, goals of these policies are to promote sentencing equity, assure that a sanction is provided and/or control the population entering institutions.

These policy changes contribute to seriously overcrowded juvenile facilities. The latest Childrer, in Custody (CIC) figures report that 53,503 youths were housed in state-run juvenile facilities, the highest number since the CIC survey began in 1971 (Allen-Hagen 1988). Statistics for 1985 show that

45 percent of youths were housed in facilities that were filled, on the average, 18 percent above designed capacity (BJS 1986). Since that time, not only has the juvenile offender population increased, but the designed capacity for public juvenile facilities has increased by eight percent as well (Allen-Hagen 1988).

The cost of housing juvenile offenders in these types of facilities is substantial. In fiscal year 1986, states spent \$1.46 billion to operate juvenile facilities. The annual per capita costs ranged from \$23,000 in the Western region of the United States to \$45,300 in the North East (Allen-Hagen 1988). While the public and policymakers favor holding juvenile offenders accountable for their actions (Greenwood n.d.; Armstrong 1988), fiscal constraints alone will contribute significantly to forcing states and local jurisdictions to prioritize the use of juvenile justice dollars for juvenile facilities.

Mandates for Change: Rehabilitation and Responsibility

Despite the 1970s discussions that rehabilitative programs were ineffective (Martinson 1974; Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks 1975), the public still favors rehabilitation as the primary goal for the juvenile justice system (Cullen and Gendreau 1988; Gendreau and Ross 1987). NCCD recently surveyed 1,109 adults in the state of California, a state which has one of the highest rates of juvenile incarceration in the country. Respondents were not in favor of abandoning the juvenile justice system or its goals of rehabilitation and treatment. They also favored developing alternatives to institutionalization rather than spending more money to build new juvenile facilities (Steinhart 1988).

Such attitudes lend support for policymakers to develop juvenile intensive supervision programs which hold youths accountable for their illegal actions and also address their needs for rehabilitative services. The two goals of enforcing responsibility and rehabilitation can result in conflicts, but they are not mutually exclusive. For example, many of the ISPs in operation today combine treatment components such as remedial education and drug counseling with appropriate sanctions if conditions of probation are not met.

The public perceives traditional probation as not having satisfactorily met the goals of enforcing responsibility and promoting rehabilitation. Probation has been criticized for maintaining inadequate supervision of its charges, and for being unclear about the role of the probation officer. These officers are called to serve both as officers of the court and as social workers. Probation is also seen as impotent in enforcing the established conditions of probation (Armstrong 1988).

The NCCD survey of California residents provides a clear example of this disillusionment. While the respondents did not

endorse training school placements, neither did they place much confidence in traditional probation services. Only 12 percent of the respondents thought first time offenders should be placed on probation. However, 72 percent recommended placement in a special program to receive counseling and treatment. These figures decreased to 5 percent recommending probation and 60 percent recommending special programs for a repeat, serious crime. However, only 10 percent thought a term in a state correctional facility was a reasonable sentence for a first-time offender, and 31 percent believed it was reasonable for a repeat, serious crime. The remaining respondents had no opinion (Steinhart 1988). These survey results support the use of intensive supervision programs that provide alternatives to traditional training schools while providing supervision, programming and control more rigorous than traditional probation.

Delinquency Causation Theory and ISP

Delinquency prevention and control programs have only infrequently been guided by the conclusions of delinquency theory. The worlds of theory and practice are too often separate and isolated professional environments. The theorists complain that practitioners will not follow their great advice; the professionals assert that the theories are "too ivory tower" and that the academic pronouncements offer little practical guidance for "real world" problems. Whatever the merits of either side of this debate, it is unfortunate that program and policy development has not been enriched by the significant contributions of delinquency research and theory. Likewise, scientific inquiry into the causes of delinquency would be greatly advanced by greater familiarity with the clinical judgments and experience of juvenile justice and prevention practitioners.

One of the most difficult issues is that most delinquency theories seek to predict or explain those youth who will engage in delinquent acts compared to those who will be essentially law abiding. But for practitioners, the usual target population are chronic and serious offenders--who form a very small subset of all youth who engage in delinquent behavior (Wolfgang et al. 1972). It is not at all obvious that theories which account for the presence or absence of delinquency are the same theories to explain differences in the intensity or quality of delinquent careers. Still, delinquency theories have much to contribute to improved correctional services. In particular, theories help us (1) sort out which interventions might make significant improvements over current approaches, (2) specify intervening processes leading to successful treatment outcomes and (3) clarify the interrelationships among various program components with hoped-for reductions in recidivism.

There are three major theoretical models that dominate recent research on delinquency. The first paradigm, known as Strain Theory, postulates that delinquency evolves from the frustration of individuals who aspire to achieve conventional material and social values but who are persistently blocked in the

achievement of these aspirations (Cloward and Ohlin 1960). This frustration leads them to seek unconventional and often illegitimate means to reach their objectives. Moreover, the frustration of blocked aspirations builds resentment over the established rules and societal institutions.

A second paradigm focuses on Social Learning. In this view, individuals receive positive and negative material and social reinforcements for their behavior. Social Learning theorists posit that delinquents receive relatively fewer reinforcements for their pro-social actions and relatively more frequent (and more salient) reinforcements for their illicit activities (Akers 1977). A significant factor in Social Learning Theory is the youth's involvement with delinquent peers and, especially, organized deviant groups.

Control Theory is another and highly influential paradigm for explaining delinquent behavior. Control theory assumes that numerous motivations to commit delinquent acts exist for everyone. Control theory suggests that the key elements in delinquency causation are the strength of internal and external constraints against law violating behavior (Hirschi 1969). Examples of internal constraints include moral beliefs as well as attitudes about appropriate behavior. External constraints involve the individual's perception of the probability of positive or negative outcomes of delinquent behavior--e.g., the probability of apprehension, potential punishments or potential rewards. Control theorists assert that early socialization patterns as well as current bonding to conventional values and activities are essential variables in strengthening controls against the temptations of delinquency.

Each of these major delinquency theories has its proponents and detractors. However, each theory has been subjected to considerable empirical validation with reasonably good results. Control, Strain and Social Learning theories have significant points of conceptual overlap. Further, Elliott and his colleagues have persuasively argued that all three paradigms provide explanatory value depending on the level of analysis such as macro delinquency trends, social area differences or individual patterns of offending (Elliott et al. 1985). Elliott and his associates have proposed an integration of the three major delinquency paradigms and have argued that the resulting Integrated Model provides the strongest predictor of differential individual delinquency rates. Their Integrated Model has been subjected to extensive and sophisticated empirical testing as part of the National Youth Survey--a longitudinal study of self-reported delinquency among a large probability sample of American youth. The Model argues that the combined forces of inadequate socialization, strain and social disorganization lead to weak bonding to conventional values and activities. According to Elliott and associates, this weak bonding is combined with powerful bonding with delinquent values and delinquent peers, providing a powerful push towards law violating behavior. Elliott and his colleagues also posit that strain or weak bonding

alone could lead to delinquent behavior, albeit these single causes factors are not as powerful as combinations of these factors.

While the delinquency theories discussed above offer only general guidance for structuring program components, the Integrated Model does provide a conceptual framework to interpret how program components are selected and how they interrelate to each other. Moreover, the Integrated Theory and its related empirical measures permits a detailed testing of program implementation. Later discussion regarding the design of an ISP prototype for testing and demonstration outlines the relationship between the core program elements and the Integrated Model.

Sentencing Philosophy and ISP

Sentencing philosophies (sometimes referred to as "Sentencing Theory") also provide an underlying rationale for implementation of ISP programs. As the earlier discussion illustrates, juvenile justice today is torn between punishing juveniles for their misdeeds and the belief that youthful offenders should be rehabilitated. Juvenile intensive supervision programs are well-suited for the times because they can serve the goals of a number of sentencing philosophies. Retribution, risk control, and rehabilitation are the three that are most relevant.

The philosophy of justice based on retribution is centered around the idea that those who violate the law should be punished. Based on the concept of free will, it is not only the right but the responsibility of society to punish the offender who chooses to commit criminal acts (Beccaria 1764). In addition, the offender has the right to expect that the punishment will not be unduly harsh or disproportionate to the gravity of the offense. Punishment should represent the "just desserts" for the criminal behavior.

Researchers studying both adult and juvenile ISPs note that intensive supervision programs are not designed to serve purely retributive purposes. Clear (1986:109) maintains that it is the philosophy of just desserts that sets the standard for the kind of punishment that is appropriate, but that other factors determine the degree to which the punishment may be imposed.

Byrne (1986) refers to the retribution-based sentencing approach as the "justice model". A justice-based ISP would have the following components: daily contact between probation officer and probationer, community service orders, and restitution or fines to be paid. The need to assess the offenders' potential for future criminal activity would be unnecessary (i.e., deterrence or risk) because they are being punished for the crime already committed. He concluded that no ISP program in existence was based on a pure justice model (Byrne 1986:6).

Risk control is a utilitarian rationale for court sanctions. Once a crime is committed, a sanction is imposed to prevent the offender from committing further criminal acts. Sanctions are usually based on the seriousness of the present crime and the predicted potential that the offender has to continue delinquent activity in the future. According to this approach, the intervention should not be excessive. However, within the juvenile justice system, there is a great deal of leeway as to what constitutes an appropriate intervention. Clear claims that risk control is the driving factor behind the development of ISPs. The increased contact with the probation officer is not designed to punish, but to deter youths from becoming involved in future delinquent activity (Clear 1986).

O'Leary and Clear's prototype of the "limited risk control" intensive supervision program includes such features as small caseloads, weekly contacts, and visits at home and at work. Additional components, which directly address preventive goals, could be requirements for counseling or educational training. If conditions of probation are not adhered to, swift and certain consequences are imposed (O'Leary and Clear 1984).

As was outlined earlier in reference to NCCD's survey of California residents (Steinhart 1988), Byrne also observed that the idea of rehabilitation has not met its demise. It continues to be a guiding force in the development of adult intensive supervision programs. Programs based on a rehabilitative philosophy emphasize the importance of education and job training, the significance of developing long-term goals for the individual, and involvement with the community activities and organizations. Here, for example, the purpose of becoming employed is not only to occupy the individual's time, but to improve the offender's future (Byrne 1986).

The National Survey of Juvenile Intensive Probation Supervision found that increased monitoring, rather than treatment, was the primary focus of most juvenile intensive supervision programs. Seventy-eight percent of the juvenile justice agencies responding to the survey said their goal was to increase the intensity of the surveillance of their charges. The other programs focused more on rehabilitative goals and emphasized the expansion of resources and support services for clients (Armstrong 1986).

Intensive supervision programs often attempt to satisfy a diverse array of sentencing philosophies. This multiplicity of goals can undermine the integrity of a specific program and make it difficult, if not impossible, to evaluate the program's success.

Risk Prediction and ISP

Most ISPs propose to provide some level of risk control in their program goals and daily operations. Central to the development and continuance of ISPs is the theme of providing services (rehabilitation) in an environment that does not

jeopardize public safety. In this context, it is critical to assess risk by identifying factors which predict the degree of risk presented by program participants.

Risk assessment in its traditional sense, is the process of determining the probability that an individual will repeat an unlawful or destructive behavior. Risk prediction can take several forms - risk of violent behavior, risk of any new offense (recidivism) or risk of a technical violation of probation or parole. Each type of behavior represents a different degree of concern for the correctional system and for the community in general. For example, while past research indicates that property offenders are the group most likely to recidivate, the violent offender may represent greater danger, and inspire greater fear in the community. To be of maximum value to decision makers, risk assessment must consider all of these concerns and the moral and legal issues surrounding each one.

Youth representing very different levels of risk enter correctional systems. Some will never commit another offense; others will commit many crimes and move continually in and out of various components of the criminal justice system. Identification of the latter group has been a great concern of social science researchers for many years. Predicting parole success or failure gained much attention in the 1920s with the work of Harno, Luane Burgess, and the Gluecks. Their work was devoted to the construction of experience-based tables which were used to estimate the likelihood that an offender would repeat an offense after release from prison. Although statistical techniques have become more powerful in recent years, the general theory remains the same. Future individual behavior is predicted from actual behavior of a group of individuals with similar characteristics.

In practice, rating the relative risk of each offender is approached in a variety of ways by juvenile agencies. Some rely on the judgment of the supervising officer; others utilize actuarial or base expectancy tables; a few use psychological screening devices; and others use some combination of the above methods. The task of risk assessment is difficult since it is an attempt to project future behavior. Obviously, specific predictions (i.e., type of crime) are more difficult to make than are more general predictions (recidivism). Certainly, past attempts to predict assaultive behavior met with very limited success and even risk assessment instruments developed to predict general recidivism, fail to explain much of the variance in criminal activity among individuals. Despite this low individual predictive power, several risk assessment instruments identify factors which provide reasonably accurate estimates for aggregate populations. For example, one subset of an offender population may be 20 times as likely to recidivate as another subset. While predictions as to which individuals within a group will commit new offenses cannot be accurately made, the information is still very valuable and should be used to help allocate agency resources. This identification of higher risk offenders can be

useful in assessing eligibility for ISPs. The identification of factors which contribute to increasing risk can be useful in guiding overall program design. NCCD has conducted numerous studies to identify risk factors which provide a basis for structured risk assessment scales.

While most prior research efforts in juvenile risk prediction dealt exclusively with parole (aftercare), the results do present some guidelines for probation risk scale development as well. Studies conducted in Illinois (Baird 1973), California (Wenk 1974), Ohio (Wiebush and Hamparian, 1986) and Alaska (Baird 1988) indicated that prior criminal involvement indices such as age at first adjudication, numbers of prior adjudications, and number of prior commitments were the best predictors of future behavior available. In addition to criminal history variables, these studies noted that institutional adjustment (Illinois), drug usage (California), and emotional stability (Wisconsin) increased the overall predictive ability of each risk assessment scale.

To identify factors which predict juvenile recidivism and augment the development of a risk instrument, NCCD obtained data from five agencies (Baird 1984): Orange County, California Probation; Hennepin County, Minnesota Court Services; the Louisiana Department of Corrections; the Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility; and the New Mexico Boys School at Springa. The data varied in quality and quantity among sites as did the point of correctional intervention at which data were obtained (probation or correctional facility placement). These differences prevented merging of the information into a single data file. Despite this drawback, separate analysis of each data set proved valuable.

Based on all of the information reviewed, the following elements seem generally predictive of continued criminal involvement for juveniles:

1. Age at first adjudication
2. Prior criminal behavior (a combined measure of the number and severity of priors)
3. Number of prior commitments to juvenile facilities
4. Drug/chemical abuse
5. Alcohol abuse
6. Family relationships (parental control)
7. School problems
8. Peer relationships

While the underlying theoretical base should guide the program design, providing program components which respond to identified risk factors enhances the ISP's capability to meet the needs of a high risk juvenile population. Structured risk assessment (in combination with clear intake policies and procedures) also provide consistency in evaluating youth for program eligibility and assure that ISP resources are reserved for the appropriate juvenile population.

Designing Successful Intensive Supervision Programs

Although variation exists among intensive supervision programs already implemented, there are several common themes. The first of these is that "smaller is better." ISPs are based on the premise that youths can be better served by probation-surveillance officers who are responsible for small caseloads. Often traditional probation officers are responsible for upwards of 100 juvenile offenders. Intensive supervision caseloads are likely to be less than half that size and are frequently much smaller. The research literature does not offer specific guidance on ideal caseload sizes for intensive supervision.

The rationale is that surveillance can be more intense and, therefore, more effective if probation officers have fewer juveniles to supervise. Research has shown, however, that smaller caseloads per se do not guarantee effective supervision. Early studies showed that caseload size had very little impact on the level of supervision provided (Clear 1987; See also Banks et al. 1977; Gottfredson et al. 1980; Neithercutt and Gottfredson 1974; Carter and Wilkins 1984). Clear (1987) suggests the impact of smaller caseloads is offset by the increased paperwork and reporting that is required by the intensive supervision program.

