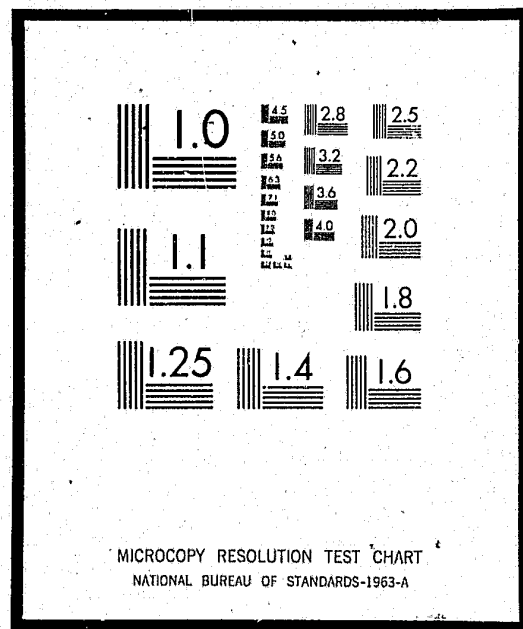


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COMMUNITY-BASED ALTERNATIVES TO JUVENILE INCARCERATION

VOLUME 1

FINAL REPORT

NATIONAL EVALUATION PROGRAM: PHASE 1 ASSESSMENT

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December 1975

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NATIONAL EVALUATION PROGRAM

In July 1974, the National Evaluation Program was established within the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration under the Office of Evaluation of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. This followed a recommendation by LEAA's Evaluation Policy Task Force (a joint body of representatives from LEAA and state planning agencies) that certain types of information can best be produced through nationally coordinated assessments and evaluations. Phase 1 of the NEP represents an assessment of the state of knowledge regarding a specific topic area together with some description and analysis based upon site visits and other data.

The National Evaluation Program has worked closely with the recently established Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention in initiating Phase 1 Assessments in the general area of juvenile justice. Either completed or in progress are studies of Youth Service Bureaus, Delinquency Prevention and Alternatives to Detention. In March 1975 the University of Minnesota received a grant to undertake studies in the areas of Diversion and Community-based Alternatives to Incarceration.

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ABSTRACT

Institutions for juvenile offenders, often large and isolated, have come under increasing criticism in recent years. It is often suggested that such places be closed and replaced by a range of community-based alternative programs. A number of such programs have been established and this study provides an assessment of some of their problems and possibilities. Some definitional problems were encountered, not least the meaning of community-based, which might most appropriately refer to the extent and quality of the linkages between the youths, staff, program and the community. Programs were also assessed along other dimensions, including the nature of the control exercised over youths.

The study suggests that it is insufficient to assess individual programs in isolation of the overall process of which they are a part. A fundamental issue which must be addressed is whether these new programs are in fact replacing incarceration, or merely providing a supplementary appendage to the traditional system. The connections between the new programs and the incarcerative settings which they are said to be replacing requires close scrutiny. It is hoped that this study, based upon a review of the literature and a number of site visits, will introduce a note of caution in an area where belief in panaceas and the use of catchwords have often obscured the need for careful scrutiny of what is actually taking place.

PREFACE

This is part of a three volume report which assesses Community-based Alternatives to Juvenile Incarceration. The study was conducted by the Juvenile Justice Project, Department of Criminal Justice Studies at the University of Minnesota during 1975. It was commissioned by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice as part of its National Evaluation Programs.

Volume 1 Community-based Alternatives to Juvenile Incarceration: Final Report has these main topic areas:

- historical review
- review of literature and identification of key issues
- description of community-based programs
- assessment of field research
- research design issues
- evaluation designs that address both program and process issues

Volume 2 Community-based Alternatives to Juvenile Incarceration: Site Visit Reports contains the complete reports of the twelve site visits undertaken in this topic area during the summer of 1975.

Volume 3 Community-based Alternatives to Juvenile Incarceration: Report Summary is a summary of the final report. It is scheduled for distribution to juvenile justice planners and others with responsibilities in this field.

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PROJECT STAFF

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CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION: PURPOSES, APPROACH AND LIMITATIONS

Training and reform schools for delinquent and other youths were once viewed with both pride and optimism; today this view is an exception. The term incarceration is applied to these institutions as regularly as it is to prisons and jails. All too often the incarcerative setting is associated with regimentation, brutality, extreme boredom and the absence of links with the community. Public concern over such settings in many parts of the nation has been complemented by a mounting body of research questioning their effectiveness.

The contemporary rhetoric and the recommendations of recent national commissions have stressed the need to develop community-based alternatives to these incarcerative settings. The urgency of this task was reflected in the recently enacted Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974. This legislation has provided for a level of federal leadership and direction which has been badly needed. As the language of the 1974 legislation pointed out:

States and local communities which experience directly the devastating failures of the juvenile justice system do not presently have sufficient technical expertise or adequate resources to deal comprehensively with the problem of juvenile delinquency, and existing Federal programs have not provided the direction, coordination, resources and leadership to meet the crisis of delinquency.¹

With the establishment of an Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention within the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the Justice Department, there is now the opportunity for a more coordinated role for the federal government in the complex and changing scene of juvenile justice.

This study is one of a number of Phase I Assessments of the National Evaluation Program within LEAA to specifically focus on a topic within juvenile justice. These Assessments should provide the new Office of

Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, as well as state planning agencies and other bodies concerned with juvenile justice, with an opportunity to review the contemporary state of knowledge and practice within specified topic areas.

Those intent upon the reform of the juvenile justice process have drawn attention to the need for change both at the periphery of the system and at the "deep end," the traditional use of large and isolated institutions. The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals stated:

Arguments for diversion and alternatives to incarceration largely are negative, stemming from overwhelming disenchantment with the institution as a setting for reducing criminal behavior... it is no surprise that institutions have not been successful in reducing crime. The mystery is that they have not contributed even more to increasing crime.²

This study's focus has been on alternatives to the deep end of the juvenile justice system - alternatives in lieu of incarceration after an adjudication of delinquency.

The study has been completed in eight months which is the period of time established by the NEP Phase I design. A brief time span such as this has both advantages and limitations. On the positive side it provides an up-to-date description of the contemporary scene for policymakers and others concerned with the issue. Long-term research efforts cannot easily be geared towards the immediate needs of potential users. A limitation of this time frame is the intense pressure to complete the various phases of the project: initial conceptual work, reviews of the appropriate literature, planning and executing field research, organizing and analyzing the field reports and incorporating this material into the products determined by the NEP design. Clearly such a project cannot attempt the sort of in-depth, quantitative focus that is the aim of long-term undertakings such as the University of Michigan's National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections.

The NEP Phase I design refers to the goal of providing a description of the current level of practice. This project has attempted to provide a qualitative perspective using two techniques: a review of the literature relating to the historical development, issues, and research in the area of community-based alternatives to incarceration (Chapters II-IV), and field research covering a range of community-based programs (Chapters V-VII). The field research attempts to reflect the perspectives of key actors, including whenever possible, youths being processed through the system. Data and impressions gained from the literature review and the field research provide a basis for re-examining and drawing attention to issues which merit greater consideration than they might have previously received.

It is assumed from the outset that any examination of community-based programs cannot be isolated from an examination of the wider juvenile justice process within which the programs operate. This consideration has been especially important for this study as its major theme is the overall function that these programs serve in terms of providing alternatives to incarceration. An important question in this regard is, are these programs in fact being used as an alternative in lieu of incarceration, or do they merely supplement the use of incarcerative settings? A companion report prepared by the same research team, has addressed a very similar issue in the area of juvenile diversion. In that report the dominating theme is the issue of whether diversion from the juvenile justice process is actually taking place. It is imperative to note that giving a program a name, i.e., community-based alternative to incarceration, does not necessarily result in the intended purpose being served. Such a warning is all the more timely when certain terms become catch phrases for funding and

other purposes. By drawing attention to this and other central issues it is the intention of this report to also highlight both conceptual and empirical gaps in our knowledge about community-based programs.

Given the range and diversity of the topic area it was necessary to limit its scope. The complete scene of probation supervision was not covered; traditional probation supervision and "probation plus" programs are briefly reviewed in Chapter IV, but these programs, perhaps together with the total area of probation supervision, should be the subject of a separate study.

The diversity of the programmatic arrangements and the fluidity of the contemporary scene do not facilitate the development of neat classifications that might bring immediate clarity to the subject for policy makers and researchers. At this stage it is possible that description complicates rather than simplifies, and it certainly introduces a heavy note of caution for those with a predisposition towards catchwords and panaceas.

NOTES

1 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, Public Law 93-415, 93rd Congress, September 7, 1974.

2 National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Corrections (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 350.

CHAPTER II
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A. Juvenile Institutions

When considering the development of alternatives to incarceration it is useful to heed David Rothman's reminder:

...we think of them [institutions] as always having been with us, and therefore as always to be with us. We tend to forget that they were the invention of one generation to serve very special needs, not the only possible reaction to social problems.¹

Rothman described the mood of optimism that characterized the early beginnings of the penitentiary, house of refuge and the asylum. Over time, the fervor of these high expectations diminished, yet the institution was retained as a central means of disposing of deviants. The goal of reformation was quickly replaced by one of incapacitation. Rothman comments: "The rhetoric in the Jacksonian period had justified confinement and the next generation could resort to it without especial difficulty."² The houses of refuge and reformatories were not exceptions. Rothman writes: "Like other caretaker institutions the refuge began as an attempt to eliminate delinquency and ended up as a practical method of getting rid of delinquents."³ The Houses of Refuge in fact combined a number of aims, summed up by the Managers of the House in New York:

These little vagrants whose depredations provoke and call down upon them our indignation are yet but children who have gone astray for want of that very care and vigilance we exercise towards our own. They deserve our censure, and a regard for our property, and the good of society, requires that they should be stopped, reprov'd, and punished.⁴

Fox reports that but for these new Houses of Refuge many youth would not have been incarcerated as the courts were generally unwilling to imprison them.⁵ He goes on to comment:

The unqualified adoption by the courts and the philanthropic protestations of the reformers and their disregard of any punitive purpose were the major factors contributing to the

creation of the myth that the New York House of Refuge marked a noble triumph in child welfare rather than the complex and ambivalent development that it was.⁶

From the mid-nineteenth century on, state training schools gradually replaced the Houses of Refuge. The incarceration of youth in training schools continued to be held in higher regard than prisons and mental asylums by contemporary observers due to their less custodial appearance. There was at least some recognition that inmates of the juvenile institutions would be released within a relatively short period of time and returned to their communities. In the meantime, the purpose of these institutions was to remove children from the supposed evils of urban life. A superintendent of one such institution suggested in 1901, that delinquents be:

taken away from evil associations and temptations, away from the moral and physical filth and contagion, out of the gas-light and sewer gas; away out into the woods and fields free from temptation and contagion; out into the sunlight and the pure, sweet air of the meadows...⁷

A high proportion of these institutionalized children were immigrants or the children of recent immigrants. Virtually all were poor. Many were minor offenders, or indeed were not guilty of any criminal offense. The child-saving movement, as Platt has termed it, was essentially concerned with youngsters regarded as pre-delinquent. Fox comments:

Major offenders were, from the beginning, left to the adult criminal system... This central concern for morally untarnished minor offenders has been a characteristic of American juvenile justice from the outset.⁸

Managers of juvenile institutions complained about the presence of more serious juvenile offenders who they feared would adversely affect other youngsters through contact with them.

B. The Significance of the Illinois Legislation; 1899

Commentators on the history of American juvenile justice have disagreed on the significance of the Illinois legislation which formally established the first juvenile court in 1899.⁹ It may well be that the procedure was not innovative; it merely confirmed an informal approach to the adjudication and disposition of juveniles. The legislation was, however, significant in allowing for probation as an official disposition of the court. Probation, especially for juveniles, was to gain rapidly as an alternative form of disposition to the courts. By 1907 there were 795 probation officers in the United States, and this figure had increased to 3800 by 1937 and 25,000 by 1970. By 1927, every state except Maine and Wyoming had juvenile court laws, and Wyoming was the only state without a juvenile probation system.

During the nineteenth century removal from the home was seen by many as of paramount importance. This removal involved either placement within an institution (which in many cases came to be modelled upon a "family system" or the "village"), or with another family. There was in fact widespread movement of youngsters to new families, in many cases to rural homes in Western states. The use of probation implied a commitment by the state to retain children within their own homes rather than removing them from their environment. One writer observed:

By drawing on other community resources, probation would, at least in theory, provide the leverage to make possible a wide variety of different dispositions to match the variety of juveniles and their problems.¹⁰

Probation services and the juvenile court developed together during this century, and in many instances probation has remained administratively within the juvenile court structure.

Although probation supervision became increasingly professional in orientation it has generally been characterized by high caseloads and fairly minimal intervention in the lives of probationers. Probation had its early beginnings as a process for keeping certain individuals from penal institutions rather than as a treatment program in the community. By the middle of this century it was being argued that if probation was really to serve as a viable alternative to incarceration it must offer intensive rather than minimal supervision. LaMar Empey, for example, in a paper prepared in 1967, argued that regular probation appeared to be effective with many offenders and that intensive supervision might well be effective for many of those who would otherwise be incarcerated.¹¹ A number of probation departments have established special units with smaller caseloads with this purpose in mind.*

C. Community Intervention as an Alternative to Incarceration

There were a number of variations on the theme of intensive community intervention as an alternative to incarceration. These included residential and non-residential programs, many of which were based upon group-work rather than an individual casework approach. One of the first group-work programs to be established quickly emerged as something of a model. The Highfields Program in New Jersey, set up in 1950, provided short-term residential care for twenty boys. Daily group meetings, based upon Guided Group Interaction, were seen as an integral part of the program. By the late 1950s a number of variants of Highfields had been developed. Some of these were non-residential programs, as in Essexfields (New Jersey) and

*Martinson and his colleagues in their review of the correctional evaluation literature did find that "Intensive probation supervision (15-ward case load) is associated with lower recidivism rates for males and females under 18." They did not find this to be the case with adults. Douglas Lipton, Robert Martinson and Judith Wilks, The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment: A Survey of Treatment Evaluation Studies (N. Y.: Praeger, 1975, p. 55).

Provo (Utah).* On occasion the term "half-way house" has been used to mean an alternative disposition to incarceration rather than a transitional placement following incarceration. The Florida Division for Youth Services made a large investment in the late 1960s in half-way houses which involved daily guided group meetings for residents and staff.

There was also the development of group homes, which have tended to be less intensive in terms of programming than the special units discussed above. These residential settings are usually privately run on a contract basis with state or local agencies and tend to have less than ten youths. Foster homes, for long or short-term placement, continued to be used but with less overall significance than during the last century. The development of new alternative programs was the result of initiatives at various levels. On occasion it was state agencies (an innovative example in the 1960s was the New York State Division of Youth), or probation departments (sometimes encouraged by state agencies, as with the Probation Subsidy Program in California which was initiated in 1966), or private agencies (as with the Boys Republic's Silverlake program in Los Angeles).

It should be noted, of course, that not all the residential programs developed by probation departments and private agencies can be termed alternatives to incarceration. Some probation departments, for example Los Angeles County, operate a network of "camps" and "ranches" which are in every sense penal institutions. Private agencies have, since the last century, operated training schools and other incarcerative programs. It would certainly be an error to assume that state agencies have a monopoly on juvenile incarceration.

*Both Essexfields and Provo were subjected to careful evaluation. Both programs lasted less than four years due to lack of funding (see Chapter IV).

D. National Commission, and Legislation 1967-1974

By the end of the 1960s the incarceration of juveniles received less political support and increased attention was given to alternative dispositions. The efforts of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) served to crystallize these views. One paper prepared for the Commission found that authorities in correctional services for juveniles were in agreement that traditional forms of incarceration in correctional institutions should be avoided as far as possible, and that the alternatives must be broad and diversified enough to encompass a wide range of offenders.¹² The Commission recommended the development of "more extensive community programs providing special, intensive treatment as an alternative to institutionalization for both juvenile and adult programs."¹³ It did not, however, rule out the possibility of reforming correctional institutions and put forward a model of the small institution that would provide "flexible community-oriented treatment."¹⁴

Six years later, in January 1973, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals published its report. Established by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, this Commission developed a series of advisory standards which state and local systems have been encouraged to examine in light of their current practice and planning. In regard to juvenile offenders the Commission took a more "deep-end" focus than any official body before it. In particular its Standards state: "Each correctional agency administering State institutions for juvenile... offenders should adopt immediately a policy of not building new major institutions for juveniles under any circumstances..."¹⁵ and, "All major institutions for juveniles should be phased out over the five year period."¹⁶

In the commentary the Commission stated that it was persuaded by the facts that "...existing institutions for juveniles should be closed. The primary purpose to be served in dealing with juveniles is their rehabilitation and reintegration, a purpose which cannot be served satisfactorily by State institutions."¹⁷ The Commission went on to say that "the responsibility for these offenders (should be) transferred to local communities."¹⁸

There are few indications that the Commission's five year deadline for closing juvenile institutions is being taken very seriously anywhere in the United States. The one exception occurred while the Commission was still deliberating. In the early part of 1972 the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services closed its major institutions. One year later the three county training schools in that state also closed. The Massachusetts experience has reverberated throughout the nation. It has been singularly fortunate that a major research effort was undertaken by the Harvard Law School Center for Criminal Justice in 1970 with funding for a seven year period. The Harvard research reports are playing an increasingly important part in disseminating information about the Massachusetts experience, which was undoubtedly a threatening event for many correctional administrators elsewhere. No other state system has so dramatically undertaken to decarcerate youths in the deep-end. Bureau of Census compilations of numbers of juveniles in public detention and correctional institutions throughout the United States show a fairly marked decline between 1971 and 1973.* The National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections at the University of Michigan finds

*During this two year period there was a drop from 54,729 to 45,694, representing a decline of 16 percent. Note this data does not take into account any youth in private correctional facilities.¹⁹

that "the traditional training school or public institution continues to be the dominant choice for disposition of juvenile offenders."²⁰

In addition to Massachusetts other state agencies have attempted to reduce juvenile incarceration by various strategies. Reference was made earlier to California where a probation subsidy scheme is intended to reduce court commitments to the California Youth Authority and encourage counties to provide alternative programs. There is disagreement whether or not the subsidy scheme has in reality reduced overall incarceration.

E. The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act; 1974

There has been little federal leadership until very recently; a number of federal agencies funded juvenile delinquency programs but without much coordination. After lengthy hearings by the Senate Judiciary's Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency under the chairmanship of Senator Bayh, legislation was enacted in September, 1974 setting up an Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention within the Justice Department's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. This legislation is significant in a number of respects with regards to community-based alternatives to incarceration:

- (1) it establishes the potential for federal leadership and coordination of juvenile justice.
- (2) it specifies the urgency for "critically needed alternatives to institutionalization."
- (3) it specifically lays down removal of "status offenses" from institutions within two years of the submission of a state plan.

The Act provides that block grants to state and local governments will be made on condition that not less than 75 percent "shall be used for advanced techniques in developing, maintaining and expanding programs and services to prevent juvenile delinquency, to divert youngsters from the juvenile

detention and correctional facilities."²¹ The Act mentions a number of examples of community-based programs, and also advocates state-wide programs "through the use of probation subsidies, other subsidies, other financial incentives or disincentives to units of local government, or other effective means, that may include but are not limited to programs designed to:

- (1) reduce the number of commitments of juveniles to any form of juvenile facility as a percentage of the State juvenile population;
- (2) increase the use of nonsecure community-based facilities as a percentage of total commitments to juvenile facilities; and
- (3) discourage the use of secure incarceration and detention."²²

In addition, the newly established Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention will be making discretionary grants to forward similar ends.

There have clearly been few initiatives taken by state systems. However, it remains to be seen whether the new Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention will be able to develop a coherent plan for fulfilling the goals of the 1974 Act.

NOTES

- 1 David J. Rothman, The Discovery of the Asylum (Boston: Little Brown, 1971), p. 295.
- 2 Ibid., p. 255.
- 3 Ibid., p. 261.
- 4 Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, Documents Relative to the House of Refuge, 13, ed. N. Hart, 1832. Cited by Sanford J. Fox, "Juvenile Justice Reform," Stanford Law Review, 22 (June 1970), p. 1194.
- 5 Fox, op. cit., p. 1194.
- 6 Ibid., p. 1204.
- 7 Anthony Platt, The Child Savers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 66.
- 8 Fox, op. cit., pp. 1191-1192.
- 9 Lawrence Schultz, "The Cycle of Juvenile Court History," Crime and Delinquency (October 1973), pp. 457-476.
- 10 Ibid., p. 465.
- 11 LaMar T. Empey, "Alternatives to Incarceration," Studies in Delinquency, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1967).
- 12 Stanton Wheeler, Leonard S. Cottrell and Anne Romasco, "Juvenile Delinquency: Its Prevention and Control," Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 422.