The extent to which any program is effective is, of course, dependent on the measure of success which is used. Intensive supervision failure can be measured by rearrests and violations of the conditions of probation. Clear (1987) reports that youths in early intensive supervision programs had comparable rearrest rates to the control groups, but higher reported levels of noncompliance with program rules. Jackson (1983) concurs that smaller caseloads do not assure reductions in recidivism and may, indeed, increase the likelihood that the youths under supervision will fail because they are more likely to be held accountable for technical violations. This becomes particularly significant if the response to the technical violation is more severe than the original sanction would have been for the instant offense. ISPs must have internal, program-based consequences which provide appropriate responses to the technical violations.

The second attribute that presumably makes intensive supervision programs different from regular probation is the nature or quality of the contacts made by the probation officer. Although smaller caseloads may not guarantee that youth are seen more frequently by their probation officers, ISPs are designed to provide "quality" supervision. Here the connection between theory and practice is most important.

Recent research conducted by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) tested the impact of different types of probation supervision on subsequent recidivism (NCCD 1988b). The study was conducted in Utah, a state which has greatly reduced the number of training school beds and has developed community-based services in their place. Using an experimental design, youths were randomly assigned to one of three types of probation

services. The experimental conditions were designed to vary in terms of the nature and extent of contact between probation officer and probationer. Youths in the notification group were placed on probation but received no supervision or services. The routine supervision group was designed to be comparable to traditional probation supervision. These youths were required to meet with their probation officer at least twice each month. Any other services were brokered to other social service agencies. Youths in the intensive supervision group were to receive a minimum of one face-to-face contact and one phone contact per week. The probation officers were responsible for providing both supervision and treatment services for their clients (NCCD 1988b).

Recidivism results based on a 12-month follow-up indicated that there were no significant differences among the three probation groups. This disappointing result was partially due to the fact that the nature and extent of the contacts for the intensive group were somewhat less than as originally designed. Moreover, NCCD found that even the intensive supervision services were very traditional in character--taking place in probation offices and consisting mostly of informal counseling which rarely involved family members.

One positive result from this Utah study was the development of a probation risk assessment instrument based on factors found to be correlated with success and failure on probation. NCCD urged that probation agencies develop their own risk instruments to more efficiently allocate supervision resources to different youths. The instrument has since been modified by the Second District court in Utah and is currently operating to make the most efficient use of probation services.

The theory underlying an intensive supervision program is an important factor in program design. Davidson and his colleagues (1987) tested several theories of juvenile delinquency by implementing an experimental design in a medium-sized industrial city in the Midwest. Offenders referred by the court were randomly assigned to one of five experimental conditions or to the control group. These control group youths were remanded back to the court for processing. Some of the treatment programs were administered by trained volunteers and others by court personnel. The programs included family counseling, behavior contracting, and advocacy within the community. The researchers concluded that there were no significant differences among the groups in terms of self-reported delinquency. However, official delinquency results (identified as subsequent court petitions within two years) indicated that the treatment groups using methods based on social control theory such as behavior contracting and problem-solving skills were the most successful. Those youths who were supervised by trained volunteers outside of the juvenile court were also successful, a result which the authors believe lends some support for diversion from the formal juvenile justice system (Davidson et al. 1987).

B. REVIEW OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Researchers have conducted numerous studies to assess the success of community-based sanctions. The development of intensive supervision programs for juveniles should be based on research that compares the outcome of various community-based programs with those of traditional juvenile confinement policies.

Evaluation of Community-Based Sanctions

One of the most important studies of community-based sanctions was the Silverlake experiment conducted by Empey and Lubeck (1971). Juvenile offenders from Los Angeles County were assigned to either an experimental program (a small community program which included daily school attendance, intensive group meetings and home visits on the weekends), or to a traditional institution (control group). The Silverlake program, unlike later ISP programs, had a residential component. The rearrest rates for the experimental and control groups were virtually identical, 60 percent and 56 percent, respectively (Empey and Lubeck 1971:255). Although the results did not show that the community-based program was more successful, the authors concluded that the experimental program did not put the public at a substantially greater risk.

Empey and Erickson (1972) conducted a similar study in Provo, Utah. The Provo experiment compared traditional probation services with institutional placements and an intensive community-based program. Youths were randomly assigned to one of two kinds of probation: either the community-based experimental program which included daily group sessions, or to the control group which received traditional probation. These two groups were later compared to youths who had been released from training schools across the state.

In the Provo study, all of the groups showed relatively high levels of recidivism, but both of the probation groups did better than the training school group. The youths who remained in the community showed greater long-term decreases in delinquent activity than the youths who had been sent to an institution (Empey and Erickson 1972:211). Between the two experimental and control probation groups significant differences occurred only in the first year of follow-up, with the experimental group performing better than the traditional probation control group. After one year, the differences leveled out (Empey and Erickson 1972:210).

Another study, the Community Treatment Project (CTP), involved the random assignment of youths to either a community-based program or to traditional placement in a California Youth Authority training school. The community program was a supervision program in which caseloads were no larger than 12

parolees. Palmer's (1971) early results were promising, concluding that the community-based program did better than the traditional track. Later analyses concluded that the community-based program produced results that were no worse than the training schools (Lerman 1975).

Finally, the research by Murray and Cox (1979) infused a new concept into the evaluation of community-based programs. In the study later entitled Beyond Probation, the researchers introduced the term "suppression effect." Whereas previous studies had measured success only in terms of prevalence of recidivism, the suppression effect used the frequency or incidence of reoffending as an additional measure of program outcome. The youths in the study were assigned to various types of alternative programs operated by the Unified Delinquency Intervention Services (UDIS) in Cook County, Illinois. The recidivism rates of youths placed in the UDIS programs were compared with youths who were sent to Department of Corrections' facilities. All of the study youths showed marked declines in their incidence of reoffending. Those placed in the training schools and more rigorous community-based programs performed the best.

The controversial claim of a dramatic suppression effect by Murray and Cox was challenged by McCleary et al. (1978). These critics claimed that the results were marred by statistical artifact; that it was maturation of the youths and attrition of cases that produced the results. In addition, they challenged that regression to the mean had skewed the results. McCleary and his colleagues argued that the youths were being sent to the UDIS programs at a time when they were reaching their peak of delinquent activity. The declines in activity were simply a natural result of not being able to maintain that high level of delinquent activity. Others including NCCD (1988B) and Murray and Cox (1979) have attempted to control for these statistical artifacts and still report a substantial suppression effect.

These studies provide support for intensive supervision programs. The research findings suggest that some youths can be supervised in the community at least as successfully as within the traditional method of training school and subsequent parole. However, it is important to note that these early studies did not provide a well-defined prototype of what an intensive community-based program must contain.

Adult ISPs: Implications for the Juvenile System

Although juvenile ISPs are the focus of this report, adult intensive supervision programs have been in operation longer and have been studied extensively. New Jersey and Georgia have established programs, while Massachusetts has an experimental program in place. (See Pearson and Bibel 1986; Erwin 1986;

Cochran, Corbett, and Byrne 1986.)¹ Early results of the studies indicate that intensive supervision programs have potential for relieving overcrowded prison conditions and for serving as cost-effective alternatives to incarceration (Armstrong 1988). Some research findings are particularly relevant to the study of similar programs in the juvenile system.

Since 1983, New Jersey has been operating an intensive supervision program as a mechanism for early release from the overcrowded prison system (Jamieson, Smith, and Rogers 1988; Pearson and Bibel 1986). Unlike many other intensive supervision programs, individuals must be first sentenced to a period of incarceration. Here, the intensive supervision program is not a sentencing option for judges. After the individuals have served a few months in prison, they can apply to the intensive supervision program and are carefully screened for acceptance (Pearson and Bibel 1986).

The New Jersey intensive supervision program includes small caseloads, rigorous monitoring and revocation of failures, counseling, required employment, community service, and payment of fines and restitution (Pearson 1988). Early results indicate that the program was a success and that those offenders who were enrolled in the program did as well as, if not better than, a comparable group of offenders released directly from prison (Jamieson, Smith, and Rogers 1988).

These early results are now being supported by more complete data as the program is in operation for a longer time (Pearson 1988). The New Jersey ISP is still considered a success and is highly regarded by legislators and the judiciary. Recidivism results indicate that ISP works best with felons who are neither violent nor habitual offenders. New Jersey's ISP is regarded as an intermediary sanction between probation and incarceration. With respect to reducing prison admissions, the New Jersey program is regarded as a modest success, saving some prison beds and, therefore, some corrections' expenditures. Researchers suggest that more evaluations are needed to assess the most important factors in determining the success of the New Jersey ISP model.

Intensive probation supervision in Georgia is utilized to divert inmates from prison. Responding to serious prison overcrowding and public support for stiffer sentencing practices, the Georgia program was implemented in 1982. Offender selection for program participation is based on risk/needs assessment instruments. Offenders are categorized in terms of risk, and recidivism results are reported for each of these categories.

¹ Two entire issues of Federal Probation were devoted to this topic. See Federal Probation June 1986 and December 1987.

recidivism results are reported for each of these categories. The conclusions drawn are that individuals can be adequately supervised within the community without posing undue risk to the public. Another important conclusion is that intensive supervision is most effective for those who had been identified as high risk by the risk assessment instrument. Those offenders designated as low risk actually performed worse than expected on ISP. Their failure on ISP resulted from technical violations of probation, not new criminal offenses. These probation violations would likely have been overlooked if the individuals were on regular probation (Erwin 1986).

The results of the adult programs are encouraging for the development of intensive supervision for juveniles. Although there are considerable differences between the juvenile and adult criminal justice systems, there is hope that some of the components may be adaptable. Based on his research, Goldstein (1986) maintains, for example, that the characteristics of the New Jersey ISP--well-defined target population, clear and specific expectations, and purposeful intervention--can be translated to the juvenile system.

The success of the New Jersey program has been used as support for the development of several juvenile ISPs, both in and out of the state. As part of an evaluation of the adult ISP, officers who work in the program were interviewed as to how they would modify the program for juveniles. They believed that basic components of the program could be implemented in the juvenile justice system. However, they acknowledged that some modification of the model should be made. These modifications include placing a limitation on the amount of community service required and a greater emphasis on education. Unlike the adult model where the individual is on his own to complete the program, the officers believed that the youth's family, the courts, and other interested parties should also be more involved in the juvenile supervision plan (Goldstein 1986).

New Jersey policymakers had previously been reluctant to implement juvenile ISPs. As a result of Goldstein's (1986) evaluation of the adult ISP, two ISPs for juvenile offenders were developed. One program, Probationfields, is a day program incorporating education, vocational training, and counseling. The second program, Juvenile Probation Intensive Team Resource (J.U.P.I.T.E.R.), is a surveillance program geared toward serious juvenile offenders at risk of being sent to an institution. Because these programs are in the early implementation stages, no statistical data are available on their results. However, as Goldstein (1986) points out, their very implementation is a testimony to careful planning and design.

NCCD is currently involved in a demonstration project for adult ISPs which is funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance.

Throughout the project, training, technical assistance, and evaluation are being provided to a number of sites across the country. The purpose of the project is to help jurisdictions "fine tune" their use of intensive supervision or develop new ISPs. The researchers have concluded that there is no one model of intensive supervision that is appropriate for all adult systems or offenders. Successful programs should be tailored to meet local needs and must be implemented within the internal and external constraints that exist (Clear, Holien, and Shapiro 1989).

Key factors that are critical to adult intensive supervision programs can be translated to programs in the juvenile justice system. Clarity in the definition of purpose and goals not only structures the program design but also helps to determine whether the program is a success. Similarly, the target population must be carefully identified. In order to avoid net-widening, it is beneficial to use ISP as an option only after court adjudication or sentencing. The program design and services provided should be clearly related to the purpose of the program and clientele. The program design must include determining number and type of supervision contacts, mechanisms for sanctions, and determination of length of supervision (Clear, Holien, and Shapiro 1989).

An Experimental Test of Juvenile Intensive Supervision Programs

Although adult ISPs have been more widely studied, there are some available data about juvenile programs. Researchers at the University of Michigan recently completed a five-year study of intensive probation supervision in an upper Midwest city, identified as Metro City (Barton and Butts 1988a). Using a classic experimental design, adjudicated youths were assigned to one of three intensive supervision programs or to a state institution. The length of the follow-up period was two years.

The results of the Michigan study were mixed. Using simple recidivism measures, the youths placed on intensive probation were actually slightly more likely to reappear in court than the youths who had been committed to the institutions. However, when time "at risk" in the community was taken into account, this difference disappeared. The ISP youths committed less serious crimes upon program completion than their institutionalized counterparts. Based on the self-report data, the ISP youths performed better than youths sent to state institutions. Those who had been committed to the training school were more likely to commit a violent offense, whether measured in terms of official court records or self-report data. Approximately 50 percent of the youths successfully completed the intensive supervision program, as measured by no further legal sanctions (Barton and Butts 1988a).

The University of Michigan researchers concluded that the ISP programs appeared to provide a significant savings in the

cost of juvenile corrections. Early reports suggested that the cost of intensive supervision was less than a third of commitment. The authors were optimistic:

"Despite the occurrence of net-widening and related processes, the in-home programs allowed the state and county to save a great deal of money... Even when the costs of net-widening were taken into account, program savings during that period were estimated at nearly \$9 million." (Barton and Butts 1988a:3)

The net widening that the researchers referred to involved the increasing willingness of the court to assign youths to the new ISP programs. When the programs were first instituted, the number of youths committed to state institutions decreased drastically, indicating that the new programs were being used as true alternatives to incarceration. As the juvenile justice system became more comfortable with the use of intensive supervision, more youths were determined to be eligible for placement in the new programs. Upon later analysis, the researchers concluded:

"Although the costs of net-widening did not exceed the savings generated by the programs, the erosion was substantial and increased each year. ...net-widening appears to have diluted the initial impact of the intensive probation programs." (Barton & Butts 1988b:11)

The juvenile justice system in this study underwent a number of adaptations once the new programs were implemented. For example, although the number of commitments increased, strict screening mechanisms were instituted so that not everyone could be accepted to the intensive supervision programs. This action resulted in a two-tiered system: more youths eligible for intensive programs, but the new programs not serving as a pure alternative. The researchers asserted that intensive supervision had a future in juvenile corrections but that the challenge remains as to whether "the idea can be faithfully implemented and sustained" (Barton and Butts 1988b:21).

Electronic Monitoring of Juvenile Offenders

There is also preliminary data available on electronic surveillance as a different kind of intensive supervision. Adult electronic monitoring programs have, for the most part, survived court challenges as to their constitutionality and have gained widespread popularity. Despite this, there has been reluctance on the part of juvenile justice administrators to use electronic surveillance techniques for youthful offenders.

As a result of a successful adult program in their county and the knowledge that two other juvenile programs were operating in Indiana and North Carolina, the Orange County, California probation department developed an electronic monitoring program for juvenile offenders (Whittington 1988). The pilot program included three groups of candidates for home supervision: those released from detention awaiting a hearing; those committed to a juvenile facility for a short term of less than 90 days and released early; and youths released early from long-term confinement. During the test period of 90 days, approximately 100 youths were placed on electronic surveillance.

After the pilot program, Orange County concluded that the monitoring program was a success and made it a permanent part of the probation options in December of 1987. Subsequent assessments have determined that electronic surveillance works within their juvenile justice system. It has been successful in reducing the number of youths in residential placements, one of Orange County's primary goals. The damage and tampering rate is not higher with juveniles than it is with adults, a concern to the original program designers. The electronic monitoring program frees time of the probation officer, although there is some time involved in follow-up and retrieval of the monitoring devices (Whittington 1988).

C. CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING JUVENILE ISP

There are several lessons to be learned from the available research literature. Based on the perceived success of adult intensive supervision programs, similar programs for juvenile offenders have become very popular. As more programs are implemented, researchers will have a greater opportunity to assess the value of juvenile ISP.

Current programs should be assessed in terms of how well their design reflects an underlying theoretical framework. Intensive supervision programs often serve a number of philosophical purposes and attempt to balance the goals of offender accountability and rehabilitation. As Baird suggests, the very purpose of the program should guide the selection of the target population and the structure of the day-to-day operations. Unfortunately, program goals are not usually well articulated, despite their importance to evaluating the success of the program (Baird 1986).

Another important aspect of program integrity is the congruency between the designated target population and the actual type of offender served by the program. Program design often evolves within the agency providing the supervision. The decision to assign youths to the program usually rests with the courts, but the thinking of the supervising staff may not be congruent with the purposes of the judiciary (Baird 1986). As in

the case of the Michigan Metro County program, the courts may expand the criteria for eligibility for the new program, thus widening the net (Barton and Butts 1988).

Implementing an intensive supervision program requires a special effort from program staff and administrators. Staff roles change as the requirements for offender supervision become more intensive. New procedures and/or equipment may be implemented. The importance of administrative support in carrying out the design cannot be overestimated. The internal consistency and administrative framework for managing the program become critical issues when evaluating the degree of program success.

The "success" of any given program can be measured by the extent to which the existence of the ISP accomplishes the goals that policymakers intended. Numerous measures may be used: recidivism; reduced commitment rates; increased numbers of youths receiving GEDs; increased numbers of youths performing community service or paying restitution; and higher employment rates. The measures should be clearly defined and closely tied with the underlying theory and goals of the program.

To develop a clear understanding of program operations, a comprehensive evaluation needs to address the following areas and respond to these critical questions:

Program Context

What factors motivated the development and continuance of the program (e.g. fiscal concerns, overcrowding, innovation)? Is the program state-run or private? Which agency oversees its operation?

Client Identification

How is the target population selected? How well does the program design fit with the target population? Are the clients actually selected consistent with the target population?

Intervention

Is the level of supervision and extent of contact substantially different from what was available through previously existing programs? What treatment services are available to produce positive outcomes for their clients? Are the supervision personnel able to maintain the degree of surveillance called for in the program design? What sanctions are available for violations? What is the length of time youths are monitored?

Goals

Does the program reduce the rate of placement or simply add another sentencing option for youths at the time of adjudication? Is the program cost-effective? Do youths who participate in these programs have lower or higher rates of recidivism compared to similar youths who are institutionalized?

Linkages

What other agencies are involved in the implementation of the program design (e.g. schools, courts)?

Intensive supervision programs may well become an important part of today's juvenile justice system. Preliminary research data suggest that there is some support for such programs, but only if they are well-designed and implemented. As Clear suggests,

"If JIPS [Juvenile Intensive Probation Supervision] is to survive the inevitable critical appraisal that follows any innovation, it will do so because it has found a legitimate place in the juvenile justice arsenal. The ultimate place of JIPS in the juvenile justice system will be a product of its philosophical orientation, programmatic consistency with that orientation, and technical delivery on programmatic promises." (Clear 1986:102)

D. SUMMARY

Juvenile ISP has only limited research literature to guide policy and program development. There are no well-tested prototypes available for immediate replication. Research conducted to date has highlighted the significance of proper program design in terms of client selection and intensity of client contact. Still unresolved are questions about the optimal organizational location of ISP programs--probation or state corrections agencies, public versus private agencies. We also need to learn more about whether educational, vocational, and drug treatment services can enhance the effectiveness of surveillance strategies. Further, we were unable to find a uniform definition of how much supervision constitutes "intensive" services. There is scant research to date on whether electronic monitoring or drug testing can improve ISP efforts. In the next section of this report, we outline the methodology used to complete this assessment.

III. METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the methodology utilized by NCCD to complete the assessment stage of this project. NCCD reviewed relevant research, identified promising intensive supervision programs (ISPs), and, together with advisory board recommendations, utilized this information to select 11 programs which represent promising approaches for providing non-residential intensive supervision to delinquent juveniles. NCCD staff then conducted on-site visits at each of the 11 programs to develop a first-hand understanding of program philosophy and operation. Findings from each of these efforts frame the overall discussion contained in Section Four and establish the basis for recommendations concerning subsequent stages of the project.

The assessment activities of Stage One are discussed in the following four areas: literature review, national program search, advisory board, and on-site program assessments.

A. LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of the existing literature and relevant research on juvenile intensive supervision programs was a necessary background step for the assessment process. A special effort was made to identify studies which used experimental designs with random assignment, together with literature which would contribute to the theoretical understanding of the history and context of juvenile intensive supervision. The literature review formed the conceptual base for selecting promising ISPs and subsequently describing their organizational structure. Through the literature review, NCCD identified current and historical issues to assist in the assessment of program development, policy, and operational procedures.

The process for conducting the literature review began with a comprehensive effort to identify and obtain relevant information from a variety of sources. Project staff conducted their search through contacts with the National Institute of Corrections Information Center, the National Institute of Justice Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse, and the Criminal Justice Library at Rutgers University. In addition, individual contacts were made with researchers throughout the country with known publications or expertise in juvenile delinquency evaluation. The goal of these individual contacts was to solicit research or evaluations which were unpublished due to recency or because the studies were conducted in agencies which used the information for internal purposes only.

NCCD obtained over 50 articles, books, and monographs on intensive supervision programs and related research from these sources. In addition, these materials were augmented by documents already available at NCCD. NCCD staff analyzed the

available information and the major findings were summarized in Chapter Two of this report.

B. NATIONAL PROGRAM SEARCH

Concurrent with efforts to identify relevant research and information on intensive supervision, NCCD identified ISPs which were operational in juvenile systems throughout the country. While an assessment of the existing literature was critical, many programs were not documented and their identification could only occur through contacts with agency officials and related professional organizations. Efforts were made to provide the opportunity for a wide variety of programs to make their information available to the project. NCCD sought to identify ISPs which met the general criteria of being post-adjudication, non-residential, and offered services that were substantially greater than those which would be available on traditional probation supervision. We also sought programs which were alternatives to out-of-home placement and did not focus their resources on aftercare populations. During this initial solicitation, we avoided narrowing the investigation further because we wanted to identify as many programs as possible.

In February of 1988, NCCD mailed requests for information to correctional administrators and juvenile justice planners in all 50 states, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the provinces of Canada. We asked recipients to forward information on ISPs which met the above criteria, with particular emphasis on providing information to describe the target populations, program philosophy, and evaluation results. In addition to this written request, direct telephone inquiries were made to major national professional organizations, including the American Probation and Parole Association, American Correctional Association, and the National College of Juvenile Court Judges. State and regional professional organizations were also contacted, together with several state and county administrators who were known to have established ISPs in their jurisdictions. As discussed earlier, the individual contacts with known ISP researchers for the literature search also proved to be a valuable source for identifying promising programs.

With the contacts beginning in February of 1988, NCCD anticipated receiving this information during the early Spring of that year; however, the telephone and written requests were often passed among juvenile justice practitioners, and NCCD continued to receive ISP information until the Fall of 1988. From these mail and telephone solicitations, we obtained and reviewed information on over 90 programs. Information was frequently sketchy, and follow-up telephone contacts were made to clarify certain points or to request additional information for those programs which appeared to meet our general criteria.

It became apparent that not all programs could be considered intensive supervision for the purposes of the project. When selecting programs for more thorough study through on-site assessment, a two-step screening process was developed. The first step identified programs which met the OJJDP grant criteria. This initial step assessed each program against the following criteria to determine if it would be considered for an on-site visit:

1. The program must provide post-adjudication services.
2. Services must be non-residential in nature.
3. The program should not focus on aftercare, although some aftercare juveniles could be included within a program which primarily served juveniles in lieu of placement.
4. The program must be described as an alternative to out-of-home/residential placement.
5. The program must target higher risk (repeat) delinquents.
6. The program should not address only one offense type.

Criteria one through five were established by the OJJDP grant which specified non-residential ISPs for adjudicated delinquents. During this step, NCCD retained several ISPs that began their non-residential services with a brief detention phase, provided the primary purpose of this phase was to gain control of the delinquent's behavior so that non-residential services could occur. The major focus of ISP activities had to occur in a non-residential environment. Because OJJDP had a separate project addressing aftercare programs, NCCD excluded programs which primarily focused on aftercare populations. However, many programs included both aftercare and youths who were there in lieu of placement. If the program materials described the ISP as primarily a post-adjudication alternative to placement, we did not automatically exclude them if they also served aftercare juveniles.

We also required that program materials describe ISP services as being delivered to delinquents who met some definition of "high risk" who would otherwise be in a residential placement if the program did not exist. We accepted each program's definition of risk and their procedures for assessing that the child would otherwise be in placement. As is discussed in the next chapter of this report, we found no uniform definition of risk across programs and, often, the risk assessment was largely a subjective determination. The placement criteria also varied substantially among agencies. Behavior or circumstances which result in out-of-home placement in one jurisdiction did not necessarily lead to the same outcome in another locale. We attempted to eliminate programs which were enhancements to traditional probation, to concentrate on programs which identified themselves specifically as placement alternatives.

NCCD received information on a small number of programs which targeted one specific offense type (i.e., sex offenders). These programs tended to have unique components or a unique emphasis that reduced their transferability to intensive supervision in general. Offense-specific programs were excluded from consideration for further assessment within the scope of this project. This was done so that we could concentrate on identifying programs which could have the broadest application for ISP in general.

Forty-one of the original 90 programs met the criteria outlined in Step One and went on to the second phase of consideration for on-site visits. In this second step, NCCD assessed the program information against the following 10 factors:

1. The program has been in operation longer than 12 months.
2. The program operates state-wide or in a larger county.
3. A mix of public/private sector program and geographic locations should be included in the on-site selections.
4. Both day treatment and direct supervision programs should be represented in the on-site selections.
5. ISPs selected for on-site visits should represent a range of behavioral-educational and treatment-counseling approaches.
6. Programs should have an identified theory of delinquency control to guide their policies and procedures.
7. Programs should have some degree of data available on clients, outcome information, and program policies/procedures.
8. The programs should define their target population as high-risk juveniles.
9. The program contact requirements should reflect "intense" client contact and provide a high level of control.
10. Well-defined methods for responding to violations of program/probation rules should be reflected in program procedures.

When identifying programs for possible on-site assessments, NCCD selected ISPs which met as many of the above 10 factors as possible. Programs selected, however, did not necessarily meet all criteria. Factors one through five were established to assure that a variety of approaches were represented and that the programs were not in the initial stages of their own development. Factors 6 through 10 reflect NCCD's assessment of basic requirements for an intensive program as identified through the literature review and staff knowledge of the field.

NCCD required that programs be operational for at least 12 months to increase the likelihood that they would have well-developed policies and procedures. It was believed that after 12 months of operation, these ISPs would have refined their procedures, documented their operations, and have sufficient

experience to contribute to the assessment. NCCD selected ISPs which operated in larger counties and state-wide systems because it was believed that principles from these programs would also transfer to smaller systems. Also, we wanted to emphasize programs which were more likely to have a fully developed administrative structure. It was felt that smaller programs would be more likely to have more informal administrative and supervisory structures which would be difficult to replicate during the demonstration phase.

Several juvenile justice systems contract with private providers for services; therefore, we included a mix of both private and public sector models in the site visits. Because this is a national OJJDP project, NCCD wanted to include programs from various areas of the country.

We found two general structures for ISP programs: day treatment and direct supervision models. The type of ISP which is implemented reflects the resources available in the community, the needs of the juvenile justice system, and the philosophy of the ISP developers. For on-site visits, NCCD opted to include both program types. Within this structure, day treatment and direct supervision models represented a wide range of treatment philosophies and operational strategies. Because the individual and family needs of participants often required a comprehensive service delivery system, we looked for programs which could utilize a variety of internal or external resources to provide these comprehensive services. We wanted to visit a mix of programs which represented a range of behavioral-educational and treatment-counseling approaches.

NCCD sought to identify programs which had a delinquency causation theory which was reflected in program goals, policies, and operational procedures. While theoretical assumptions were often suggested in program operations, they were rarely articulated at the outset and were not necessarily consistent throughout the program. Through program documentation and telephone follow-up, we looked for clear references to an underlying philosophical principle that guided program operations.

Our requests for program information specifically asked for evaluations or data documenting program success. The amount of program data within individual ISPs was limited. Systemic, formal outcome evaluation at the program level was generally nonexistent. If case-specific data were available, they were generally not incorporated into an on-going management information system to provide for regular, current program monitoring and assessment. Data were most often limited to descriptive statistics on such things as length of time in the program, circumstance of termination, and participant demographics. Follow-up information after program completion was

rare. Whenever possible, we selected programs that appeared to meet the other criteria and also had as much data as possible to describe their clientele and program success.

Programs were required to define their population as "high risk," although we accepted the agency definition for that category of offenders. These definitions varied among programs and usually relied on a substantial degree of supervisor judgment. NCCD expected ISPs to reflect a high level of client contact and overall behavioral control. To the degree possible, we looked for daily juvenile contact (at least during the early phases of participation) with ISP staff involved in providing direction for client activities during the entire day. We wanted programs that were delivering services at a substantially higher level than traditional probation.

High-risk delinquents who would otherwise be in placement can be expected to have a prior history of unsuccessful experiences on traditional probation. Because ISP participants test the limits of ISP rules, we looked for programs with specific, progressive sanctions to hold juveniles accountable for their behavior. We wanted ISP models which would allow the child to remain in the program within reasonable behavioral limits. It was important that termination from the ISP to placement be reserved for the most serious violations, usually new offenses.

After assessing the program information against the previous 10 factors, 20 ISPs were presented to the advisory board for consideration as possible programs for on-site visits. With advisory board discussion and recommendations, NCCD selected the 11 programs for on-site visits. These 11 programs were considered to be representative of juvenile ISP.

C. ADVISORY BOARD

The advisory board was selected to represent both practical and theoretical expertise on juvenile justice issues. OJJDP appointed the following five members from a list of practitioners, researchers, and academics who represented a broad base of experience:

James Brown, J.D., Community Research Forum
Judge David Grossmann, Hamilton County Ohio Juvenile Court
Peter Greenwood, Ph.D., The RAND Corporation
Doug Lipton, Ph.D., Narcotic and Drug Research, Inc.
Cal Terhune, California Youth Authority

Advisory board input was utilized during Stage One to refine the criteria for assessing promising programs and to provide recommendations for the on-site visits. The advisory board also reviewed and approved the overall project strategy. The members were asked to review project reports and make recommendations for

improvement. The advisory board will continue to assist project staff during future project stages.

D. ON-SITE PROGRAM ASSESSMENTS

Based on the two-step selection process and with the input of the advisory board, the following 11 ISPs were selected for on-site assessments:

The KEY Program, Inc., Framingham, Massachusetts
Associated Marine Institutes, Inc., Tampa, Florida
Youth Advocate Programs, Inc., Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
Kentfields Rehabilitation Program, Grand Rapids, Michigan
Firestone Community Day Center School, Los Angeles,
California
Pennsylvania Intensive Probation Supervision
Specialized Gang Supervision Program, Los Angeles,
California
Hennepin County Surveillance Program, Minneapolis, Minnesota
Ramsey County Juvenile Intensive Supervision Project,
St. Paul, Minnesota
Lucas County Intensive Supervision Unit, Toledo, Ohio
Wayne County Intensive Probation Program, Detroit, Michigan

These 11 programs were considered representative of a variety of the best ISP approaches currently in operation. It was believed that on-site visits with these programs would provide the opportunity for first-hand observation of the principles described in the literature review.