- 13 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 165.
- 14 Ibid., p. 171.
- 15 National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Corrections (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 357.
- 16 Ibid., p. 360.
- 17 Ibid., p. 358.
- 18 Ibid., p. 361.
- 19 Preliminary findings from the 1973 Juvenile Detention and Correctional Facility Census, LEAA, Department of Justice (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, May, 1975).
- 20 Rosemary Sarri and Elaine Selo. "Some Selected Findings from the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections," Paper presented at the American Correctional Association, Nashville, Tennessee, August, 1975.
- 21 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, Public Law 93-415, 93rd Congress, September 7, 1974.
- 22 Ibid.

CHAPTER III
KEY ISSUES SUMMARY

A. Definitional Issues

1. Incarceration

There is general agreement that an alternative to incarceration must at least differ in type from the incarcerative setting. One recent study defines incarceration as "collective residential restraint."^{*} Generally, the central feature of incarceration is taken to be its confining nature, resulting largely from limitations placed on movement in and out of a facility. Incarcerative settings clearly include prisons, jails, reformatories, training schools and secure hospitals.

2. Community-Based

The term "community-based" has produced considerable confusion. Claims, for example, have been made that some training schools are community-based by virtue of their location in a "community." The most thorough conceptual work on this problem is being undertaken by Robert Coates who is interested in linkages with the community rather than location.¹ Coates follows Smelser's definition of community: "Community means the smallest local territory which incorporates a network of relationships providing most of the goods and services required by persons living within the boundaries of a territory."² Coates then suggests how to most usefully conceptualize the term:

The words "community-based" focus our attention on the nature of the linkages between programs and the community. A key set of variables which sharply focusses on this linkage notion which provides a basis for differentiation among programs is the extent and quality of relationships between program staff, clients and the community in which the program is located... The nature of these client and staff relationships with the community provides the underpinning for a continuum of services ranging from the least to the most community-based.

^{*}Unpublished draft of the report of the Committee for the Study of Incarceration.

Generally, as the frequency, duration, and quality of community relationships increase the program becomes more community-based.³

The conceptualization of community-based programs along a continuum provides the basis for regarding programs relative to each other as well as relative to incarcerative facilities.

Some evidence exists which shows that programs located in the community may well be relatively unsuccessful in developing linkages with that community.

Empey and Lubeck, in their study The Silverlake Experiment, drew attention to the shortcomings of the Silverlake program in this regard despite the fact that the group home was located in a residential neighborhood.⁴ Similarly researchers involved in the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections caution that: "community treatment can become semantic trivia for traditional programs, whose physical location in an urban community is the sole basis for identifying the program as community-based."⁵

One issue which is not addressed by Coates is whether an offender is placed in a program located within his own community or elsewhere. There are some indications that residential community-based programs result in removal of the youth from his own community, and in some instances involve being placed considerable distances from home.

B. Program Issues

1. The Range of Programs

The most comprehensive information on the current range of programs is being assembled by the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections. This study reports that community-based programs for juveniles can be found in every state, but that the number and proportions of these programs are limited and highly skewed among the states. NAJC finds a great variety of

such programs, ranging from group homes, halfway houses, day care, group foster care to open residential centers.⁶ The study outlines a number of other provisional findings in relation to the range of current programs.

These include:

- (1) Information about community-based programs is lacking within and between states.
- (2) Programs vary widely in size, with day treatment centers, for example, ranging from 10 to 85 youth, and residential programs from 3 to 54. The mean sizes of non-residential and residential programs was reported to be 25 and 6 respectively.
- (3) The location of many smaller group homes, sometimes termed foster group homes, is often not within the urban area from which the youth comes and eventually returns. The researchers comment: "For urban minority youth, who compose a disproportionate number in most juvenile justice systems, the group home lifestyle is often incongruous, and only makes re-integration into the urban world more difficult."⁷
- (4) Larger group homes and halfway houses, are often located in urban and suburban metropolitan areas, and are primarily located in states that have made a determined effort to move away from reliance upon the training school.
- (5) In no state are there sufficient programs to handle all of the juveniles who are available for referral to such programs. The study found that in none of the 16 sample states were there a sufficient number of community-based programs to serve even 50 percent of those youth committed to the state or who required a program other than general probation. The researchers comment: "There is much discussion about community-based programs, but at present, they are not a viable alternative in most of the country. Moreover, community-based programs are often initiated with federal LEAA funds awarded on a short-term basis, and many fade away after a year or less."⁸
- (6) Day treatment centers and other types of non-residential programs are very much in a minority, and it seems do not exist in some states at all. The limited attention that has been given to the development of non-residential programs is one of the central features of the contemporary scene. LaMar Empey has commented that there is no reason

to suppose "forced residence in a community group home is superior to non-residential programming." He went on to observe: "If special problems are created solely because delinquent youngsters are forced to leave their home, then care should be taken not to escalate the grounds whereby they might be defined as delinquent."⁹

2. Program Networks

Community-based programs can exist as part of a network of alternative services. Some state agencies are becoming more sensitive to arranging both simultaneous and sequential delivery of services to youth. A youth, for example, may receive services from more than one program as his/her alternative to incarceration. Such planning is, however, very rare, and the conceptualizing of issues involved is only at an early stage. Research concerning program networks has been undertaken by the Harvard Law School Criminal Justice Center in its study of changes in Massachusetts youth corrections. Robert Coates and Alden Miller have made a distinction between program sets and program strategies. The total of all programs designed to fulfill a given function are defined as a program set. Strategies are the specific plans which define goals on an operational level and devise general means for attaining those goals. Specific programs are the means for implementing the strategies. They observe that this distinction has important implications for evaluation, commenting:

Because of the rapid turnover of specific programs in a changing correctional system, the different strategies become the principal focus for evaluation with the individual programs (strategy components) being secondary.¹⁰

Important as this conceptual work is, it is probably not applicable to many situations as they currently exist. The scene as described by NSJC and elsewhere is fragmentary in nature, with programs often operating in total

ignorance of what else is happening. With the exception of perhaps one or two states, there is little evidence of strategies as outlined by the Harvard researchers.

3. Discretionary Justice

One of the assumptions which has guided the development and use of community-based programs is that they can offer more humane care than correctional institutions. It has, however, been argued that many of the assumptions and procedures of prisons and training schools are being manifested in alternative programs.¹¹ Of particular concern in this regard is the use of discretion and the lack of distinction between the provision of rehabilitative services and control in community programs. The broad use of discretion in the provision of treatment services is an important issue to consider, for treatment in a correctional context is transformed into a form of social control. This is the case because treatment can be, and usually is, forced upon inmates/clients.¹²

Paul Lerman, in his study of the California Community Treatment Program (CTP) found discretionary power is often defended as being necessary for treatment. Its use, however, can result in some unanticipated consequences. He notes that heavy emphasis upon treatment has almost entirely obscured the controlling activities of programs:

The imbalance between control and treatment activities in CTP indicates that the policy of right to treat can in practice, yield more control than treatment experiences for youth. Without an alternative policy to confine and check the dominant aspects of correctional programs, there is no assurance that community treatment programs will diminish the social costs to individuals, nor will they automatically be associated with social benefits for society.¹³

C. Policy Issues

1. The Parens Patriae Tradition

Juvenile justice has been dominated by the notion of parens patriae, which was formalized by the creation of the juvenile court in 1899. The primary function of the juvenile court and corrections has been the provision of rehabilitative services in "the best interests of the child." Beginning with Kent and Gault, there has been a gradual redefinition of the parens patriae concept. Though these important decisions brought some element of due process to the adjudicatory stage of the juvenile court, the practice of providing treatment remains the hallmark of the juvenile justice system and its correctional programs. Litigation based upon the 14th amendment, holds that a juvenile must be given the right to treatment. The juvenile court and correctional agencies in exercising parens patriae should, it is contended, provide appropriate treatment as a quid pro quo for the confinement of youth who have not received full due process protection in court.

Litigation based on this right to treatment has provided some impetus for the use of community-based programs instead of incarceration. However, many observers have become increasingly concerned about the danger of legitimizing the notion of involuntary treatment or parens patriae that is inherent in right to treatment litigation. In this regard, David Rothman has referred to right to treatment suits as involving a "noble lie" in order to bring about community-based alternatives to incarceration.¹⁴ Rothman sees this maneuver as being a double edged sword that in the long run might justify any correctional policy that purports to deliver treatment.

A central policy issue concerning how community-based programs are used arises from the contemporary challenge to the treatment philosophy of the juvenile justice system. There is general agreement that the juvenile court has failed in two ways. Justice Fortas stated:

There is evidence... that there may be grounds for concern that the child receives the worst of both worlds: that he gets neither the protections accorded to adults nor the solicitous care and regenerative treatment postulated for children.¹⁵

The challenge is coming from at least two directions. First, there are those who advocate a more legalistic system based upon a "justice model" of intervention; juvenile justice would be primarily concerned with providing specific sanctions for criminal offenses while making treatment voluntary.¹⁶ This approach is in response to the abuses of individual rights that have been perceived as a consequence of the treatment function of the juvenile justice system. The second challenge comes from those, such as James Q. Wilson, who see the justice system as failing to protect the public from serious offenders. Observers such as Wilson stress the punitive and deterrent purposes of a justice system and argue for fairly long periods of incarceration for youthful offenders who commit violent crimes or who are recidivists.¹⁷

2. Conflict over Dispositional Jurisdiction

Public concern over certain types of offenders has direct implications for community-based alternative programs, especially with regard to the dispositional process which determines the target population for community-based programs. Of particular significance is the conflict between the courts and corrections agencies as to program placement decisions. The wide and

overlapping discretion enjoyed by both is being subjected to reexamination by a number of bodies including the ongoing Juvenile Justice Standards Project of the Institute of Judicial Administration and American Bar Association.

The Harvard Law School study of changes in Massachusetts is paying close attention to the changing relationship between the State Department of Youth Services and the juvenile courts.¹⁸ The main question in Massachusetts is who should make placement decisions for committed youth - the court or DYS?¹⁹ The conflict extends to include questions as to how certain types of offenders should be handled.

3. Replacing or Supplementing Incarceration?

However the dispositional decisions are made, it often appears to be the case that many of the youngsters who are found at the deepest end of the system are not in fact the offenders who cause serious public alarm. One-third of all incarcerated youth (and in the case of girls alone, more than half) are in fact status offenders.²⁰ This situation underlines the basic policy decision concerning the role of community-based programs as alternatives to incarceration. Are community-based programs intended to replace incarceration or merely to supplement its use?* If the latter option is chosen, the consequence may be a widening of the net by placing juveniles in community-based programs who would not in all likelihood have been incarcerated, and who might otherwise have been subject to no or to minimal intervention.