The KEY Program, Inc. (KEY), Associated Marine Institutes, Inc. (AMI), and Youth Advocate Programs, Inc. (YAP) represent private programs based in Massachusetts, Florida, and Pennsylvania, respectively. KEY and AMI provide a wide range of services to their juvenile justice systems, including both residential and non-residential programs. For purposes of this project, we assessed the Outreach and Tracking and the Tracking Plus programs at KEY which utilize a 24-hour direct non-residential supervision approach. The AMI day treatment program combines individualized classroom education with specialized training in marine activities. YAP represents a unique approach based on an advocacy model which matches a trained advocacy worker with the needs of the child and family.

Kentfields Rehabilitation Program in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and the Firestone Community Day Center School (CDC) in Los Angeles represent two additional day treatment programs. Both programs give significant emphasis to the educational needs of the child, and are funded in conjunction with the local school districts. Kentfields operates on a behavior modification model which also includes community service work and group counseling components.

The Pennsylvania Intensive Probation Supervision program provides an example of two state-level oversight agencies establishing parameters and implementing intensive supervision in county probation departments so that state-wide goals of reduced placements were achieved. In a coordinated implementation effort, two state oversight agencies established policies for program development, provided initial funding, and initiated mechanisms to provide training, technical assistance, and monitoring during implementation.

The Los Angeles Specialized Gang Supervision Program and the Hennepin County Surveillance Program in Minneapolis, Minnesota, typify programs whose primary focus is on providing surveillance services. Each program operates in a distinctly different environment with the Los Angeles program closely associated with police to apprehend violators and the Hennepin County program working closely with treatment and educational providers to broker child and family services.

The Ramsey County program in St. Paul, Minnesota, and the Lucas County program in Toledo, Ohio, operate within mid-size urban areas. Both programs utilize their staff to provide a combination of treatment and counseling services. Program staff exert a high level of control and surveillance through daily contacts, consistent sanctions, and relationship building. While both programs recognize and support the surveillance and control aspects of intensive supervision, their primary focus is on the provision of services to meet participant needs. The Wayne County Intensive Probation Program in Detroit, Michigan, assigns participants to one of three service strategies. Services can be provided by county workers in a surveillance and counseling approach, or the juvenile can be referred to one of two private programs. One program (Spectrum In-Home Services Program) focuses on family counseling and the other (the State Ward Diversion Program operated by the Comprehensive Youth Training and Community Involvement Program, Inc. [CYTCIP]) on educational needs through a day treatment model.

The on-site visits focused on learning first-hand how each program operates. The assessments were organized within the following analytic categories which allowed staff to describe and assess the overall program structure:

Program Context:

This refers to the conditions and assumptions which operationally and conceptually define the distinctive features of the program. Also included here are the socio-economic and demographic attributes of the community the program serves.

Client Identification:

This includes the combination of techniques, procedures, and criteria used to define, select, and admit clients to various levels of services and supervision provided by the program. The analysis focused on identifying target populations, selection procedures, and assessment processes.

Intervention:

Intervention represents the full range of activities and services provided by the program to meet the needs of its clients. These services can be provided by program staff or coordinated with other resources.

Goals and Evaluation:

The program's stated goals and objectives are outlined here. The discussion includes an assessment of whether program operations are consistent with the stated goals, and the criteria used to determine how effective the program is in meeting its objectives. Available program data are presented here, along with an analysis of whether an adequate evaluation design is in place to assess program success.

Program Linkages:

Program linkages are those formal and informal conditions and relationships that may hinder or support program operations. These linkages include the nature of the program's relationship with the juvenile justice system, the schools, and other community organizations.

NCCD developed semi-structured site-visit formats, a documentation check list, and procedures for the two-day visits at the selected ISPs. Slight modifications were made to the interview formats after a preliminary visit to a Madison, Wisconsin, program to pilot the procedures. NCCD project staff conducted all of the on-site assessments between November of 1988 and February of 1989.

The on-site visits included interviews with program administrators, line workers, supervisors, and key judges. Additional interviews were selectively held with juvenile prosecuting attorneys, law enforcement personnel, program providers, school personnel, juveniles enrolled in the program and their parents. Documentation was obtained detailing program development, policy, organizational structure, and operating procedures.

NCCD staff completed program descriptions for each of the 11 programs. Summaries of these descriptions are provided in the Appendix of this report. The complete descriptions are available in a separate document titled "Selected Program Summaries."

The next chapter of this report discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the juvenile intensive supervision movement as exemplified through the programs we assessed.

IV. DISCUSSION

This chapter reviews the critical components found in the intensive supervision programs which were included in the site visits. These program components are discussed within the framework of program context, client identification, intervention services, evaluation results, and linkages with key internal and external groups.

A. PROGRAM CONTEXT

By program context we refer to those internal and external conditions which define both the conceptual design and the operation of the ISP. The context frames the overall operating structure and this context may change over time. It is important to maintain an awareness of the context within which an ISP operates and recognize its importance to the program. This awareness increases the likelihood that managers can anticipate and respond to changes in the environment by planning program strategies which take these changes into account. Included in our discussion of context are the forces leading to program development, the conceptual or theoretical basis for the program design, the organizational structure, and budget issues.

Forces Leading to Development

Most jurisdictions developed intensive supervision from the philosophical viewpoint that needs of youth could best be met in a non-institutional setting. Two significant external events converged with this view. First, the deinstitutionalization of juveniles was mandated as part of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (JJJPA). The philosophy of this legislation was adopted in some form by virtually all states and encouraged the development of community alternatives. Secondly, the need to control skyrocketing costs for out-of-home placement became apparent in most jurisdictions. Together with the premise that youths could be better served outside a secure institution, was the belief that they could best be served within their own family environment. In this setting, the family itself is to become an integral part of the treatment and surveillance services.

Histories of program development provide specific examples of how these factors merged. The primary factor driving development of the Kentfields Rehabilitation program in Grand Rapids, Michigan, was the belief that community programs could meet the needs of high-risk juveniles better than institutions. This delivery of rehabilitative services combined with an interest in reducing both the number and the cost of placements. Initiated with foundation funds in 1966, the program was subsequently assumed by the county juvenile court.

Legislation was a significant factor in the development of several other programs. As states responded to the JJDPAs mandates by reducing the use of institutions, several private providers emerged. Program development occurred in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Maryland, in part, as the result of the closing of major juvenile facilities. The Massachusetts-based KEY Program, Inc., the Youth Advocate Programs, Inc. (YAP) in Pennsylvania, and the Associated Marine Institutes, Inc. (AMI) in Florida represent three examples of these private providers. Each program found receptive environments within juvenile justice systems that needed to develop community programs quickly and were willing to contract for services. While YAP provides solely non-residential services, KEY and AMI provide a combination of residential and non-residential programs, depending upon the needs of the contracting agency.

The momentum for state-wide implementation of county-run programs in Pennsylvania was also reinforced by JJDPAs and related state legislation. Additionally, a major shortfall occurred in the state budget which reimbursed counties for placements. Within this state, the prevailing philosophy of both administrators and practitioners was to provide juvenile services within the least restrictive environment. Intensive supervision was embraced both because it was believed to be in the best interest of the youth and also because it provided the hope of a more economical approach.

Controlling costs continues as a major issue for nearly all programs which describe themselves as alternatives to out-of-home placement. If the programs were not viewed as reducing placement costs, it is unlikely they would be so widely embraced by correctional administrators and funding sources. Despite large budget cuts in other county-funded programs, funding for the Wayne County IPP has continued, in large part because of evidence that it has saved the county money. In combination with cost control, however, administrators are able to promote their programs as "better" because of the high level of contact with delinquent youths and their families, and because "treatment" could take place in a youth's normal environment. While we did not assess probation enhancement programs, these ISPs can be expected to place less emphasis on the immediate financial savings. Rather, these efforts would likely argue that enhanced probation services, delivered early in an offender's life, result in fewer future violations and, thus, subsequent placements are avoided. The ISPs we visited all required strong administrative commitment during the initial implementation phase. In these programs, the commitment came from a combination of agency administrators, judges, and funding sources. Most often, the idea was conceptualized and initiated by a criminal justice administrator and/or judge, who obtained support from the funding source. The Los Angeles gang program was an exception, with the concept being developed by a former gang member who subsequently

became a line officer and then a social worker. He obtained support from the board of supervisors and agency administration for program implementation. This individual currently serves as the program director. While primary motivations varied, no program was implemented and sustained without this strong administrative commitment. A program that provides non-residential services to a truly high-risk offender will not survive without the shared support of upper level administration, the court, and funding sources.

A receptive internal agency environment must also exist if an ISP is to survive. Line staff as well as supervisors must support the program concepts and reinforce the importance of the ISP being different from traditional supervision. This is particularly relevant for programs residing in a probation department, but can also be a factor in private programs. Operational support becomes a critical factor if the ISP is to be a unique program with actual practices which are consistent with policy intent and distinctly different from traditional supervision. In some instances, ISPs had to overcome negative experiences with previous "intensive programs." For example, Ramsey County (St. Paul, Minnesota) participated in an intensive project for serious juvenile offenders during the late 1970s. The program was discontinued after 18 months and most staff viewed the experience negatively. This negative experience was overcome by strong judicial and administrative support for the new ISP, combined with the administrative decision to hire staff early in the development process and incorporate them into program design decisions. During the early development in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, staff were reluctant to volunteer to work during non-traditional hours and both union and personnel rules prohibited reassignment. Again, administrative and judicial support proved to be consistent and persuasive enough to solicit enough volunteers to begin the program. The intensive program subsequently became more attractive when funding was acquired to provide a slight salary increase for intensive officers.

In summary, a number of broad internal and external factors converged to provide an environment in which the programs we visited could develop and maintain support. Clearly, the importance of a supportive philosophical, legislative, and administrative framework was critical. Regardless of the type of intensive program which was developed, the importance of cost control was consistently present. These ISPs also developed the internal agency environments which were receptive to innovation and provided a supportive context for the program.

Theoretical Basis

NCCD sought to examine the extent to which programs were guided by a theoretical framework when they developed goals,

policies, and operational procedures. Ideally, programs developed within a single theoretical structure should have operations that are internally consistent with overall goals and policies. Rarely, however, was an ISP the direct outgrowth from a specific theoretical base. Despite this, predominant themes could be deduced from the operational procedures and philosophy of many programs.

The literature review, in Section II of this report, discussed prominent theoretical models of delinquency causation that have dominated recent research: Strain Theory, Social Learning, and Control Theory. Strain Theory asserts that delinquent behavior evolves because individuals consistently find their achievement of conventional social and material values blocked. The resulting frustration leads them to unconventional and often illegal methods of achieving success. The Social Learning theorists hypothesize that youths receive fewer reinforcements for their pro-social actions than they receive for their delinquent activities. Involvement with delinquent peers and, especially, organized deviant groups is central to Learning Theory. Control Theory emphasizes both early socialization and current bonding to conventional values as influencing the likelihood of delinquent behavior. Key elements in Control Theory are the strength of internal and external constraints against law violating behavior. Internal constraints might include moral beliefs and attitudes about appropriate behavior, while external constraints involve the individual's perception of the probability of positive or negative outcomes of delinquent behavior.

There is considerable overlap in the three theoretical approaches and, as referenced in the literature review, theorists have argued that each approach contributes to our understanding of delinquency. A fourth model, the Integrated Model, provides the most comprehensive structure for explaining delinquent behavior. This model argues that the combined forces of inadequate socialization, strain, and social disorganization lead to weak bonding to conventional values and activities. According to theorists (Elliott et al. 1985), this weak bonding is combined with powerful bonding with delinquent values and delinquent peers, providing a powerful push towards law violating behavior. Elliott and his colleagues also posit that strain or weak bonding alone could lead to delinquent behavior, albeit these single factors are not as powerful as combinations of these factors.

Although we did not find ISPs with a clearly articulated theoretical base, programs provided services and controls which one would expect to find if developers were operating from the Integrated Model. For example, most programs emphasized educational or vocational components. Involvement in these program components would reduce the frustrations central to the Strain Theory by enabling youths to recognize opportunities for

Strain Theory by enabling youths to recognize opportunities for law-abiding behavior. To reinforce pro-social behavior (Social Learning Theory), ISPs seek to identify and reward successful completion of tasks and responsibilities which are legal and socially accepted. Most ISPs also seek to reduce the influence of negative peer groups and strengthen bonds to traditional values by structuring the youths free time and providing support to produce a more stable and consistent family environment.

Distinct sentencing philosophies also provide helpful principles to assess the underlying structure of ISPs. The three central philosophies (sometimes referred to as sentencing "theories") outlined in the literature review are punishment, risk control, and rehabilitation.

The punishment philosophy states that society has both the right and the responsibility to sanction those who violate the law. Punishment should be commensurate with the seriousness of the violation and accountability for behavior should be clearly and consistently enforced. Although programs emphasized consistency and internal sanctions which were in proportion to program violations, the punishment framework did not provide the operational approach for the programs we studied. (To a limited degree, ISPs which emphasized restitution or community service hours would be considered punishment models because the amount of restitution or service should relate directly to the seriousness of the offense.)

As outlined in the literature review, risk control was most often considered the underlying sentencing rationale behind development of ISPs. This sentencing approach supports use of the least restrictive sanction consistent with public safety and requires that sanctions relate to the seriousness of the crime and the potential threat that the youth will reoffend in the future. With the exception of the day treatment models, our programs most closely demonstrated practices that would be associated with this approach. These programs control and structure a juvenile's activities as a means of addressing public safety concerns. All selected programs purport to target high-risk juveniles who would otherwise have been sentenced to a more restrictive out-of-home placement. Selection criteria generally excluded or carefully screened referrals for violent offenses which could potentially threaten public safety in an open setting. Our study addressed programs which did not consider themselves enhancements to probation and, therefore, we attempted to avoid juveniles whose behavior and presenting community risk could be handled within the traditional probation structure.

Both punishment and risk control call for sanctions that are commensurate with the offense, but in risk control, the purpose is primarily to control future behavior. A program based on risk control should have a high reliance on face-to-face contacts,

surveillance, and response to violations. As the offender's behavior changes, the degree of control should be adjusted to provide more or less control. Many of our programs demonstrated this concept with phase systems which began with detention and/or house arrest components and allowed the offender to progress to levels of greater individual freedom based on positive behavior. Conversely, freedom was restricted as a sanction for negative behavior. Programs such as those in Hennepin, Ramsey, and Lucas Counties and the KEY program in Massachusetts utilized risk-control principles through careful logging of day-to-day client behavior and daily staff team meetings to discuss each juvenile. Their goal was to assure that all members of the ISP team were mutually reinforcing sanctions and rewards.

While the delivery or brokering of treatment services was clearly evident in most programs, it was encased within principles of risk control. Rehabilitation theory requires individualized treatment approaches to meet each offender's unique needs. These programs placed less emphasis on the direct control and structuring of the youth's behavior outside the program. Treatment as an underlying program principle was a component of all ISPs, but was most evident in the day treatment programs where individualized, outcome-oriented case planning was emphasized. Case plans in the risk-control programs were more likely to be sanction based. For example, a day treatment program such as Kentfields or AMI was more likely to say the juvenile's reading would improve by two grade levels within a specific time frame, while a direct supervision program would say that the juvenile would attend classes with no unexcused absences.

In programs where treatment was not the immediate goal, it was usually described as a byproduct, which was possible only after gaining control of the delinquent's behavior. For example, the Hennepin County program clearly defined its role as surveillance. However, staff provided support to other community programs which addressed treatment needs. In neighboring Ramsey County, program staff saw themselves as both treatment providers and service brokers who were also responsible to provide surveillance and maintain control of the youth's behavior. Treatment occurs in both environments, but staff activities assumed a slightly different focus.

Both rehabilitation and risk control are important concepts if ISPs is to be accepted in most jurisdictions. No funding source or agency administrator was willing to accept obvious threats to the public safety in order to provide "treatment" in the least restrictive setting. The need to provide meaningful behavior control and also convey the "perception" of this control to the public was evident in all programs we visited. The mix of rehabilitation and control, however, varied among programs. This mix was guided by prevalent community values which often shifted

as the program developed. With the exception of the Los Angeles gang program, the models we assessed described themselves as providing or enabling rehabilitation within an environment where they maintained control of the juvenile's behavior. In the Los Angeles Gang program, the overriding emphasis was on surveillance and reporting violations. While the Hennepin County program also focused on surveillance, most participants were attending special education or community treatment programs. Their policy was that surveillance officers did not provide "treatment" as such, but rather served as a resource and control mechanism to promote cooperation with the community treatment programs. In general, the day treatment programs (Kentfields, AMI, the Firestone Community Day Center School, and Wayne County's State Ward Diversion Program) provided treatment within a controlled environment during designated hours; however, the after hours control mechanisms were not as structured as in the other ISP models.

Organizational Structure

NCCD conducted site visits to programs which were operated by probation departments and private programs under contract with state or county agencies. The optimum location for intensive supervision remains unresolved and probably depends on the needs of the individual juvenile justice system. The overall context of the organization may determine the best operating structure.

Three private programs were included in our site visits: KEY, Associated Marine Institutes (AMI), and Youth Advocate Programs (YAP). In addition, the Wayne County ISP included two private providers, Spectrum and CYTCIP. A strength of all programs was their ability to provide a variety of services tailored to the needs of their clients as well as the contracting agency. Private providers were able to respond quickly to the need for new programs and had greater internal staffing and administrative flexibility than most probation departments. For example, KEY requires a college degree for their line staff, but also allows these staff to be in their positions for only 14 months. They rotate staff more quickly than most public personnel systems allow and, thus, are able to maintain a consistently high quality line staff who are moved out of that position prior to "burning out." This was viewed by the state contracting agency as a significant strength. YAP advocates are not full-time employees, and 70% of the advocates have another full- or part-time job. This provided needed flexibility in quickly assigning advocates based on the youth's interests and needs, and in reassigning advocates if a match does not work out.

ISPs operated directly by probation departments or the court also demonstrated organizational strengths. Administrators were able to share administrative costs for the program with other juvenile justice services. While this makes it difficult to

determine exactly how much the ISP costs, a separate organizational structure is not required to support the program. By retaining direct control of the program, the administrator also has an opportunity to set the day-to-day direction of program activities. These programs are not always funded solely through the probation or court budget. Two of our programs, Kentfields and the Firestone Community Day Center (CDC), provided educational components which were operated and funded by the local school districts.

Relative to the total juvenile justice system, the intensive supervision programs were small, both in terms of the number of staff involved and the caseload ratios. In the direct service models, staff providing supervision and surveillance generally consisted of teams of two to six line workers. Caseloads consisted of approximately 10 to 15 juveniles per worker. This ratio of workers to clients enabled the entire staff team to stay aware of the key issues on all cases supervised by the unit, with the primary worker maintaining an intimate knowledge of the offender and family dynamics. While the day treatment models had a different service delivery system, maintaining a manageable number of participants was critical for meeting the individual needs of participants. The Kentfields program maintains their program size between 25 and 35 participants with 14 participants in its school/work (day treatment) phase. The Firestone Community Day Center School limits enrollment to a total of 35, with no more than 17 juveniles per classroom; and AMI limits the number of program participants to 45 per site. Wayne County's CYTCIP has a maximum enrollment of 50.

The importance of program staff relating to juveniles as a team was evident in all programs, regardless of the administrative structure. In several programs, staff were assigned to work on different shifts and it was critical that they stay aware of and reinforce the actions taken by staff on a different shift. Due in part to the personal demands of working non-traditional hours, many ISPs have relatively young line staff. In order to capitalize on the vitality of these young and often less experienced staff, ISPs must provide the supervisory experience, policies, and procedures to assure that the goals of the program are carried out.

Program Cost

The actual cost of operating an ISP was difficult to estimate and is obviously related to the scope of the program. As noted earlier, many of the administrative costs associated with operating an intensive program within a probation department are included in the overall agency budget. While supervisor and line staff costs can be identified, the ISP unit is often housed within an existing unit and is under the control of an administrator with other responsibilities.

Because the programs vary in size and represent a variety of approaches, budget figures do not readily provide a common base of comparison. However, the following table outlines budgets provided by several of the ISPs and provides an orientation to the problem:

ISP BUDGETS		
<u>Program</u>	<u>Approx. Annual Budget</u>	<u>Annual # of Youth Served</u>
KEY (Outreach/Tracking & Tracking Plus)	\$3 Million	993
AMI (typical non-residential program)	\$476,000	Varies
YAP (Baltimore program)	\$252,000	130
Kentfields	\$127,000	90
Specialized Gang	\$2.5 Million	1,800
Hennepin Co.	\$150,000 (salary only)	132
Ramsey Co.	\$393,000	167
Lucas Co.	\$189,000	53
Wayne Co.	\$2.2 Million	313

Program budgets often include funding from various sources. For example, 60% of the Kentfields budget was paid by county funds, with the remainder provided by state funding. Federal OJJDP funds provided 21% of the Lucas County ISP budget as part of a three-year start-up grant, with 11% provided through state subsidy and the remaining 68% through county funds. Fifty percent of the Wayne County budget was supported by state funds which require that the child live at home, with the county funding the remaining 50%.

The cost of a particular program is a function of staff salaries; the number of participants served; the services delivered or brokered; and the administration, expense, and overhead requirements. As outlined below, when daily per diem rates are available, they also represent a wide range and often do not include all program costs.

ISP PER DIEM COSTS

<u>Program</u>	<u>Daily Per Diem</u>
KEY	\$22.00 (Outreach/Tracking and Tracking Plus)
AMI	\$36.91
YAP	\$14.50 (Limited Service) to \$28.00 (Intensive Service)
Kentfields	\$13.87 (excluding some administration and school costs)
Specialized Gang Supervision	\$ 4.20 (excluding supplies and services costs)
Firestone CDC	\$ 7.83 (probation costs only - not school costs)
Pennsylvania	\$ 5.43 (line staff salary only)
Hennepin Co.	\$11.00 (staff salary only)
Ramsey Co.	\$17.41 (excluding administration and overhead)
Wayne Co.	\$25.00 (all three programs) (estimate)

Program budgets must also be viewed in relation to the overall placement costs. The Ramsey County system provides an example of how three county-run programs providing intensive supervision, reduced the county's overall placement budget and also changed the composition of placements. When compared with 1983 data, 1987 figures indicate that juvenile cases under probation supervision increased 14.5% while new juvenile out-of-home placements decreased 26.9%. The proportion of public and private placements also became more balanced in recent years. Of the 1983 placements, 70% were to private providers, 19% to county and state correctional institutions, and 11% were to community-based, non-residential programs. By 1987, this distribution changed dramatically so that 34% of placements were to private vendors, 35% to correctional institutions, and 31% to community-based alternatives. Both the reduction in placement numbers and the composition of placement options contributed to reducing the overall placement budget from \$4 million in 1982 to \$2.3 million in 1988. Ramsey County utilized these figures persuasively to maintain funding and program support with the county board.

B. CLIENT IDENTIFICATION

The second major component necessary for understanding the operation of ISPs is their method of identifying and selecting program participants. The clear identification of the intended program population is critical to all aspects of program operation. By client identification we refer to the combination of techniques, procedures, and criteria which are used to define and select participants for the ISP. There are two major aspects of client identification. The first is defining the target population. Who is it that the program seeks to serve? The second is the selection techniques, procedures, and criteria which assure that the offenders identified in the target population actually get selected for participation. Programs should have a clearly defined target population with selection procedures which assure that the identified target population is actually the population admitted to the program.

The importance of carefully monitoring the selection procedures to maintain the integrity of the program population cannot be overemphasized. ISPs which target juveniles who would otherwise be in residential placement, contribute to widening the probation net when they accept youths who would otherwise be on traditional probation. In addition to providing a degree of control which is not warranted by the participant's offense or risk to the community, the ISP capacity for meeting the needs of the true target group is reduced. Inappropriate participants present operational problems because program procedures do not fit their needs. The ISP also will not achieve cost control goals by reducing placements.

The primary, stated goal of the programs we visited was to reduce the number of out-of-home placements in their jurisdictions. Therefore, these programs identified their target populations as higher risk juveniles who would otherwise be in residential programs. While this target group was generally agreed upon within each ISP, programs differ in their definitions of who would be placed in a residential program. We also found no uniform definition of high risk which applied across ISPs or, often, within an ISP. While identification as high risk was occasionally guided by a formal risk assessment instrument, risk determinations were generally accomplished via intuitive judgments. Staff in several ISPs were concerned about maintaining the freedom to form judgments about each individual's appropriateness for the program. While structured risk assessment can be a useful tool in this process, we found little in the way of a trend toward meaningful use of risk instruments.

ISPs relied heavily on the program supervisor or director to make a primary recommendation regarding program admission. Procedures often required some involvement of the ISP team and, sometimes, team consensus for the recommendation. However, the

programs differed in the points in the adjudication process where ISP was recommended. For example, the courts in Lucas and Wayne Counties commit their juveniles to the state corrections agency before the case is reviewed by the ISP. Juveniles go into an out-of-home placement if they are not accepted for intensive supervision. If accepted into the program, a recommendation is made that the court amend its order. This approach technically assures that program participants meet the target population requirements by being alternatives to commitment. Even in these cases, research conducted on the Wayne County program determined that net widening occurred and increased each year (Barton and Butts 1988). While referees could not order ISP as a disposition, some would order state commitment, but send a letter of support for ISP to the screener. Delinquent juveniles in KEY, AMI, and certain YAP programs were also committed to the state prior to review for acceptance. However, in these instances, a state commitment could result in either residential or non-residential alternatives.

Admission to the remaining programs did not require a state commitment. These ISPs evaluated referrals from sources including the supervising or investigating probation officer and the court. Often the referral was characterized as a youth who was "failing probation," generally as a result of a new offense. Usually the referral was made to the program supervisor prior to disposition. A recommendation for or against placement was then made for court consideration. No program accepted participants without a court order.

All programs described flexibility in making the admission decision as a strength of their selection process. The ability to individually evaluate each referral and make a recommendation was highly valued among staff. When clear exclusionary criteria existed in the selection process, they most often related to excluding certain violent or person offenders and juveniles with obvious psychological needs that could not be met by community supervision. For example, in Hennepin County, youths with a major history of person offenses and those who were considered violent were not referred to the surveillance program as an alternative to commitment. However, these juveniles could be placed on the surveillance program as an aftercare case upon release from a facility.

The importance of family support was emphasized by several programs. Intensive community supervision programs typically rely on the juvenile's family to reinforce program rules and work in coordination with ISP staff. While ISP rules rarely prevent it, juveniles in group homes were unlikely to be under intensive supervision. One public defender described this as a weakness, indicating that juveniles who would otherwise qualify for ISP were rejected because the family support was lacking. These juveniles were seen as being excluded from ISP consideration

through no fault of their own. From the administrative perspective, the group home placement was considered to already provide a level of control and support which should enable most placements to be supervised by a regular supervision officer.

In summary, the programs readily identified their target population as youths who would otherwise be in out-of-home placements. However, they were very cautious about establishing selection criteria which would be too absolute. The ability to assess each referral individually was considered a program strength, as each referral represented a unique combination of circumstances. The importance of continually evaluating the program participants against the goals established by the target population becomes critically important if the integrity of the program is to be maintained over time. Because programs had little objective data to demonstrate that participants actually were drawn from an otherwise residentially-bound population, it was difficult to assess the degree of departure from the target population.

Barton's research regarding net widening in one of the programs with the most structured selection process, and the informality and lack of documentation of selection processes in other programs leads us to believe that slippage occurs from the intended population to the actual population. This presents a major problem for juvenile ISPs today and must be addressed by program administrators if ISP is to survive close evaluation.

C. INTERVENTION

The third component for assessing ISPs relates to the intervention services provided by the programs. By intervention we refer to the full range of activities and services provided by the program to meet the needs of the juvenile. As discussed earlier, most ISPs demonstrated practices which were most closely associated with risk-control theory. These programs do not, however, eliminate treatment or rehabilitation from their mission. Rather, intervention strategies control and structure the juvenile's behavior to provide for public safety and create an environment where rehabilitation or treatment can occur. In the day treatment programs, greater emphasis is placed on meeting the educational, vocational, and counseling needs of the participant. While behavior control was a major factor during the hours the individual is in the program, little was done to structure the participant's time during the off hours. With the highest risk juveniles, particularly, this can be a serious problem from a risk control perspective. The evening hours are the time they need the most structure, as this is often when they get involved in illegal activity through association with delinquent companions and a perceived lack of real opportunities to engage in law-abiding behavior.

In both day treatment and the direct supervision programs, intervention was preceded by an assessment. This began when a referral was reviewed for admission and continued into the initial stages of the ISP. In the day treatment programs, this assessment included educational and vocational testing. From this assessment, target performance levels were incorporated into individual case plans. AMI is an example of a program with unique admission concerns. Due to the physical requirements of participating in their aquatic program; AMI referrals also receive an extensive physical examination.

In programs that are designed primarily from a risk control perspective, the initial stage of intervention was usually highly structured. For example, Ramsey County begins with up to 7 days in detention followed by house arrest to severely restrict the juvenile's movement for a total of 30 days. Hennepin County begins with 7 days house arrest and the Lucas County house arrest phase lasts for 30 days. KEY begins their Tracking Plus program with an 18- to 30-day stay in a restricted residential setting to gain control of the juvenile's behavior and begin case planning.

Formal case plans received greater emphasis in the private programs and the day treatment programs than they did in the programs run by probation departments. In the day treatment programs, the plans outline specific behavior and educational goals. AMI develops an extensive case treatment plan which addresses strengths and weaknesses in social, behavioral, medical, and educational areas. KEY and YAP also submit extensive case plans to the referring agency within the first 30 days and provide written progress reports every 30 days thereafter. In these agencies, the case plan provides the direction for specific services. Staff from probation-run ISPs were more likely to incorporate planning or individual goals into a running case narrative than into a structured case plan that is subject to formal review.

Most direct supervision ISPs provide a "relationship-based" control that emphasizes high levels of personal contact with the juvenile during both traditional and non-traditional hours. These contacts were supplemented by requirements that the juveniles call the program to request permission and/or advise their worker of their movement from one location to another. Excluding the day treatment programs, most ISPs emphasized structuring the juvenile's entire day. As offenders "tested the limits" of program control, it became essential than line staff present a unified team approach in order to consistently deal with rule infractions, regardless of how minor they may appear.

Despite the emphasis on frequent contacts and structuring the juvenile's time, there was no uniformly agreed upon standard to determine how much contact constitutes "intensive." However, the programs we visited had reasonably high contact standards when compared to traditional probation. It was interesting to

note that after an initial adjustment period, most program staff indicated that the offenders responded well to the expectations of the program structure. Excluding the day treatment sites, it was common to find requirements for at least daily contact with the youth during the initial phases, plus required contacts with the family and significant collateral contacts with schools and treatment providers. YAP requires advocates to have three to five offender contacts per week and combines this requirement with an expectation that each case will receive between 7.5 hours and 30 hours per week of face-to-face contact, depending upon the service level. Lucas County requires a minimum of two offender face-to-face contacts per week plus two random checks per day to monitor activities. The lowest level of required offender contact was in the Los Angeles gang program where three face-to-face contacts are required every two months (three contacts of any type each month). However, this program emphasized regular surveillance and coordination with police to monitor activities and detect violations.

The following table details the contact standards and caseload ratios for the 11 programs. In addition to the offender face-to-face contacts noted, programs also have extensive requirements of collateral and telephone contacts.