One policy choice then, is whether community-based programs will be used as alternatives to incarceration for youth who are located at the deepest end of the system. Such a policy was undertaken in Massachusetts, its

*Sarri and Selo raise the same issue in "Some Selected Findings from the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections," Paper presented at the American Correctional Association, Nashville, Tennessee, August, 1975.

premise being that unless incarcerative facilities are eliminated or reduced in capacity they will continue to be used despite the availability of alternatives.

The second policy choice concerns the use of community-based programs for minor offenders who are in the shallow end of the system. This approach is premised on the belief that the development of alternatives will induce courts to change their dispositional patterns, and thereby make less use of incarcerative settings for such offenders. Limited experience provided by the California Probation Subsidy program, and programs in other states, suggests that the shallow end approach may have unanticipated consequences, and in the long run, may not affect the total numbers of youth being incarcerated.

The policy choice between the deep end and shallow end needs to be made explicit. Given the increased emphasis on alternatives to incarceration, and funding under the Juvenile Justice Legislation, it is important that the goals of each approach be clearly stated, and that monitoring procedures are developed to insure they are met.

4. The Delivery of Services and Quality Control

Of considerable importance is the problem of accountability for community programs. This issue is of particular concern when state agencies purchase services from the private sector. The experience to date has clearly been mixed. There has, for example, been considerable criticism and inadequate monitoring of the services provided by private agencies to delinquent youth in New York²¹ and other places. Elsewhere, as in Massachusetts, the private sector has been able to provide a wide range of services with the state agency being able to make considerable progress in its monitoring and quality control mechanisms.

Yet, the overall level of accountability in monitoring of juvenile justice activities throughout the United States is poor. As a commentator on the national juvenile justice scene recently observed:

The most important negative aspect of the diverse and complex organization of our services for children is an almost complete loss of accountability on the part of juvenile organizations.²²

5. Governmental Responsibility

The contemporary national scene is extremely diverse with regard to the respective roles of state and local government in the administration of juvenile corrections. The National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections reports that the trend is towards centralized state responsibility for an increasing range of programs. Even where this is the case there is considerable variation in the patterns of inter-relationship between the state corrections agency and other state agencies involved. The NAJC researchers report:

Everywhere we have found major problems in achieving closely meshed collaboration among services for young offenders and other youth with related problems or characteristics. Furthermore, these problems persist at all levels of government and of administration or operation.²³

With respect to the role of the federal government, as noted in the previous chapter, the 1974 legislation and the creation of an Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention provides the potential for leadership in the development of a national juvenile justice policy. However, the role that the Office will take relative to state juvenile justice systems is as yet unclear. With the de-emphasis of the federal government's role in state activities, the impact of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention on state juvenile justice policies will remain problematic.

NOTES

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CHAPTER IV
SURVEY OF THE RESEARCH LITERATURE

A. Classifications and Research Areas

In surveying the research literature on community-based alternatives to incarceration for juveniles, one cannot avoid the conclusion that both the numbers of studies and the quality are, with a few exceptions, generally low. Leslie Wilkins' comment on the state of correctional research applies with particular accuracy to this area: "The nature of our ignorance is only beginning to be revealed."¹ This survey briefly looks at the findings to date and points out some of the gaps in the focuses of the research.

Although the boundaries are indefinite it is helpful to use Eleanor Harlow's three classifications for community alternatives to incarceration:²

- 1) specialized units of probation and parole agencies (probation "plus" or more intensive involvement and supervision than normal probation);*
- 2) non-residential intensive treatment (attendance centers, guided group interaction programs); or
- 3) residential programs and out-of-home placement alternatives.

The fourth area reviewed will be research with a far-reaching focus that includes political and agency context within which programs are located.

I. Specialized Units in Probation and Parole

a. The California Community Treatment Project

The best known and most widely cited study of intensive community supervision versus institutionalization is the California Community Treatment Project (CTP) which began in 1961.³ From a pool of delinquent first offenders sent to the California Youth Authority by the juvenile court, delinquents

*In order to provide a comprehensive overview of the research probation/parole supervision is discussed here although it was not included in the fieldwork for this NEP study (See Chapter I).

were randomly institutionalized or released immediately to community treatment centers with small caseloads. The juveniles were classified according to I-level* and each of the 8 different I-levels received community treatment deemed appropriate for that level. The results of the official CTP reports have been consistently positive; a significantly higher overall success rate for project participants is claimed. The findings of CTP have been reanalyzed by many researchers, most notably Robison and Smith,⁴ Lerman,⁵ and Martinson.⁶ They all come to a similar conclusion:

The experimentals were no less delinquent in their behavior than the controls; in fact, they committed more "known" delinquent offenses than the controls. This is probably an effect of increased supervision... In the light of these facts CTP gives little support to the thesis that probation is superior to institutionalization for reducing the recidivism rate. There appears to be no difference between the two approaches. One might, however, still argue in favor of "community treatment" on humanitarian or economic grounds.⁷

b. The Community Delinquency Control Project

In 1964 the California Youth Authority began another community-based treatment program for young offenders who otherwise would have been institutionalized. The Community Delinquency Control Project (CDCP)⁸ provided intensive community supervision and made use of a wide variety of treatment types such as intensive individual counseling, group and family counseling, psychiatric services, remedial tutoring, and activity groups. CDCP differed from CTP in that it did not use I-level classification. The results of the project showed that the experimental group and the control group showed no major differences in recidivism.

*The Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification System focuses on the ways in which the individual is able to see him/herself and the world. See Marguerite Warren "Interpersonal Network Level Classification System. A Review of Accumulated Research in the California Youth Authority," Sacramento: Department of Youth Authority, May 1974.

Depending on the perspective of the interpreter, these findings can be interpreted in different ways. Jeffrey Koschel⁹ says that this demonstrates that community treatment is a failure and we should explore it no further. Eleanor Harlow draws a far different conclusion from the same studies:

The Community Delinquency Control Project, like the Community Treatment Project, has not yet provided unqualified support for the thesis that management of offenders in the community is significantly more successful in preventing further crime than institutionalization. However, both programs have demonstrated a more important fact: offenders normally not released to community supervision can be as safely, and at least as effectively handled in intensive intervention programs without institutionalization.¹⁰

2. Nonresidential Intensive Treatment

Daycare programs provide an alternative to institutionalization for adjudicated delinquents. The youth lives at home and participates in education and counseling programs during the day. Aside from the milieu therapy studies there has been little evaluation of this type of program and evidence.

a. Provo Program

Nonresidential milieu therapy, for juveniles who were possible candidates for incarceration, has been subjected to some evaluation. The most important of these studies was undertaken in Provo (Utah) by LaMar Empey.¹¹ This program involved 20 boys, aged 15-17, in an intensive daily schedule of work or school which was combined with Guided Group Interaction sessions. At night the youths returned to their own homes. The intervention strategy was based upon the assumption that much delinquent behavior was motivated and sanctioned by the offender's peer group, and that the group itself should become the target and vehicle of change. The group was given

considerable responsibility in program decision-making, and different stages in group development were described by the researchers. The youths in the Provo program were compared with two control groups, youths on regular probation and youths incarcerated within a training school. Using a 6-month follow-up Empey and his colleagues found that the success rate of youths placed in the Provo program and on probation was similar (77 percent) and in comparing those youths who completed both programs the Provo youths did slightly better. The training school graduates were nearly twice as likely to recidivate than the other two groups. Empey went on to follow up both groups for four years, at the end of which he demonstrated that the experimental group was doing better. The frequency of arrests (comparing pre- and post-intervention periods) decreased for the experimental group at more than twice the rate of the control group. He also showed that the costs involved were considerably less for the Provo program as compared with the incarcerative setting.

b. Essexfields

Another nonresidential milieu therapy program subject to evaluation was Essexfields.¹² These boys, 16 to 17 years old, had daily work, group sessions and probation. The Essexfields boys were compared to three control groups; regular probation, Highfields type residential center plus probation, and state reformatory plus parole:

The boys placed on regular probation had a recidivism rate significantly lower than the rate of either Essexfields, the group centers or the reformatory. Essexfields did not differ significantly in recidivism from either the group residential centers or the reformatory.¹³

In looking at these studies as a whole, Martinson concluded that milieu therapy in nonresidential centers for juveniles or youthful boys is neither more nor less successful than other currently available treatment programs for similar offenders.

3. Residential Programs

A survey concluded in 1966 found that administrators of juvenile custodial institutions believed that over 25 percent of the juveniles were admitted or retained in institutions because of a lack of specialized foster homes, group homes or more suitable programs.¹⁴ Foster homes are used in every state to varying degrees; in spite of their widespread use, there appears to be no systematic evaluation of their effectiveness.

a. The Group Home Project

A subpart of CTP was The Group Home Project (1966-1969) which explored the feasibility of establishing specific types of group homes for seriously delinquent male adolescents.¹⁵ Claims were made that for all but one type of offender (using I-level types), successful results were demonstrated. Since there was no control or comparison group the accuracy of this claim is unknown.

b. Achievement Place Homes

Another well-known group home model is the Achievement Place Homes.¹⁶ These are group homes of 6-8 adjudicated juveniles, aged 12-15, who live in a home with two specially trained "teaching parents." The Achievement Place model has been undergoing evaluation since its inception in 1967. Some of the tentative conclusions are:

The Achievement Place group home model was acting as an alternative to institutionalization for the majority of youth it served. The youths who took part in the Achievement Place program were much less likely to be institutionalized within two years after treatment than were similar youths who were originally treated in the institutional program.¹⁷

The comparison group was not randomly assigned and there are some striking differences between the groups. The evaluators were careful not to overstate their findings. They caution that currently:

...it is not yet possible to form definite conclusions about the effects of the Achievement Place treatment program or about its possible social policy implications for the role of group homes in the continuum of services for youth who become involved in the juvenile justice system.¹⁸

c. Highfields Program

A widely cited residential milieu therapy program was conducted in Highfields, New Jersey, in the 1950s.¹⁹ This project provided 20 boys, 17 and 18 years old, with a short-term low-security program. The boys worked during the day and participated in G.G.I. in the evenings. The program claimed a somewhat lower recidivism rate than an ex post facto comparison group that had long commitments at the reformatory. The lack of comparability between the two groups and possible policy effects bring into question the widely advertized claim that Highfields demonstrated the effectiveness of milieu therapy. Again using Martinson to summarize:

When recidivism is used as a criterion, the superiority of residential milieu therapy programs over other forms of treatment is questionable, although there is no evidence that participants in such programs do worse than those in available alternative programs.²⁰

d. Silverlake Program

By far the most comprehensive study of a single group home was conducted in Silverlake, Los Angeles, during the late 1960s by LaMar Empey and Steven Lubeck.²¹ It had a number of important elements: 1) it compared randomly assigned program youths with a similar group in an institutional setting in terms of outcome; 2) it detailed interactions within the program; 3) it documented the relationship between the program and the community within which it was located; and 4) it set out to test systematically a theory of delinquency from which the treatment intervention was designed. The Silverlake program was somewhat similar to Empey's earlier work at Provo and to the Highfields and Essexfields programs in that an attempt was made to create

and maintain an antidelinquent culture. Twenty youths lived at the residence and attended the local school. The daily group meeting served a central purpose in the overall treatment design, but collaborative staff-youth decision making was not confined to group meetings.