OFFENDER CONTACT STANDARDS

<u>Program</u>	<u>Approximate Caseload Ratios (juveniles to primary worker)</u>	<u>Minimum Face-to-Face Contact Standards</u>
KEY	6-10	1 per day
AMI	7	Day Treatment
YAP	2-6	3-5 per week
Kentfields	9-11	Phase 1: Day Treatment Phase 2: 3-10 per week
Specialized Gang	50	3 per 2 months
Firestone CDC	35	Day Treatment
Pennsylvania IPS	15	3 per week
Hennepin Co.	12	Phase 1: 2-6 per day
Ramsey Co.	5-8	Phases 1 & 2: 1 per day
Lucas Co.	15	Phase 1: 2 per week
Wayne Co.		
IPU	10	Phase 1: 2-3 per week
Spectrum	8	3-5 per week
CYTCIP	4	Day Treatment

Contacts are expected to decrease as offenders enter the final stages of intensive supervision and their behavior is consistent with program rules. An ISP must have a structured way to reduce the level of control and phase the juvenile from intensive supervision. Staff from several programs reiterated the importance of this transition. One school program which accepts many clients from the Hennepin County Surveillance program described the juvenile's discharge day as a time of "planned negative behavior." After adjusting to the control and predictability of intensive supervision, offenders frequently had difficulty adjusting to regular supervision or community life with no supervision. While all programs reduced contacts for a period of time prior to discharge, program staff rarely considered the transition time sufficient. We did not find agreement on the ideal length of time for varying levels of supervision. Neither did we find consistent guidelines describing how to reduce services from maximum control.

A final intervention variable which varied greatly among programs was length of stay. Some programs specified a minimum or maximum length of stay as part of the program design. Other programs provided an average length of stay. Length of stay varied from a requirement for 90 "successful" days for misdemeanants in Ramsey County's ISP, to an average overall of 12-14 months in Wayne County's three ISPs. The average length of stay tended to range between six to eight months. The following chart summarizes the length of stay identified by the 11 programs.

PROGRAM LENGTH OF STAY

<u>Program</u>	<u>Length of Stay*</u>
KEY	
Outreach & Tracking	20.7 wks. (average)
Tracking Plus	19.9 wks. (average)
AMI	6 months (average)
YAP	6-9 months
Kentfields	4 months
Firestone CDC	2 semesters (average)
Pennsylvania IPS	6-12 months
Specialized Gang	12 months (average)
Hennepin Co.	116 days (average)
Ramsey Co.	
Misdemeanants	90 successful days
Felons	120 successful days
Lucas Co.	6-9 months

Wayne Co.

IPU

Spectrum

CYTCIP

7-11 months

9-12 months

11-15 months

* Length of stay is based on program design unless indicated as an "average" stay.

ISPs must also address the issue of providing appropriate sanctions for rule infractions. If offenders from the high-risk target population are actually being admitted to an intensive program, there will be rule infractions. It is critical that the sanctions be certain and proportionate to the violations. The programs we assessed placed a high value on retaining the juvenile in the program by administering sanctions which enforce accountability for misbehavior. Return to court with a recommendation for placement was generally reserved for new offenses or a repeating pattern of negative behavior which could not be handled within the program.

While providing surveillance and control, the ISPs provided a variety of opportunities for the juveniles to become involved with other community resources. All programs provided formal referral and support for psychological services and family or individual counseling which could not be handled by the ISP. Participants often attended regular or special school programs. ISP staff worked extensively with community programs to provide support systems for the families and the juveniles. The overall goals were to increase the participant's awareness of community resources, promote involvement with these resources, and meet the participant's need for family support.

The ISPs in our study emphasized either educational or counseling services. With the exception of YAP, which had a supported work component, these ISPs placed limited emphasis on vocational training or work experience as the primary focus of services. Restitution and/or community service were mandatory components in the Kentfields and Lucas County programs. In the other programs, these components were enforced and monitored when part of court orders.

Electronic monitoring was not used by the ISPs we assessed. Wayne County programs had previously used it on a few cases, but problems with the equipment precluded assessment of its success. One program administrator plans to utilize this technology in the future, with the primary motivation being that of enabling staff to provide surveillance services to a broader geographical area. While electronic monitoring has been used frequently with adults, it is relatively new with juveniles. When asked about the potential for electronic monitoring in their ISP, most direct service staff responded with concerns about having the technology interfere with their personal client relationships and that

juveniles would not be amenable to using this technology. One staff person commented that juveniles have less compunction about breaking the equipment than do adults.

D. GOALS AND EVALUATION

The identification of program goals which lend themselves to evaluation is another significant component of ISP assessment. Program goals should be clearly articulated, widely accepted, and sufficiently objective to be evaluated. While the short-term objectives may require modification in response to changes in the program environment, the broad program goals should be well thought out and less subject to frequent restructuring. These goals form the basis for determining program effectiveness. In addition to a comprehensive information system for monitoring the ISP, an adequate evaluation design should enable assessment of program effectiveness.

As outlined in the literature review, the current development of intensive supervision programs has limited research supporting its effectiveness. Even the most comprehensive programs we visited generally lacked formal evaluations to measure their effectiveness as an alternative to out-of-home placement.

One of the principal goals of most programs was to reduce out-of-home placements and thus reduce placement costs. Three programs had as their only goal to serve as an alternative to placement (YAP and Ramsey County), or to reduce the number of youths committed to residential care (Pennsylvania IPS). Some of these placement-reduction goals include the assumption of cost savings. For example, one of Kentfields' goals is to "provide a less costly but more effective community alternative to institutional placement." Hennepin County has as a goal to "avoid costly out-of-home placement" and Wayne County's is to "reduce costs by avoiding expensive out-of-home placements." Finally, YAP's goal is to "provide a cost-effective alternative to residential care." Only three programs (AMI, Firestone CDC, and Specialized Gang Program) did not have a specific written goal relating to out-of-home placements.

Several programs maintain data on the degree to which they meet their financial goals. However, these data were also subject to wide interpretation. Because the data were collected and calculated in several different ways, it was difficult to compare programs and determine that one model was more cost effective than another.

For a program to be cost effective, it is essential that it serve a high-risk population who would otherwise be in placement. The program must also serve a sufficient number of offenders to justify the program costs. Providing intensive services to

offenders who would otherwise be served by regular probation caseloads leads to an increase in costs. Despite the importance of determining that program participants are really the ones identified as the target population, programs had virtually no information to assess this issue. In our interviews, staff from various programs suggested that as little as 25 to 50 percent of program participants were true diversions from placement. The remaining participants represented the higher risk probation cases. While some intensive programs are designed to target this high-end probationer, programs would best achieve the goal of reducing placement costs by identifying and selecting cases which are truly bound for placement.

Programs must also serve a sufficient number of offenders to justify the costs of administering a program. If an ISP is designed to serve an average caseload of 10 juveniles per worker and only half that number are on supervision, from a cost effectiveness viewpoint, the program will not be successful.

An additional goal found in most ISPs was related to providing community protection. Five programs (KEY; Specialized Gang; and Hennepin, Lucas, and Wayne Counties) specifically had protecting the community as a goal. If these programs are truly to serve a youth population who would otherwise be removed from home and, therefore, "off the streets," achieving this goal becomes an important factor in selling the program concept to administrators, funding bodies, and the community at large. A case must be made that the intensity of supervision is sufficient to protect the public. Three additional programs (AMI, Kentfields, and Firestone CDC) have reduction of recidivism as a goal. While not as specific, this may also be considered to relate to community protection because it implies supervision will be sufficiently intense to prevent participants from committing new offenses.

The last group of common goals relate to meeting the juveniles' needs. Five of the programs identified goals of helping the juvenile. KEY and Lucas County outlined developing and implementing an individual treatment plan as a program goal. Wayne County's goal was to "increase the quality of services." AMI's and Firestone CDC's goals were more specific. AMI's goals were to increase pre-vocational, vocational, and academic skills. Firestone CDC's were to prepare the youths for return to regular school, and to help them make positive adjustments to living in the community.

Both the lack of formal evaluation research to assess the effectiveness of various intensive supervision approaches and the limited program information on which to base management decisions present serious deficiencies in the development of current intensive supervision programs. The ISPs are often small and resources are generally utilized to provide direct services

rather than enhanced information systems. The data available are usually limited to descriptive comparisons. Although not a substitute for rigorous research, if descriptive data were consistently available, they could at least provide useful management information. Evaluations are conducted from time to time, not regularly. For example, the Kentfields program participated in two studies, the first one covering referrals in 1969 and 1970 and the second on 1974-1978 referrals. The studies provided promising program-specific information, but they have not been repeated. Ramsey County also completed two useful internal studies in 1984 and 1986 which attested to the program meeting its stated goals; however, resource limitations prohibited additional follow-up.

Most programs compile data describing some measure of successful completion and a few programs also collect follow-up data to assess recidivism. Changes in these rates enable administrators to identify that "something" different is occurring in their programs. However, the information would be more useful for program decisions if it could be linked to data documenting the risk level, offender needs, and other profile characteristics. This information could help attest to the appropriate selection of program participants as well as the need for changes in program services.

As a general rule, programs had little in the way of automated management information systems (MIS). One exception was the information system used by YAP to monitor their individual contracts. The system is utilized to provide child- and program-specific information; however, data are not routinely aggregated for all programs. In most ISPs, data are usually manually tabulated to provide descriptive program information. The lack of automated systems represents a significant obstacle in the way of using regular management reports to track changes in program populations, assessing the adequacy of selection procedures, and undertaking basic studies of program operations. Administrators and line staff alike are at a disadvantage when they have limited feedback on the overall "results" of their programs. Without even a rudimentary MIS, incorporating routine research and evaluation into program management is probably impossible for most ISPs.

E. PROGRAM LINKAGES

The final area for assessing ISPs relates to understanding their relationships with the "outside." By program linkages we refer to both the formal and informal relationships which hinder or support program operations. These relationships include those with the judges and court personnel, the traditional probation officers, and other criminal justice programs serving juveniles. Funding sources, community programs, law enforcement, and schools also have important relationships with ISPs. While programs can

survive "neutral" relationships with some of these entities, negative relationships in any of these areas can be a severe detriment.

Several county-run programs received considerable judicial support both in the initial stages of development and on an on-going basis. Frequently, the court was a powerful ally if not the initiator to secure initial funding. Judicial support remains critical in all the programs, since it is the judges who make the final decision to place offenders in the program. The court's understanding and support of program procedures and the maintenance of the designated target population is essential.

Continued support from the funding sources is maintained through consistently demonstrating success in meeting financial goals. Without data to demonstrate that the program is truly cost effective, long-term funding could be in jeopardy. Program administrators in the ISPs we visited invested considerable time assuring that key individuals in the funding or contracting bodies stay current with program changes. Their basic premise was that there should be no surprises with respect to funding.

The perceptions of traditional probation officers contributed to the program's acceptance as a viable alternative to out-of-home placement. When the agency had previous experiences with abandoned intensive supervision efforts, the officers often viewed the new program negatively. Probation-run programs were more likely to thrive in environments where the work of the intensive officer was readily apparent. In these programs, it became important that the intensive officers were viewed as working at least as hard as traditional officers, even though their caseloads were considerably lower. When ISP officers were considered "elite" or "special," resentment from the traditional probation officers was often a management problem. While these effects could be mitigated, they could not be completely eliminated.

For ISPs to operate effectively in the community they must retain the support of law enforcement, schools, and other community programs and groups. During the initial development, several programs provided program briefings to law enforcement to promote their support. No program indicated encountering opposition from law enforcement. The relationship with the schools was particularly important to these juvenile programs because virtually all program participants have some type of special educational needs. School personnel gave considerable support to the structure and consistency the ISPs brought to the student's life and they appreciated the support officers provided when school problems were encountered. Most program participants and/or their families also received services from some other type of community resource. Intensive officers were required to coordinate services and make appropriate referrals. Maintaining

strong relationships with these resources facilitated the referral process and strengthened client services which could be provided.

Recognizing program linkages is important because it reinforces the understanding that the ISP is part of a broader network of community resources, over which the ISP does not have total control. For example, Lucas County had two mandatory group counseling components for both the juveniles and their parents. These were run by a private agency and funded through United Way. Feedback on the group components from the ISU staff, the parents, and the juveniles was very positive. However, United Way did not continue funding the program, so the ISP is looking at other ways to provide what was seen as a valuable service. The development of a new program or changes in the operation of ISPs require the support of this broader network if the program is to thrive.

F. SUMMARY

Our review of program descriptions prior to selection of the ISPs for on-site visits indicated that these programs were highly regarded within their respective juvenile justice systems. The on-site visits confirmed that these ISPs were not only accepted, but also strongly supported as an integral component of their systems. Despite this high regard and acceptance, none of the programs present a clearly replicable set of elements.

We found two basic ISP approaches: day treatment and direct supervision. Both approaches were found in organizations with varying philosophies, policies, and procedures. No single approach or set of operational procedures emerged as the definitive model for ISP. The best structure for a particular juvenile justice system depends upon the needs and resources of the overall system, and the overall goals the system hopes to accomplish.

Juvenile justice systems with a range of community resources or systems which need a program to serve a broad range of juvenile needs may be best served by the direct supervision approach. This approach would structure and monitor the juvenile's time through intense, direct supervision and surveillance activities. Through this approach, program staff can gain control over the juvenile's behavior, and community resources can be coordinated and supported to provide services. Where services are not available elsewhere in the community, the ISP staff may need to have a broad range of skills to provide client services. Agencies which want their ISP to provide surveillance, monitor behavior, and report violations would also be better served by a direct supervision model. This model tends to emphasize "coverage" and "control" over a broader range of the youths' activities and time.

When a target population can be clearly identified with specific, unmet needs, the day treatment approach may present a viable option. This approach can focus program resources on an identified area of need, such as basic education or development of a vocational skill. To capitalize on the strengths of a day treatment approach, support systems must be available. They can exist through traditional probation, family, or some other external resource. If that external support system is not available, the ISP design must provide the structure to assure that juveniles attend the program and that it serves the intended purpose for the youth. When the day treatment program targets juveniles at high risk of becoming involved in additional illegal activity, additional structure during the time they are not in the day treatment program may be a necessary consideration.

The current interest in ISPs is guided more by administrative philosophy and the realities of resource limitations than an empirically grounded knowledge. Formal research assessing program success is generally not available. The research that has been done suggests that intensive supervision approaches produce outcomes that are at least as good as residential placement. Most programs receive support from their funding bodies because they are perceived to reduce out-of-home placement costs. "Intensive" contact and services also enable programs to be considered a tough, viable sanction which does not compromise public safety. While providing offender control, the concept of ISP also allows for treatment services to be provided.

In addition to research utilizing formal experimental designs, programs would derive substantial benefits from enhanced information systems. A good information system would, among other things, enable administrators to monitor changes in population profiles, track program completion rates for different profiles of offenders, and enhance the ability to collect and utilize follow-up data. This system should make program data readily available to ISP managers who make decisions about program changes and respond to basic requests for descriptive data. While this descriptive information is not a substitute for an experimental design, the practicality of conducting evaluation without an adequate information system is severely limited.

Major unanswered questions relate to the identification and selection of an appropriate target population. The ISPs we visited would be strengthened with clearer definitions of their target population and more objective selection procedures to assure that program participants really represent the designated target population. We included programs which identified themselves as alternatives to out-of-home placement. The lack of objective information documenting that ISP participants were in the program as an alternative to placement is a serious deficiency. If juveniles are accepted from the higher end of

probation rather than from a placement population, this may negate claims of cost control, high program completion rates, and reduced recidivism.

The site visits reinforced the conclusions of the literature review that there are no well-researched ISPs which are ready for national replication as an ISP prototype. An ISP design must fit with the needs of the individual juvenile justice systems and we need to know more about the best mix of target populations, services, and surveillance for these programs. While some ISPs have promising components and are well integrated into their individual systems, we present a rationale for developing a unique ISP model in the next section of this report.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

This project is organized into four distinct phases, the first of which is the assessment of existing programs and relevant research concerning post-adjudication, non-residential, intensive supervision programs. From this assessment, the project plan calls for the identification of ISP models which can be replicated in other locations. Project stages two through four include development of comprehensive operational manuals for the identified ISP models, creation of a training and technical assistance package for use in implementation, and provision of technical assistance to support a limited number of demonstration sites.