The research produced a number of interesting results. Through a careful study of critical incidents, and through other measures, Empey found that as the program developed both staff and youths became increasingly control oriented. It was found that both staff and youths were more inclined to sanction program deviants as opposed to rewarding positive behavior. It was found that there was a high in-program failure rate in both settings; in fact less than half of the Silverlake youths completed the program. Empey and Lubeck concluded that the program was generally unsuccessful in developing useful linkages with the community and there seemed to be little advantage in its residential basis. Empey and Lubeck's outcome measures were much more detailed than most other studies. They were interested in offenses committed during a one-year follow-up, in the comparison of the volume of offenses prior to and following the intervention period, and, finally, the level of seriousness of the offenses. They found that both programs had similar recidivism rates but that youths who failed to complete the programs were much more likely to recidivate than those who did. They also demonstrated similar reductions (over 70 percent) in the volume of delinquency by both programs when comparing the years prior to the intervention with a one-year follow-up period. Both programs also brought about significant reductions in the volume of serious offenses. The only difference demonstrated between the two programs was in terms of cost. Although the per diem costs were much the same, the Silverlake youths remained in

the program for slightly less than half the time than the control group were incarcerated, making Silverlake considerably cheaper.

e. Outward Bound Schools

There has been some research attention given to Outward Bound Schools. These involve a 26-day residential program in an isolated wilderness setting where groups of 12 boys (delinquent and nondelinquent) confront a series of severe wilderness challenges. The program ends with a 3-day wilderness solo experience for each boy. A group of delinquents from Massachusetts who otherwise would have been institutionalized went through the Outward Bound School program.²² Of this group 20 percent recidivated as compared to the 42 percent failure rate in the matched comparison group who were institutionalized. This study has the normal external validity problems of any study using a non-random group. For certain types of juvenile offenders, such as those responding to an adolescent crisis, this kind of program certainly warrants further exploration. Although it is not a panacea, this type of alternative to institutionalization is one of the few optimistic areas in the research literature.

B. Massachusetts; the Harvard Study

Most of the research efforts have focused upon individual programs, and only rarely have they attempted to take into account a network of programs or a total system of youth corrections. The Community Treatment Program which has been the subject of considerable research by the research division of the California Youth Authority represents a partial attempt at examining some broad changes in juvenile justice processing.²³ These research reports should be considered in the light of the careful reanalysis by Paul Lerman.²⁴ The most comprehensive study with a focus upon a total

system under change is currently being undertaken at Harvard Law School's Center for Criminal Justice. The research, which is funded for a seven-year period, has a unique opportunity to document and evaluate the consequences of the decision by administrators in the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services to abandon training schools in favor of a wide range of alternative programs. The changes are the most far reaching of their kind to have occurred in the United States and the Harvard research results, as they appear, are being studied with great interest. The research design has five central components:²⁵

- (1) Organizational efforts at the Agency's Central Office, and political observation and interview efforts at the state level. Data is being collected which deals with decision making at headquarters level, with particular attention to the management of crisis situations. There is some exploration of the organization and processes of reform.
- (2) Organizational and Political Analysis of Regional Offices. Regular surveys are supplemented by routine contact with regional personnel to describe how the agency operates at a regional level. Changes in the types and ranges of programs are tracked, as are the relationships of these programs and the local communities.
- (3) Program Subculture Study. This evaluation is attempting to identify the critical factors which create a favorable social climate for constructive work with youths. A study of youths in institutions undertaken in 1971 formed a benchmark against which a subsequent study, in 1973, of youths in residential and nonresidential programs was compared. Data collection methods include participant observation together with informal and structured interviewing. Of particular interest is the attention given to the extent, quality and frequency of linkages between the program and the community.²⁶
- (4) Evaluation of Program organization and operation. This evaluation relies upon observation, surveys and interviewing. Program strategies are identified, as are the reactions to these programs by staff and youth.

Program details are gathered and updated and this material serves as a basis for comparing different periods of time, and as a baseline with which outcomes can be compared.

- (5) The Cohort Analysis. This involves a series of observations and panel interviews with a group of youths. The youths are interviewed at different stages for comparison purposes. The cohort sample consists of 400 youths committed or referred to the agency, together with a further 75 or so youths seen in the detention setting.

The Harvard study has yet to be completed, although it has already published or otherwise made available many of its findings. A detailed analysis of the broad political and organizational changes has been completed,²⁷ along with a number of useful conceptual papers.^{28,29} The subcultures comparison showed that youths in community-based programs expect to be punished less frequently and rewarded more often by other youths than delinquents did in the older institutional cottages. It was also found that there is less evidence of delinquent subcultures in the new programs. The recidivism results are less definitive at this time, but it does not appear that the changes which have occurred have increased public risk from youthful crime.³⁰

The Harvard study of the changes in Massachusetts represents the overall comprehensiveness that had been absent. Also on-going is the broad-sweeping survey of the national scene being undertaken by the University of Michigan's National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections.³¹ Some tentative results have been made available and its main report should soon be published. The Michigan team has developed instruments to measure humaneness, fairness and justice factors and it will be of particular interest to review the results of the exercise.³² It has been noted that these broad-reaching studies are very much in the minority. Most research has followed

a narrow focus on recidivism outcome, often involving only one or two programs. Comparative cost analysis, although it has occasionally been undertaken, has remained in an embryonic form. An equation recently developed by John Holahan³³ may prove useful in the development of more sophisticated work in this area. Research work on the deterrent effects of sanctions upon juveniles, also, has hardly begun. Some of these gaps in knowledge will be reviewed in a later chapter.

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CHAPTER V
FIELD RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A. Typological Framework

The review of the literature pointed to three stated purposes. This suggested the basis for a typological framework, which was intended to contribute to the site visit selection process and to the description and analysis of the topic area. The three stated purposes were:

- (1) Rehabilitation;
- (2) Reintegration;
- (3) Nonintervention.

1. Rehabilitation

The rehabilitation purpose places emphasis on the distinctive characteristics of the individual offender. Causes and the solutions to delinquent behavior are viewed as being located in the psyche of the individual offender. Rehabilitation is rooted in the medical model. Methods such as Positive Peer Culture and behavior modification are examples of rehabilitation programs.

One of the first community-based examples of the rehabilitation approach was the Highfields program in New Jersey, which has subsequently been emulated and adapted in many other settings. Other examples include programs based upon the notion of the therapeutic community, behavior modification with the use of aversive therapy, and a variety of individual psychological programs.

2. Reintegration

The reintegrative purpose derives from a different view of delinquency and its causes. Robert Coates comments on its primary assumption:

Offenders find themselves in trouble with the law because of situational factors experienced at home, at school, or in the larger community. It is believed by proponents of reintegration ... that adults and youth must be supported in coping with the realities of their situation. Not being able to cope, however, is not equated with sickness, nor is it equated with sickness in the community. Not being able to cope is perceived as a problem shared by the offender and others in his environment.¹

Delinquency, then, is viewed as resulting from a lack of adequate integration into the community. Rather than providing treatment to the individual offender, the purpose of a reintegrative program is to insure that the offender is linked to a wide range of programs and services which enable the youth to develop a useful role within the community. Such services might include education, recreation, and job training programs.

3. Nonintervention

Edwin Schur arrives at the purpose of nonintervention from the following assumptions concerning delinquency:

delinquents are seen not as having special personal characteristics, not even as being subject to socio-economic constraints, but rather as suffering from contingencies. Youthful "misconduct," it is argued, is extremely common; delinquents are those youths who, for a variety of reasons, drift into disapproved forms of behavior and are caught and "processed."²

Schur goes on to say that the non-intervention purpose of delinquency control efforts should consist of limiting the scope of delinquency laws and a greater tolerance of youthful behavior. Where the purpose of non-intervention might be applied to alternatives to incarceration, Schur would advocate:

uniformly applied punishment not disguised as treatment; increased formalization of whatever juvenile court procedures remain, in order to limit sanctioning to cases where actual antisocial acts have been committed and to provide constitutional safeguards for those proceeded against.³

The nonintervention purpose would specifically advocate the reduction of coercion in any provision of services to delinquent youths. The basic intention with nonintervention is to "leave the kid alone whenever possible."

B. Site Visit Selection Methodology

Of the several Phase I National Evaluation Programs conducted, the present one was unique in that it assessed two somewhat convergent topic areas, diversion and alternatives to incarceration.

A telephone and mail survey addressed both topic areas. In addition to economizing efforts, there was an additional advantage to combining the topic areas. Much of the emphasis in the site-visit methodology was toward process and client flow through the juvenile justice process. Although most site visit reports were written around a single program in one or the other topic area, the project gained some insights about the diversion process even while assessing an alternative to incarceration program and vice versa.

A major task of the project was to select 12 site visit locations in each of the two areas, for the field research. To this end, data was collected through: 1) telephone interviews and correspondence with state planning agencies, juvenile justice personnel and programs; 2) program descriptions provided by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration's Grant Management Information System (GMIS) and by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency; and 3) a search of the available literature.

1. Telephone Interviews

The telephone survey addressed four main tasks: a) to discern how the term "community-based alternatives to incarceration" was being utilized

within the juvenile justice process; b) to determine the nature and extent of the universe of programs in this area; c) to explore the factors which influenced the development of these programs; and d) to locate some representative programs. At least three telephone interviews were conducted in each state with the following juvenile justice personnel:

- (1) The juvenile planner in the state planning agency or to whoever had knowledge of this area.
- (2) An administrator in the state agency responsible for juvenile corrections. (Department of Youth Services, in most instances.)
- (3) Other persons knowledgeable about diversion or alternatives to incarceration programs as recommended in interviews 1 or 2 including Office of Youth Development personnel, court and probation officials, members of citizen advisory boards, private agency personnel and researchers.

It was anticipated that many respondents would be unclear as to what was meant by the term community-based (alternatives to incarceration) and interviewers were instructed to utilize the following definition: any community-based program to which an adjudicated youth can be placed in lieu of incarceration. Community-based means a relatively open setting in which the youth has some outside involvement with the community.

2. Correspondence

At the completion of each interview with state planning agency personnel, the following written information was requested:

- . A comprehensive state plan for juvenile justice.
- . Recent or pending legislation pertaining to juvenile justice.
- . A listing of the broad types of (Alternatives to Incarceration) programs in the state.
- . Descriptive literature pertaining to programs.
- . Research undertaken in the area.

This request was formalized in a letter to each state planning agency.

3. GMIS and NCCD

Computer printouts describing programs funded by the Justice Department were obtained from the Grant Management Information System (GMIS) of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The printouts were reviewed to determine which programs fitted into the topic area. This was supplemented by information on programs and research in the area of community-based alternatives to incarceration obtained from the National Council on Crime and Delinquency's Center for Youth Development in Tucson, Arizona.

4. Quality of Information

The extent and quality of information obtained in interviews and correspondence with state planning agencies and other respondents was uneven and often inadequate. In most states, state planning agencies were able to give only a limited description of the range of activities in the area of community-based alternatives to incarceration.

5. Site Visit Selection Process

The initial universe of 400 programs was reduced so that the site visits would represent:

- (a) Regional and population considerations;
- (b) Rural and urban settings;
- (c) Age, race and sex differences of the youth involved;
- (d) Residential and nonresidential differences;
- (e) The form of intervention used (following the typology outlined in Part A).

The list was reduced in stages. From a list of 30 programs, 12 locations were selected for site visits. In all, 15 programs were visited during 12 site visits (see Appendix A).

6. Site Visit Methodology

The field research approach had three central features: a) emphasis on client flow in a "system" rather than viewing the program in isolation; b) participant observation model; and c) the delineation of the separate perspectives of each interview respondent.

Visits were conducted over a period of one working week, with the task of obtaining a description of the following characteristics of each program:

- (1) Clientele
- (2) Program staff
- (3) Program administration and funding
- (4) Day-to-day program operation
- (5) Interaction between the program and the juvenile justice process

The participant observation approach has been described as "the circumstance of being in or around an ongoing social setting for the purpose of making a qualitative analysis of the setting."¹ Since the information to be gathered on the site visits was qualitative in nature, this approach seemed most appropriate in that it would provide the flexibility necessary to allow a valid description to be made of the programs and processes observed.

In order to further facilitate this construction it was decided that each member of the site visit team would adopt the perspective of one class of participants and remain with that perspective for as long as it remained useful. The three perspectives developed were those of: 1) program clientele; 2) program staff; and 3) "significant others," e.g., parents of clients, community members and juvenile justice personnel, including judges, probation officers and administrators.

An outline was developed that would provide the basis for open-ended interview schedules, which specified the characteristics of the programs and juvenile justice process that should be described.

Initially teams were composed of two project members and one person who lived in the area of the site, who was hired on a contract basis. The local member was located by contacting various colleges and universities near the site, making use of both faculty and students. It was soon discovered that the advantages of using this local person were far outweighed by the disadvantages. While the local team member did have greater ease in scheduling interviews, making further contact with the program and gathering background information, this person was continually hampered by lack of training in the approach used and orientation to the issues of the topic area. It proved to be less expensive and more efficient to either send an extra project team member, do more advance work by telephone, or to send one of the regular team members a few days in advance of the scheduled site-visit week.

Preparations were begun three weeks in advance of visiting each site. The program directors were contacted by phone and by letter, and descriptive materials on the program were requested, including information on funding, goals and objectives, daily routine, and clients and staff composition. Program staff were informed about the purposes of the National Evaluation Projects and the structure of the site visit, including who was to be interviewed. "Significant others" in the juvenile justice system were contacted and interviews arranged. Only the first two days were totally planned in advance of the visit in order to allow teams members the flexibility to respond to each individual site.

The week of the site visit began on Sunday evening and ended on Friday. Each team met informally with the staff of the program on Sunday evening or Monday morning when possible to explain who they were, what their objectives were, and what they planned to do. This early meeting was found to be very helpful in eliciting the cooperation and trust of program staff.

At the end of each day the team met and discussed their findings based on the perspective each had taken. This information was then used to plan the following day's activities and to insure that all aspects of the program and its function within the juvenile justice process were being covered.

An attempt was made to interview program staff and clients, parents of clients and other community participants such as volunteers, and those involved at every major decision point of a juvenile's experiences with the juvenile justice system. The major interview problems encountered centered around juveniles: some program staff refused to allow their clients to be interviewed, graduates of programs could not always be located, and a number of those juveniles who were interviewed were noncommunicative because of the setting. In the last instance team members would try to arrange to interview juveniles away from the program, but this was not always possible.

NOTES

1

John Lofland, Analyzing Social Settings (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971), p. 110.

CHAPTER VI

ALTERNATIVE PROGRAMS: FIVE POINTS OF INTERVENTION

Introduction

Site visits were conducted at twelve locations in order to assess a representative range of programs said to be alternatives to incarceration. The selection process was described in Chapter V. There was often considerable disparity between program descriptions studied prior to the visits and what was actually found to exist during the course of the field research. Changes in legislation, funding sources or key personnel sometimes result in radical alterations of the program's demeanor. A recurring finding at most locations visited was a state of flux and the anticipation of yet further change.

This report has stressed the importance of viewing programs within the context of the juvenile justice process. The connections of each program visited to the relevant decision-making points within the juvenile justice process were a major focus of the field research. This chapter presents a descriptive overview of the site visit findings; five programs have been chosen that illustrate the diversity which is a central feature of the contemporary scene.

The programs have been selected to illustrate some existing, but not necessarily typical, points of intervention where alternative programs might be used to prevent commitment to an incarcerative setting. These various points of intervention are illustrated in the first diagram. The first two programs (Public Defender's Counseling Program, SVR 12 and Multiple Services Agency, SVR 3) might both be termed dispositional advocacy programs and as such represent strategies rather than individual programs. Both programs plan and broker sentencing alternatives for their clients; they are somewhat unique and are by no means common forms of intervention. The other three

programs provide direct services in the form of a nonresidential alternative school (METRO, SVR 6), an Achievement Home (Achievement Model I, SVR 10) and a family group home (the Joe Blow Family Home, SVR 9).

This chapter reviews the essential descriptive aspects of each of the five programs. Each description is preceded by a diagrammatic flow chart which places the program within the local juvenile justice process.

Diagram 1: FIVE POINTS OF INTERVENTION IN THE JUVENILE JUSTICE PROCESS

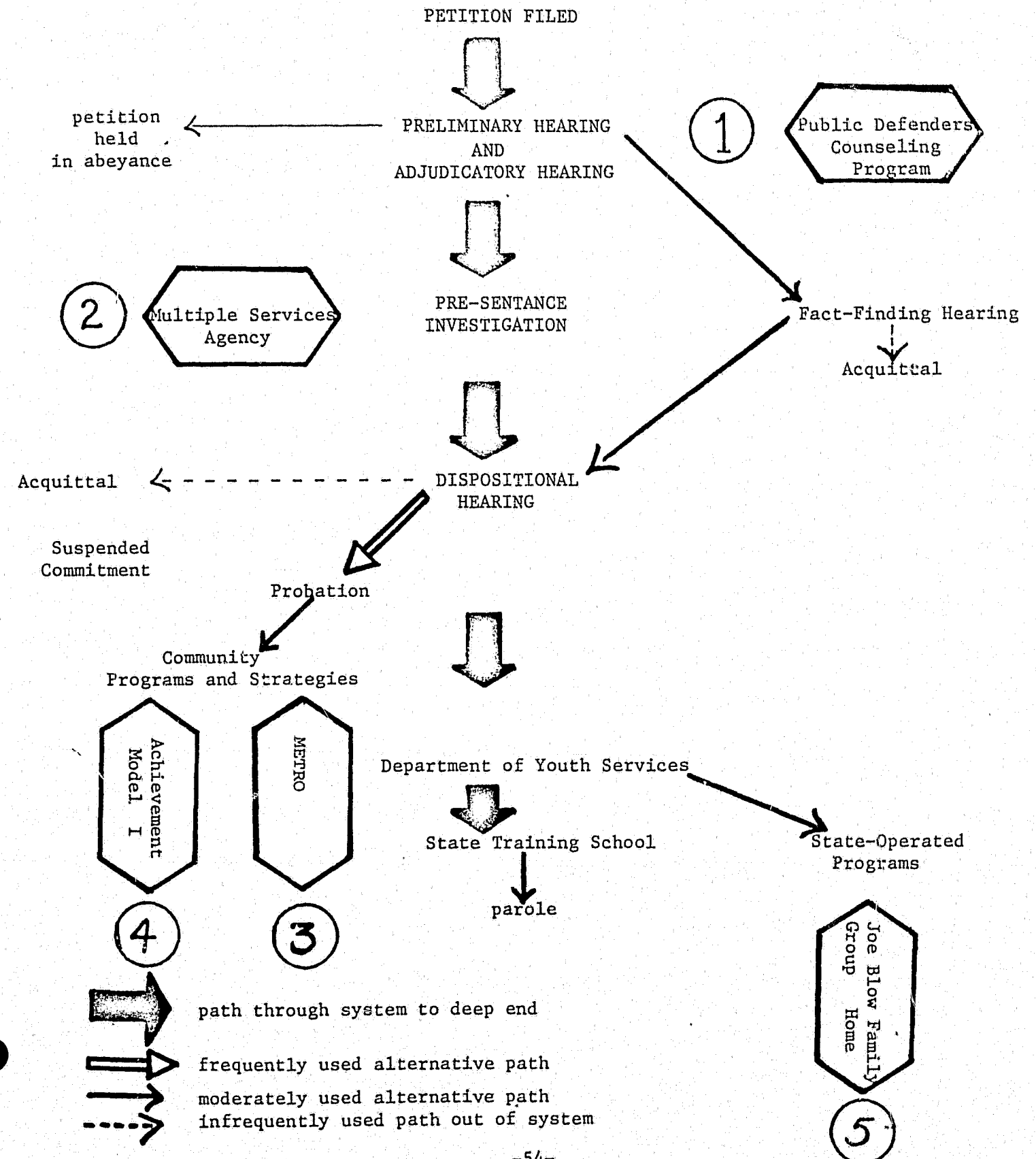
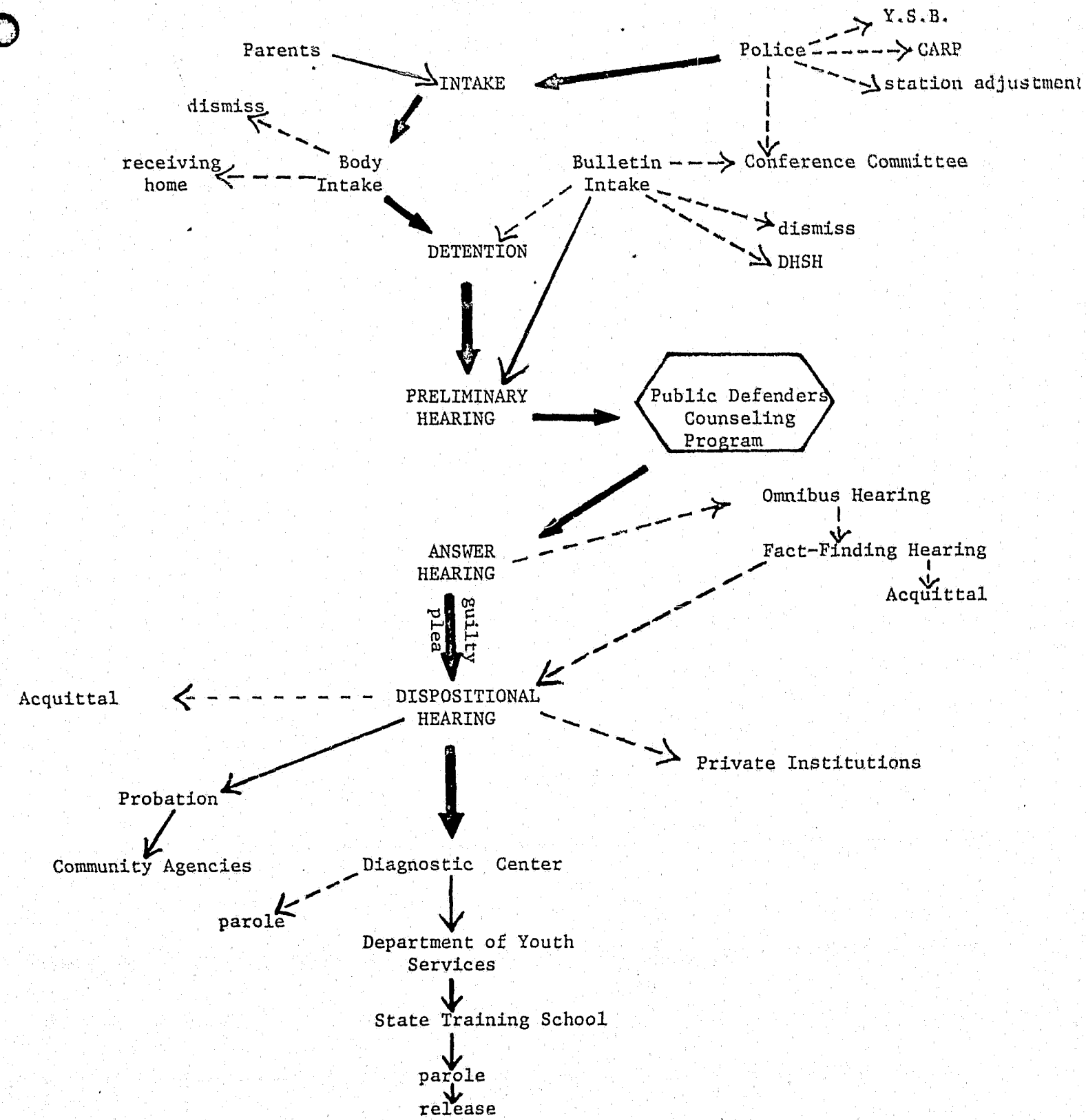