We found both strengths and weaknesses in all programs; however, no complete prototype model emerged as being ready for national replication. Despite this, the programs we visited were strongly supported within their juvenile justice systems. In many respects, this was a testimony to their ability to assess the needs of their individual systems and match program policies and procedures with those needs. To recommend an ISP as a model for national demonstration, it appears necessary to develop a model which capitalizes on the observed strengths of current programs and further develops other program components.

Therefore, NCCD recommends that the next stage of the project conceptualize and develop an ISP model which can be implemented and evaluated in a limited number of jurisdictions. This model would draw from strengths observed in ISPs and incorporate program components identified by the literature review. The proposed program elements are presented below, using the outline followed throughout this report: program context; client identification; intervention; goals and evaluation; and program linkages. Subsequent stages of this project will refine the elements, incorporate them into a program manual, and develop training and implementation materials.

CONCEPTUAL MODEL FOR ISP PROTOTYPE

Program Context

- Incorporate Integrated Model of Delinquency Causation
- Address significant factors in the external environment
- Address significant factors in the internal environment

Client Identification

- Clearly identify a high-risk target population
- Incorporate selection procedures which:
 - use structured, actuarially-based risk assessment
 - use structured needs assessment
 - assure high-risk target population selection

Intervention Strategies

Incorporate formal, individualized case planning and goal setting

Provide a graduated program structure with accountability for the juvenile's time

Develop graduated systems of sanctions and rewards
Include program elements which mitigate identified risk factors:

- educational and vocational skills
- chemical dependency treatment and education
- supportive family relationships
- positive peer relationships/leisure activities
- appropriate social skills

Goals and Evaluation

Identify measurable program goals in the areas of:

- program cost
- service delivery
- offender outcomes

Collect information to assess program goals

Design strategies for program evaluation

Program Linkages

Identify formal and informal relationships necessary for ISP:

- funding sources
- court system (i.e. judges, attorneys)
- law enforcement
- community program resources
- schools

Develop strategies for developing and maintaining these relationships

Program Context

Context refers to the conditions and assumptions which operationally and conceptually define the program. Programs we assessed did not clearly articulate a theoretical basis which guided their program design and operation. We recommend that the prototype model utilize the structure outlined by Elliott and his colleagues in the Integrated Model. This Model argues that the combined forces of inadequate socialization, strain, and social disorganization lead to weak bonding to conventional values and activities. This weak bonding is combined with powerful bonding with delinquent values and delinquent peers, providing a powerful push towards law violating behavior.

It became apparent during our site visits that thriving ISPs had administrators and managers who stayed aware of the external and internal factors influencing their programs. The prototype

will identify potential factors (i.e. community economic conditions, community demographics, values of funding sources, political priorities, agency workloads, staff values, previous program experiences), and propose strategies to enhance the impact of positive factors and mitigate the influence of negative factors. During subsequent stages, training and implementation components will be designed to enable agencies to assess the critical factors in their own environments. This analysis will lead to specific action steps which they can implement. Awareness of the program's operating environment should also provide direction and emphasis for program components. For example, if the community demographics indicate a particularly high incidence of single parent families, the ISP may want to strengthen conventional bonds to family values by incorporating stronger systems to support parental relationships and/or providing additional networks of positive adults to supplement parental control.

Client Identification

This includes the combination of techniques, procedures, and criteria used to define, select, and admit clients to the program. The ISP prototype will be designed as an alternative to out-of-home placement rather than an enhancement to traditional probation. The prototype will target high-risk adjudicated juveniles who would otherwise be placed outside the home. Training and implementation materials will assist the participating agencies to identify who is currently going to placement, which juveniles they would be willing to maintain in the community, and the number of program participants who could be expected from this target population. This approach will be designed to enable agencies to assess the practical viability of the proposed program and assure that sufficient juveniles exist to warrant the program. When the target population is unclear (both in terms of description and projected numbers), the selection process tends to blur and the program may evolve to include an unintended population. The prototype design and subsequent training and technical assistance materials will seek to reduce the potential of this occurring.

The programs we visited did not routinely incorporate a structured, actuarially-based risk assessment instrument into their selection procedures. Structured risk assessment combines a number of individual risk factors into a single index to predict overall risk. Using this type of tool during the assessment process provides a common base to assess diverse individuals for program admission and increases the likelihood that the high-risk target population is selected. All programs expressed the importance of flexibility in participant selection. We envision a model which maintains individualized evaluation for acceptance, but which would sufficiently structure the selection process so that lower-risk individuals who can be served on

traditional probation will be excluded. The prototype will include risk assessment instruments as one component of the selection process.

The model ISP will also incorporate a structured needs assessment process to identify major problem areas. Based on this needs assessment, a subsequent in-depth evaluation may be recommended. As with the risk assessment, a structured format for assessing needs assures a baseline of consistency in client identification. It also provides a basis for future case planning and individual goal setting.

Intervention Strategies

Intervention strategies represent the full range of activities and services provided by the program to meet the needs of its clients. In the prototype, program intervention strategies will be guided by principles of the Integrated Model and will focus on reducing risk factors which previous research suggests contribute to risk of additional illegal activity. Incorporating formal, individualized case planning into the program clearly identifies the goals and expectations for measuring success and evaluating progress. The Integrated Model includes components of Strain Theory which suggest that frustration with the inability to achieve conventional goals contributes to delinquency. Formal case planning and goal setting, with regular review of progress, provides youths with the opportunity to experience success and recognize that they can overcome obstacles in conventional, socially accepted ways.

Most programs provide formal or informal strategies for participants to receive greater freedom as they successfully proceed through the program. The prototype will provide formalized phases with youths having more freedom in later phases. With the program design calling for high-risk juveniles, the initial phase will structure virtually all the juveniles' waking hours. This not only enables ISP staff to monitor and control the level of risk presented to the community, it also establishes staff authority and support roles. Within the context of the Integrated Model, we would expect the extensive client contact to facilitate positive relationships between the juveniles and program staff. The close monitoring includes administering appropriate rewards and sanctions. Through these external constraints, behavior which is consistent with program expectations should be encouraged. The Integrated Model considers the understanding and acceptance of conventional values (i.e. program expectations) an important element to reduce the likelihood of future delinquency. As the youths demonstrate the ability to abide by program rules, the intent is that the values will become internalized. As this happens, the external structure of the program is lessened, and individual freedoms are experienced in later phases.

The need to provide clear, appropriate and consistent sanctions for positive and negative behavior is also suggested by the Integrated Model. The salience of the sanctioning process relates to the strengthening of conventional bonds and the discouragement of delinquent bonding. An effective and fair sanctioning process also holds implications for reducing the delinquency-producing influences of strain and social disorganization. From the standpoint of a risk control sentencing philosophy, the sanctions must be proportionate to the violation and of sufficient strength to regain control over the juvenile's behavior.

The Integrated Model leads us to identify core program elements and will assist in evaluating the relative strengths of different intervention strategies. For example, the strong influences of strain and weak conventional bonding suggest that these factors must be addressed by correctional programs. The influences of strain might be attenuated by educational and vocational interventions that provide offenders with opportunities for successful law abiding experiences. The prototype approach needs to reinforce successful school experiences, for a population that has generally had behavior and/or learning problems in traditional educational environments.

Abuse of alcohol and other drugs has been demonstrated to be a risk factor for this population. The prototype ISP must have the capacity to assess the degree of the problems and provide treatment, monitoring, and education as needed. Chemical abuse is often supported by the delinquent's peers and/or their family environment. The Integrated Model also focuses our attention on the offender's attachments with delinquent peers. Negative peer influences must be neutralized, and chemical use is only one example of an area where peers are especially influential. The influence of delinquent peers must also be neutralized in other areas such as school, work, and leisure activities. The program needs to establish bonds with more pro-social groups and individuals. The model program must include strategies to structure leisure time and give the opportunity to develop positive peer and adult relationships. It will also be important to work with youths who hold wildly unrealistic expectations about how one succeeds in the conventional society. Weak conventional bonding can be attenuated by having offenders participate (and receive rewards from) behaviors that reinforce traditional community values. Here, interventions that involve family reunification, normalized school activities, as well as work and community service opportunities are promising approaches.

The ISP programs we visited emphasized the importance of working with the family and having their support for program goals. Many delinquents come from destructive family relationships with weak controls on their behavior. Program

staff not only model "parenting" skills in many day-to-day circumstances, but the program should also provide for formal family counseling and support to improve parenting skills and relationships.

Goals and Evaluation

The prototype will outline criteria for establishing broad, long-range goals and specific objectives which will be used to determine program effectiveness. The design calls for program goals and related measurable objectives in the areas of program cost, service delivery and offender outcomes. Data available from risk and needs assessment forms, together with selected demographic variables and outcome measures for each goal will be combined into an MIS design. Because comprehensive management information systems are rarely operational in current programs, we will attempt to identify sites with the resources and interest in an automated MIS for initial prototype demonstration. In the event this becomes impossible, more limited manual systems will be designed to fit the capability of selected sites. The overriding purpose of the MIS is to provide useful and timely aggregate information to facilitate program management decisions and provide the basis for more comprehensive evaluation of program success.

Most current programs lack the resources to design and conduct comprehensive program evaluations. The prototype will include an approach which can be used to conduct an evaluation. At a minimum, the evaluation plan will assess the appropriateness of the target population and selection procedures, the impact of program services, the intensity of contacts, cost factors, and identified outcome measures to evaluate program success. We found a wide diversity among programs with respect to selection procedures, the mix of ancillary program services, and the frequency of contacts with the juvenile and collateral sources. The appropriate mix of these program elements for the offender population is unknown and should be a subject of further research.

It is essential that the ISP design include implementation of an information system which enables managers to track and describe what is happening in their programs on a regular basis (monthly, quarterly, etc.). Equally important is the requirement that the information system support the evaluation design so that the effectiveness of program procedures can be assessed. Both the capability to describe program activities and offender characteristics together with the ability to anticipate their ramifications are critical for long-range ISP management.

Program Linkages

This refers to the formal and informal relationships that hinder or support program operations. The ISPs included in our site visits emphasized the importance of working cooperatively within their respective communities. Also, enabling juveniles to effectively use community resources during and after the ISP experience was considered important, both in terms of improving the number of participants who succeed and in controlling program costs. Developing the juvenile's ability to resolve problems and maneuver through conventional society without returning to delinquent problem-solving approaches is an important ISP component of the bonding theme in the Integrated Model.

The prototype will identify key program linkages. Subsequent training and technical assistance will provide strategies for sites to expand upon the list. At a minimum, the programs we visited emphasized relationships with their funding sources, the court system, law enforcement, community programs and schools. The emphasis on and strategy used for each of these program linkages depends upon decisions to broker or have program staff provide direct services. For example, brokering to community programs may make sense if a viable resource already exists. If not, the ISP may need to develop the internal capability to provide the service.

Summary

This assessment identified key components for a prototype post-adjudication, non-residential, intensive supervision program targeted for high-risk offenders who would otherwise be placed outside their home. The prototype combines research theory with the program components which were observed in operational ISPs. Further, the theoretical underpinnings of the Integrated Theory of delinquency causation strengthen certain program elements which were generally weak or lacking in existing programs. Future stages of the project will expand the prototype to provide specific operational guidance on how to design, develop, and implement the model. The prototype provides a flexible framework for these next steps. While providing a baseline of specificity for the necessary program elements, it also allows for organizational and programmatic variations to meet the unique needs and environments of individual jurisdictions.

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APPENDICES

THE KEY PROGRAM, INC.
FRAMINGHAM, MASSACHUSETTS

The KEY Program, Inc. (KEY) was organized in Massachusetts in 1974 as a private, non-profit corporation as a direct response to deinstitutionalization of juveniles in Massachusetts reform schools. While this review concentrates on KEY's non-residential Outreach and Tracking and KEY's Tracking Plus programs, KEY serves troubled adolescents through several additional program models including long- and short-term residential treatment, shelter care, and foster care. KEY also provides juvenile intake services and protective service assessment and evaluation in selected areas.

The Outreach and Tracking program, which serves both males and females, is designed to serve as an alternative to residential out-of-home placement. It also serves as an aftercare program following residential placement to provide reintegration into the community. Services include daily contact with the child and significant others, constant awareness of the child's whereabouts, advocacy with other community resources, and systematic referrals for clinical services, such as family and individual counseling. The Tracking Plus program provides the same types of services as the Outreach and Tracking program; however, youths (males only) in Tracking Plus begin their placement with an 18- to 30-day stay in a restricted residential setting, in order to stabilize the youth, develop a plan for the youth's return to home and school and provide more intensive family work.

KEY views its role as providing an integrated approach which combines accountability, structure, and advocacy to ensure that the individual goals for each juvenile are met within the least restrictive setting. A unique aspect of KEY is that line caseworkers stay a maximum of 14 months. This policy assures that high energy staff are providing direct services, but also requires extensive training efforts and supervisory and management consistency to maintain program integrity.

With the exception of the urban Boston area, KEY currently operates state-wide in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and has implemented one Outreach program in New Hampshire in January of 1989. During fiscal year 1987, KEY provided services (excluding Intake Programs) to 2,139 clients from the Massachusetts Departments of Youth Services, Social Services, and Mental Health; the Rhode Island Department for Children and Their Families; and various school systems. Nine hundred ninety-three (46 percent) of these clients were served in the Outreach and Tracking or Tracking Plus programs, of which 499 (50 percent) were delinquent referrals from the Department of Youth Services. Approximately 50 percent of the juveniles in the Outreach and

Tracking and Tracking Plus programs were enrolled as an alternative to residential placement, with the remaining 50 percent receiving aftercare services as follow-up to an out-of-home placement.

ASSOCIATED MARINE INSTITUTES, INC.
TAMPA, FLORIDA

The Associated Marine Institutes, Inc. (AMI) is a network of affiliated but separate training programs for delinquent youth. Each program has an autonomous Board of Trustees and separate incorporation. Fiscal management and contracting services are provided by the corporate office in Tampa, Florida. AMI, a private, non-profit organization, operates a wide range of programs including residential and non-residential placements in seven states: Florida, Louisiana, Texas, South Carolina, Delaware, Virginia and Maryland. In general, the AMI programs are centered around remedial education and training in marine activities such as scuba diving, sailing, and boating. The NCCD site visit was conducted at two of the Florida non-residential programs: Pinellas Marine Institute (PMI) and Tampa Marine Institute (TMI). These non-residential programs are examples of day treatment models in two slightly different settings: the Pinellas facility is located on the waterfront at Tampa Bay and the Tampa Institute is near the water.

The curricula and level systems are similar at each of the marine institutes. The day treatment program combines individualized classroom education with specialized training in marine activities. Participants progress through levels by accumulating points for positive behavior and completion of classroom work. Progression to the next level is determined by staff in a meeting at which the youth explains why he/she should be advanced to the next level. Variations from one institute to another result from the autonomy that each program is afforded, the regional differences in the areas that they serve, and the personalities and administrative styles of the staff. Within the structured expectations for AMI staff, individuality is encouraged. Staff are encouraged to make the human connection while keeping with the overall AMI philosophy.

Three goals for youth achievement have been established by AMI, namely: to reduce or eliminate recidivism, to increase pre-vocational and vocational skills, and to increase academic skills. AMI statistics indicate that overall 70 percent of participants in AMI programs successfully complete, with a recidivism rate of 20 percent over a three-year follow-up period. AMI presents a unique focus on marine training and has demonstrated its premise that youths who are engaged in challenging and interesting tasks can be steered away from delinquent behavior.