Diagram 2: PDCP WITHIN THE NEEDLEVILLE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM



A. PUBLIC DEFENDER'S COUNSELING PROGRAM

(Site Visit Report 12)

—————> most frequently used path for clients PDCP
 ————> moderately used path for clients of PDCP
 - - - - -> infrequently used path for clients of PDCP

1. Origin and History

The Public Defender's Counseling Program (PDCP), modeled on a similar volunteer counseling program for adult offenders, was developed by the public defender and a group of ex-offenders to provide pre-sentence counseling for indigent juvenile offenders. Initially, the program met with resistance from regular probation staff who limited counselors' access to the juveniles and their files. The program has, however, gained the respect of the juvenile judge and there is now the general feeling in the court that the existence of PDCP has increased the quality of pre-sentence planning for juveniles among all court staff.

2. Point of Intervention

The initial counsel/client relationship in the PDCP is established upon a referral from the public defender immediately upon his appointment at the preliminary hearing.*

3. Referral Criteria

Nearly all juveniles who reach the preliminary hearing stage are found indigent and are appointed an attorney from the public defender's office. Because of the nature of juvenile court, social advocacy is often more important than legal advocacy. In ninety percent of the cases, the youth will plead guilty at the preliminary hearing and will be in need of social, sentencing advocacy at this early stage. There is little doubt that PDCP clients are to be formally dealt with. They have passed through several screening procedures that might have routed them to informal adjustment: their cases are considered serious enough to be handled formally by the court.

* Although intervention occurs prior to actual adjudication, the report written by the counselor is only submitted at the dispositional hearing.

4. Program Services

Specifically, the PDCP counselor provides three services: 1) the counselor deals with all the nonlegal needs of the client; 2) the counselor provides a link between the client and possible community-based sentencing alternatives; and 3) the counselor supports the client by relating to him or her on a personal level and supports the attorney by freeing him/her to deal strictly with the legal issues of the case. The counselor as the client's advocate urges the client to retain full participation in the development of the sentencing plan. No plan is presented to the court without full approval from the youth.

The major outcome of the PDCP counselor's efforts is the pre-sentence report. A fairly well-documented estimate is that the counselor spends an average of three days with each client in preparation of the plan and its presentation to the defense attorney. As the client's advocate, the PDCP counselor reviews all reports written on the youth including any submitted by a court-appointed psychologist. If the counselor disagrees with a psychological report, he will recommend, to the defense attorney, that another be done by a private psychologist. The attorney then formally requests such an examination. This situation often occurs when a diagnostic workup is done at the state-operated diagnostic unit. It is noteworthy that the university diagnostic unit PDCP uses for referral takes three days, as compared to the four to six week period at the state unit.

The plan drawn up between the counselor and the youth almost always includes, of primary importance, an educational/vocational training component. This component was cited by the counselors as the "most used" and includes: a vocational institute, the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation

and the local community college. Other nonresidential services include Youth Advocates (a group of youth counselors), outpatient treatment at the University Hospital, Youth Service Bureaus, and juvenile parole counselors. The counselors also stated that because of court expectations and parent requests, the youths usually do not return home. In such instances, the first preference is placement in a foster home. The attorneys cite that counselors are very adept at obtaining foster home placement. Other alternatives might be shelter facilities, group homes, and in some cases, treatment facilities.

One problem with the program as it now stands, cited by the public defender's office and the counselors, is that time and resources do not enable them to do formal post-program follow-up. Feedback on the quality of services usually comes from previous clients who maintain a high degree of informal contact with counselors. The counselors felt that more formal follow-up with previous clients would improve their knowledge of community services and consequently the quality of service to individual clients. At present they have no formal way of knowing if the client is in need of further advocacy once the youth sets off on his or her initiated plan. An attempt to develop volunteer resources has not been entirely successful.

5. Staff

The staff of PDCP represents a variety of experiential and educational mixes. The director is an ex-offender as are two of the four counselors. The emphasis on hiring ex-offenders reflects the opinion of the chief public defender that ex-offenders are more able to understand and assess the nonlegal needs of the client.

The staff, with one exception, have been with the program for over a year, and all are working toward some form of academic degree. The project director is pursuing a master's degree in criminal justice and all of the counselors are attending the state university working on bachelor degrees.

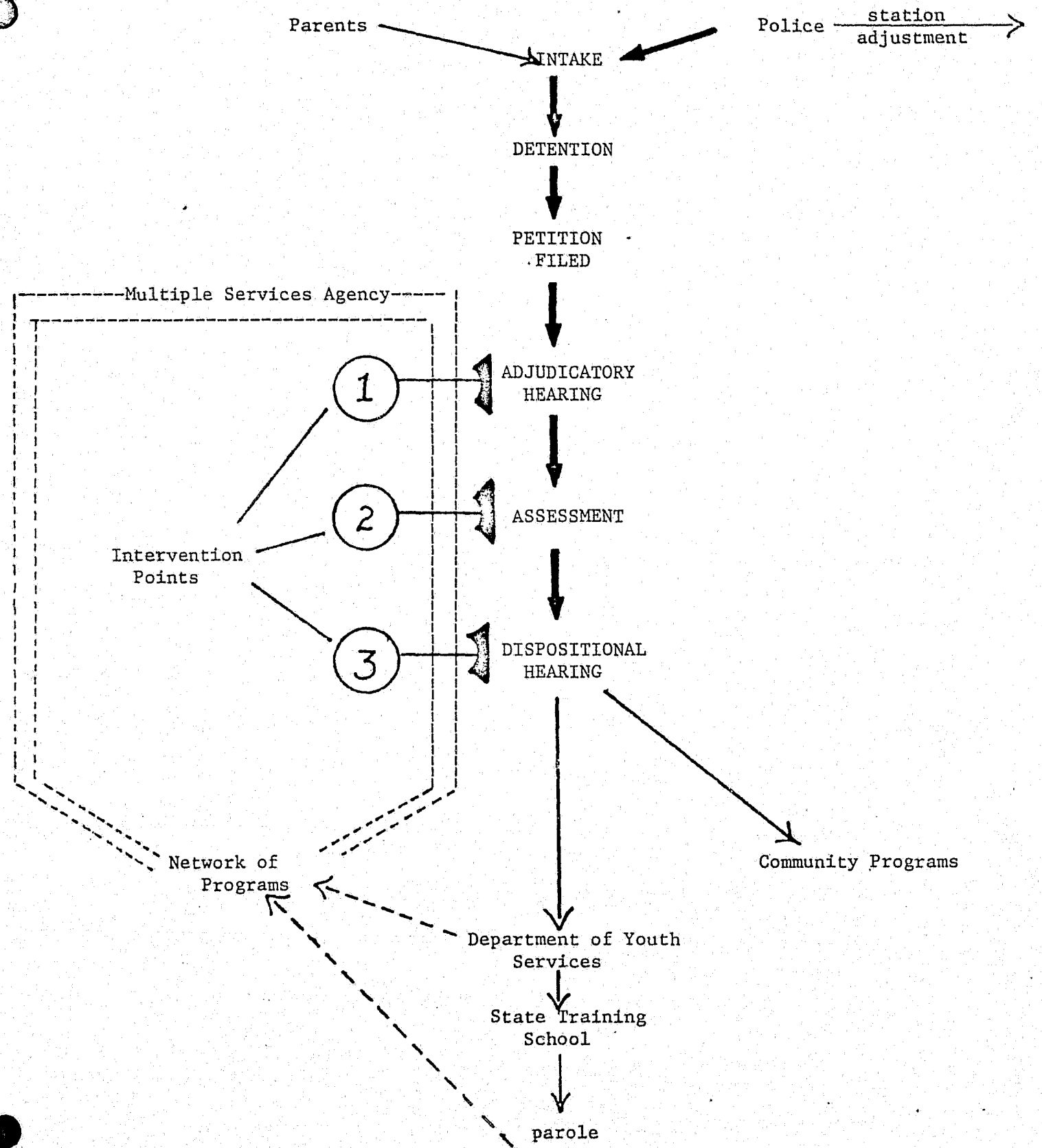
Without exception, the staff shares the belief that the less the system, particularly institutions, interferes in the life of the youth, the better. All of them feel that the prosecutor and the probation officer should focus on the interests, welfare and needs of the community while the public defender and PDCP counselors should assume primary responsibility for the interests, welfare and needs of the client.