YOUTH ADVOCATE PROGRAMS, INC.
HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

Youth Advocate Programs, Inc. (YAP) is a private not-for-profit agency headquartered in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, whose purpose is to provide humane community-based alternative programs for the care and protection of individuals subject to compulsory care, supervision, treatment, and/or incarceration in public or private institutions. YAP's corporate philosophy is that youths have the best chance of success in community-based programs serving the entire family, and that the vast majority of troubled juveniles can be effectively and safely supervised in the community if appropriate support, treatment, and supervision services are provided. This philosophy pervades the entire corporate structure, influencing program, personnel, and administrative policies and procedures.

YAP was originally established in 1975 as an aftercare program serving juveniles leaving a Pennsylvania prison. It has since expanded to serve delinquent and dependent youth in both aftercare and alternative-to-placement programs. Currently, YAP operates 29 programs in various counties in 4 states (Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland).

YAP provides intensive intervention services to youth and families through an advocacy model under which trained advocates are assigned to work with youths in individual, group, and family activities designed to meet each youth's social, educational, and vocational needs. Advocates have an average caseload of four youths. YAP has 4 service options, ranging from limited service, in which the advocate has at minimum 3 face-to-face contacts totalling 7.5 hours a week with each youth, to intensive service, which provides a minimum of 5 face-to-face contacts totalling 30 hours a week. These levels of face-to-face contacts generally occur on nights and weekends, and provide an extremely high intensity of supervision.

YAP also offers a Supported Work program, which is used after the youth has been stabilized in the community. This component is for older youth whose primary goal is employment. Employers are expected to hire the youth upon successful completion of the supported work training period. While in Supported Work, wages are paid by YAP.

NCCD's on-site visit was conducted at the Baltimore, Maryland program, which serves adjudicated delinquents who are at imminent risk of residential placement. During its first year of operation, the Baltimore program served 130 juveniles and achieved a positive discharge rate of 78 percent.

KENTFIELDS REHABILITATION PROGRAM
GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

The Kentfields Rehabilitation Program in Grand Rapids, Michigan is a community-based 16-week work/school and group therapy program operated by the Kent County Juvenile Court. To be eligible for the program, a youth must be an adjudicated delinquent on probation and living at home. The target population is youth with a history of school problems and law violations for whom out-of-home placement would otherwise occur. Kentfields operates on a behavioral management system where positive behavior in the home, community and school is reinforced through a "token economy" system. Participants are required to progress through various levels by earning points in school, on the worksite, and at home according to certain performance criteria. The points are redeemable for money and for restitution payments.

The school/work portion of the program lasts for eight weeks. As a group, a maximum of 14 participants attend an alternative school in the morning and work at a designated community worksite in the afternoon. After completing the school/work phase, a juvenile enters the aftercare phase for an additional eight weeks. The purpose of aftercare is to provide a placement in a stable work or school setting with the goal of discharge from probation upon completion of all program requirements. During aftercare, a participant is phased off the reinforcers (points) which have effectively controlled his/her behavior.

Kentfields serves approximately 90 to 100 juveniles a year. The program was established in 1966, making it one of the first programs of its kind. Since adopting its current format in 1977, Kentfields has had a successful completion rate averaging 68 percent over the last 11 years. It is a stable program with strong judicial, political, and community support, and a dedicated staff with a strong sense of mission and belief in the behavior modification model. Kentfields has maintained its initial conceptual design while continuing to improve on the operational and structural components.

FIRESTONE COMMUNITY DAY CENTER SCHOOL
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

The Firestone Community Day Center School (CDC), located in the Watts section of Los Angeles, is a fully accredited, non-residential, coeducational program which serves youths on probation who either 1) have not been sent to a residential facility and are residing in the community, or 2) are returning to the community upon release from a county camp or ranch. It is one of 17 CDCs operated by the Los Angeles County Office of Education for youth under the protection or authority of the Juvenile Court. The Los Angeles County Office of Education and the Department of Probation work as a team in designing and implementing the CDC program. While the CDC program is conducted under the auspices of the Office of Education, the Probation Department has final jurisdiction over the youths enrolled in the program.

The youths in the CDC program have failed in the traditional school system. They have below average academic skills and a history of behavioral and disciplinary problems. The individualized learning program at the CDC is designed to develop the youth's self-esteem through improved academic performance. It is hoped that the youths will then avoid further delinquent activity in lieu of the pursuit of new-found educational and vocational opportunities.

Firestone is considered by the Probation Department to be the purest example of the CDC model. It is the only CDC which has a probation officer on site full-time. Firestone has a maximum enrollment of 35 juvenile offenders. The youths are in the classroom four hours each day, five days a week. Classes are in session year-round. Youths stay in the program from one semester to two years, with an average length of stay of two semesters. When youths successfully complete the program by completing at least one semester, graduating, or passing the examination for the General Equivalency Diploma (GED) or the California High School Proficiency Exam (CHPE), they either return to the public school system, start working, or continue their education. After a short follow-up period they are dismissed from probation if they have successfully completed other conditions of probation.

PENNSYLVANIA INTENSIVE PROBATION SUPERVISION

Implementation of the Pennsylvania Intensive Probation Supervision (IPS) programs is an example of coordination between two state-level agencies to implement services at the county level. IPS was implemented to enable the more effective and economical community supervision of high-risk adjudicated juveniles under the jurisdiction of county juvenile probation departments. The primary implementation goal was to reduce the number of out-of-home placements in participating counties.

State-wide implementation began in the early 1980s with the coordinated efforts of the Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and Delinquency (PCCD) and the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission (JCJC). PCCD awarded and administered start-up grants to counties to provide a financial incentive for counties to participate. After two years of graduated funding through PCCD, counties assumed full financial responsibility for the programs, except for \$3,000 per county officer position which JCJC allocates through its Grant-in-Aid Program. During implementation, JCJC provided training, technical assistance, and project monitoring. In addition to IPS implementation, the two agencies coordinated a similar effort to implement aftercare services within the same time frame and with the primary goal of reducing the length of institutional stay.

Basic standards established by JCJC form the parameters of the IPS programs which local county probation agencies tailor to fit their individual operations. The IPS officer maintains a minimum of three weekly contacts with the juvenile to ensure that probation rules are followed and problems resolved. To assist in monitoring the juvenile's progress, collateral contacts are maintained with the family, school, employer, and significant others. Although administrative program oversight is less than what could be obtained when implementing a program in one agency, the JCJC monitors IPS standards through yearly audits of randomly selected counties.

The IPS and aftercare programs have been well accepted throughout the state. In 1987, 38 of the 67 Pennsylvania counties participated in the aftercare and/or intensive probation programs, employing 131 program officers. JCJC data indicate that out-of-home placements have been reduced in counties implementing IPS. When compared to 1986, the 1987 JCJC data indicate an overall decrease of 5.5 percent in the number of youth placed, with only 15.3 percent of the participants having new adjudicated offenses during that year.

SPECIALIZED GANG SUPERVISION PROGRAM
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

The Specialized Gang Supervision Program (SGSP) is operated by the Los Angeles County Department of Probation to supervise both juveniles and youthful adult offenders. This "generic" caseload is a key component of the gang program because the authorities recognize that gang activity does not stop upon a youth's 18th birthday. Following youth into their adulthood is a mechanism through which probation officers can maintain continuity in fighting the gang problem in Los Angeles.

The SGSP is based on the assumption that close monitoring, swift court action for probation violations and stepped-up surveillance of gang activity will help reduce the violent activities of probationers and reduce the amount of gang-related violence in the community. Gang membership is pervasive in the county juvenile probation population, but this program is geared toward only the most serious and violent gang members. The probation officer's job is primarily one of law enforcement, and a key component of the program is to bring gang participants into court for any violation of probation conditions. Probation officers work closely with the Los Angeles Police Department (L.A.P.D.) in this regard.

The second emphasis is on keeping apprised of gang activity and potential confrontations between warring groups. This requires probation officers to become involved with community groups and other agencies in the area. The SGSP operates two additional programs targeted toward adult gang members. The Gang Recording, Evaluation, and Tracking System (GREAT) uses probation and police tracking systems to more closely monitor the activities of adults in the program. The Gang Drug Pusher project uses electronic surveillance and intensive monitoring to reduce drug trafficking violence among adult gang members.

The SGSP operates in five regions throughout the county with 40 probation officers. The average caseload is approximately 50 per probation officer. As of November of 1988, the SGSP had 1,875 cases under supervision, including 1,310 juveniles and 565 adults. The SGSP is considered to be one of the most important programs to address gang activity in Los Angeles County.

HENNEPIN COUNTY SURVEILLANCE PROGRAM
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

In 1984, the Juvenile Probation Division of the Hennepin County, Minnesota, Department of Court and Field Services implemented a conditional probation program, subsequently termed "Surveillance," as a response to judicial interest in developing alternatives to placement in an overcrowded county home school. The Surveillance program is used both as an alternative to out-of-home placement and to support juveniles transitioning from an institution back to the community. In all cases, the program goals are to ensure that participants adhere to court-ordered contracts and do not become involved in any additional delinquent or illegal activities.

The Surveillance program operates in the near north and south sides of Minneapolis, Minnesota, a limited geographic area which reports the highest delinquency rates in the city. As an alternative to correctional placement, the program targets youths who have a record of felony property offenses and/or juveniles with an extensive history of minor person and property offenses. Although more serious offenders may be placed in the Surveillance program upon release from an institution, they are not considered for program services as an alternative to placement. Program participants are referred to Surveillance by the supervising probation officer, accepted by the surveillance supervisor, and supervised within a team concept by four community corrections workers who provide two to six daily contacts with the juvenile. Contacts with the juveniles can occur at non-traditional working times, seven days per week, and the clients are required to keep the surveillance officers informed of their whereabouts at all times. While the primary purpose of the Surveillance program is to monitor and enforce adherence to specific probation and court-ordered conditions, program participants are generally involved in community non-residential treatment programs, public schools, alternative schools, or other resources with which the surveillance officers maintain contact and support.

While juveniles are in the Surveillance program, the regular supervising probation officer maintains primary jurisdiction and remains responsible for case planning. Day-to-day services are provided by the community corrections surveillance officer. Since its inception, the program has been well accepted by community resources and has developed into an integral part of the Hennepin County Juvenile Probation Division.

RAMSEY COUNTY JUVENILE INTENSIVE SUPERVISION
PROJECT
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

During the early 1980s, philosophical and economic pressures converged within the Ramsey County, Minnesota juvenile justice system to encourage the reduction of out-of-home juvenile placements. The goal was to do this without reducing the delivery of appropriate services or compromising community protection. While this report concentrates on the Intensive Supervision Project (ISP), two other special projects were initiated in 1983 and 1984 to provide a level of treatment and supervision beyond that of traditional probation services. The intent of all three projects is to provide community protection and quality rehabilitation services through intensive contact with both juveniles and their families. The Family Counseling Project (FCP) serves youth who would otherwise be placed outside their own homes due to a combination of delinquent behavior and family conflict. In addition to traditional probation services, these juveniles and their parents are required to participate in weekly family counseling sessions individually or together with other families, with services provided by specialized probation staff. The Intensive Truancy Project (ITP) provides daily enforcement and supervision of school attendance to youth whose chronic truancy would otherwise result in out-of-home placement.

The third initiative, the Intensive Supervision Project (ISP), serves youth whose delinquent offenses would otherwise result in their placement in correctional treatment centers. A team of ISP staff are responsible for supervision of these juveniles by maintaining contact and enforcing strict rules of conduct. Requirements such as school attendance, making restitution to victims, curfew, required approval of friends and activities, and participation in court-ordered counseling are included. Violations of project rules result in immediate consequences of restricted activities, extended time under project supervision, community service work, or short-term periods of detention.

The ISP includes a three-phase system, the first of which consists of detention followed by home detention for a total of 30 violation-free days. Phase Two requires 60 to 90 violation-free days with the juvenile needing permission for all activities. An optional Phase Three is used for juveniles who are within 30 days of dismissal from probation, and provides a reduction in the face-to-face staff contact.

Felony offenders remain in the program for 120 days, while misdemeanants remain for 90 days. Excluding serious violent offenders who are committed for public safety reasons, the ISP targets juveniles considered to be higher risk. Preliminary

studies by Ramsey County indicate that the overall program goals of reducing placement costs and providing for public safety are being achieved.

LUCAS COUNTY INTENSIVE SUPERVISION UNIT
TOLEDO, OHIO

The Lucas County, Ohio, Intensive Supervision Unit (ISU) is operated by the Juvenile Court as part of the Court Probation Department. The Intensive Supervision program consists of a four-phased approach to case management services and surveillance for adjudicated delinquents who have been committed to the Ohio Department of Youth Services for the first time. Delinquents with drug trafficking or weapons offenses, or whose offenses caused serious injury to the victim are ineligible.

Under the phase system, youths gain more freedom and privileges as they exhibit more responsibility and socially appropriate behavior through the accumulation of "credit days." At the start of each phase, a juvenile must pass a test given by the ISU probation officer on the rules and expectations of that phase. The program starts with Phase I, in which the juvenile is on house arrest, and concludes with Phase IV, in which rules are individually negotiated in a contract developed by the youth, his/her parents, and the ISU officer.

The ISU is designed to provide treatment as well as control of behavior. Restitution and/or community service work is a program requirement. Structured family counseling, provided by trained probation staff, is a program option. Successful completion of program requirements results in discharge from probation.

The ISU began operating in October of 1987 with the goals of reducing the number of state commitments and recidivism rates. Program development was carefully done, with program goals, design, and internal policy and procedures spelled out before program implementation. Maximum enrollment is 60, with a caseload ratio of 15 juveniles per probation officer. The ISU served 53 juveniles during the first 13 months of operation. Program capacity has not yet been reached, attributed to the recent emergence of a cocaine/crack problem in Lucas County and the ineligibility of drug traffickers for the ISU.

As part of the Juvenile Court, the ISU has strong judicial support, and has developed strong linkages with other agencies including the Toledo Police Department and School System, and the Juvenile Prosecuting Attorney's Office. The program is too new to evaluate program success. It is anticipated that, if evaluation shows that the program meeting its goals, support for the program will continue.

WAYNE COUNTY INTENSIVE PROBATION PROGRAM
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

The Wayne County Intensive Probation Program (IPP) in Detroit, Michigan is administered by the Juvenile Court, and operated by the Court Probation Department and two private non-profit agencies under contract with the Court. The IPP target population is adjudicated delinquents between the ages of 12 and 17 who have been committed to the State Department of Social Services (DSS). The program was initiated in 1983 with state funding with the intent of reducing the level of delinquency commitments to the state. Screening for the program occurs after disposition, with acceptance into the program requiring a change in court order.

After a youth is determined appropriate for intensive probation by the Court, he/she is referred to one of three programs for casework services and supervision. The Intensive Probation Unit (IPU) within the Court's Probation Department represents the traditional intensive supervision model, with low caseloads (a maximum of 10 per probation officer) and frequent probation officer contacts and surveillance activities. The IPU operates through a system of four steps, with diminishing levels of supervision as the juvenile demonstrates more responsibility and lawful behavior.

The two private programs have different approaches. The In-Home Care Program, operated by Spectrum Human Services, Inc., provides a family-focused treatment services approach, with teams of family counselors meeting frequently with the juvenile and his/her family. The State Ward Diversion Program, operated by the Comprehensive Youth Training and Community Involvement Program, Inc. (CYTCIP), is a day treatment program with on-site educational and counseling services. This single screening process with subsequent referral to different program models makes the Wayne County program an interesting one for assessment.

Maximum enrollment for all three programs is 220 (IPU - 70; Spectrum - 100; and CYTCIP - 50). Research results suggest that the IPP has been as successful as institutionalization in reducing recidivism among Wayne County delinquents who have been committed to the State DSS. All three programs have consistently achieved successful completion rates of approximately 45 to 55 percent. The IPP demonstrates that a variety of program models can be successful in serving high-risk juvenile offenders in the community.

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