6. Funding

Funding for the operation of PDCP has been sporadic. The counselors began on a volunteer basis and have had to revert back to that status once or twice since then. At the time of the site-visit only two of the four were being paid (\$200.00 per month). Funding is provided from the public defender budget, the Program for Local Services, and ACTION/VISTAS agency. Periodically they have been funded through the state planning agency, Concentrated Employment Training Act (CETA), and the County Youth Action Council. The two now unpaid counselors will be paid by CETA September 1.

Diagram 3: MSA WITHIN THE BETA COUNTY JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

B. MULTIPLE SERVICES AGENCY
(Site Visit Report 3)



1. Origin and History

The Multiple Services Agency (MSA) came into being as a result of an initiative by the state department of child welfare in cooperation with the state planning agency, the Department of Youth Services (DYS) and the juvenile court. The program was developed as a response to the need for alternatives to incarceration for youths being sent to DYS training schools from a large metropolitan area of the state. The grant proposal of the program indicates that over 75 percent of youth being incarcerated in state training schools originate from the metropolitan area. The program's specific goal is to reduce the level of incarceration in state training schools by 35 percent.

2. Point of Intervention

Like the PDCP, MSA also provides dispositional advocacy, but MSA's intervention occurs at a later stage in the proceedings against the youth. In the ten months since its origin in October, 1974, 160 youths have been accepted into MSA. Almost three-fourths of them are black. They are from a crowded urban area where the crime rate is high and incomes are low. In the neighborhoods where they live the statistics are intensified visually; condemned and boarded-up tenements proliferate.

3. Referral Criteria

When they are first informed of their acceptance into MSA, most of the youths are sitting in the county detention center awaiting a dispositional hearing following adjudication on serious charges. MSA's acceptance criteria attempt to reflect the types of youth who are eventually incarcerated: 1) a least four recorded police contacts including at least two delinquency petitions filed in juvenile court, or has committed an extremely serious offense for which s/he would be committed; 2) the judge has adjudicated the youth to be delinquent or to be in violation of probation; 3) youths who the judge

would otherwise commit to the DYS (i.e., a state training school). The initial referral is made by the assigned probation officer after consultation with the judge. There is little doubt that the youth will accept the offer with the alternative being incarceration.

Following the initial referral to the program, the youth is interviewed at least twice by an assessor, an independent individual contracted by a case manager from MSA. His assessment and recommendation for a specific treatment plan are then passed on to the case manager who makes additions and who finally presents the plan to the judge. Given his position in the process, the case manager of MSA has the most control over the assessment and recommendations. Fortunately for the youth, the director and staff of MSA generally hold a noninterventionist viewpoint and the recommendations generally appear to be the least restrictive while still being acceptable to the sentencing judge. Only rarely will the judge completely reject the proposal or order specific changes in the plan. Though still formally under the jurisdiction of the probation officer, the youth is then released from detention and turned over to MSA.

Ten percent of the program's clients come from the Department of Youth Services. Once accepted by MSA, a recommendation is made to the State Pardon and Parole Board for parole of the youth, whereupon the youth is placed on parole status and referred to MSA.

4. Program Services

MSA has contracts with some twenty community agencies to provide services for the youth. These may be grouped into three major types: 1) highly structured residential; 2) residential; and 3) nonresidential. Under the first heading the following may be included: psychiatric treatment, a

wilderness program, work camp and some group homes. Under the second heading, programs include: some group homes, enrollment in private schools and foster homes. The following are included under the last heading: community advocate program, tutoring, job corps, Youth Center, and enrollment in day school. Over half the youths in the program are on a "multi-service contract" where they receive two or more of the above services.

A youth's departure from the program is generally dependent on whether or not the youth is arrested for new criminal involvement, although s/he may still re-enter MSA under a more restrictive contract. The program has enjoyed a significant degree of success. At the time of the site visit, only 5 out of 160 youths had been dropped from the program as failures and committed to DYS.

There is no doubt, given MSA's acceptance criteria, that it serves as an alternative to incarceration. Also, given the noninterventionist philosophy of the director, the alternative programs are generally not overly restrictive.

5. Staff

At the time of the site visit there were 25 staff members under the program director. They are divided into three groups: case-management team, resource development team and support-clerical team. There are nine workers in the case-management team and they have varying caseloads. Each case manager is assigned a particular area of the county and, therefore, adheres to a specific calendar of the juvenile court. His/her main duty is to act as a liaison between the assigned client and the agencies with which the program has contracts.

Resource developers are in charge of working out new contracts with service vendor agencies and monitoring the quality of their services. They

visit the service facilities at least once a month and get feedback from case-managers. The resource development team is divided into residential, vocational and educational categories.

Several staff members possess degrees in social work and the majority have at least one college degree. Only a few, however, have experience working in a more traditional social work agency. This lack of experience causes some people in the juvenile justice system to view the staff as less competent than probation officers or other professionals. Such perceived deficiencies appear to be ameliorated through practical training received on the job under close supervision by the head of the team.

The program's staff members are, in general, quite enthusiastic about their work and about the project. Without exception the staff believe that incarceration does more harm than good and that the program benefits their clients because it serves as an alternative to that damaging experience.

6. Funding

MSA operates on an LEAA award approved for three fiscal years beginning in July, 1974. It is now channeled through the state child welfare agency, but is being moved to go through the state DYS.

The budget for the fiscal year ending June, 1975, was based on the following:

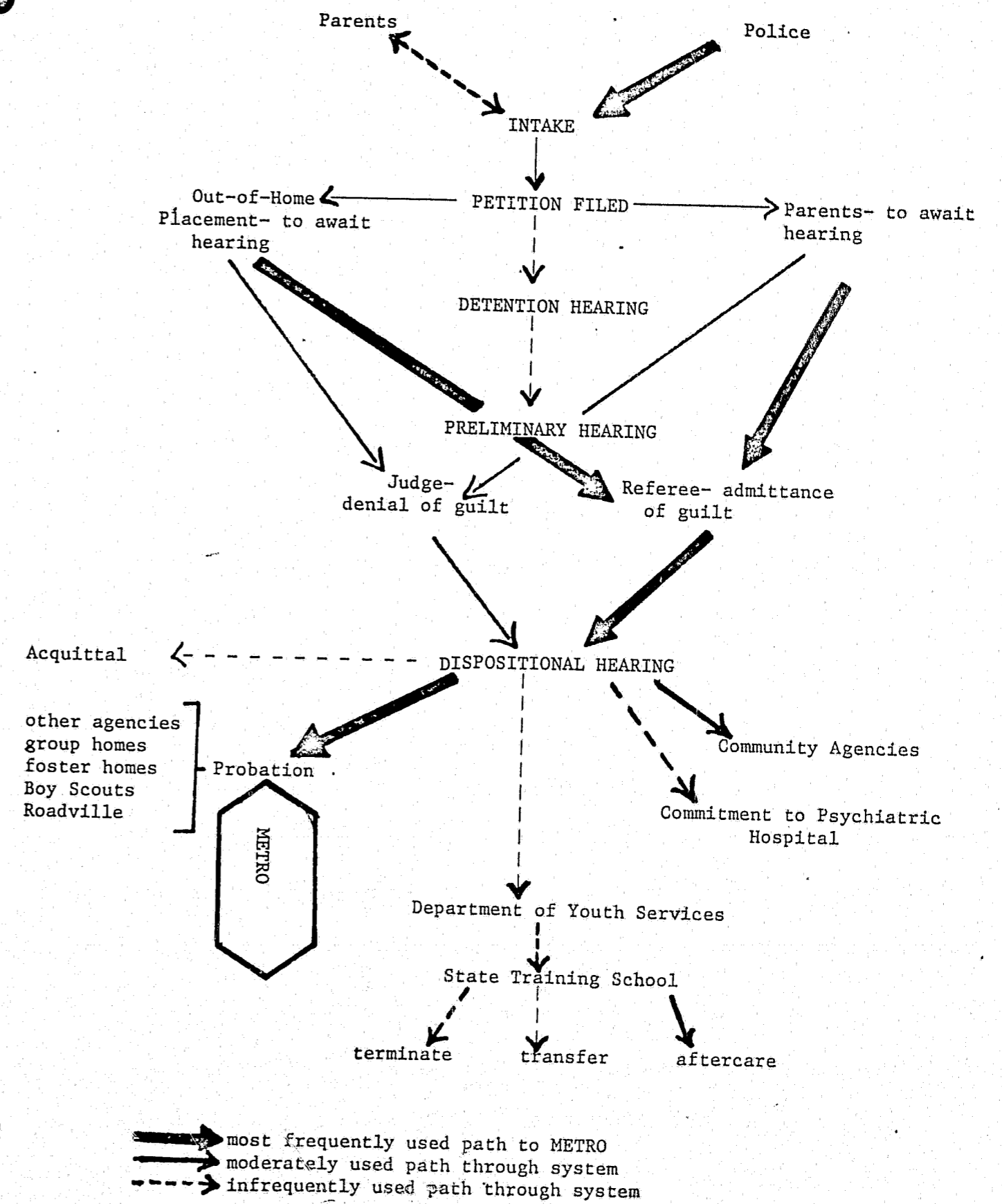
(1)*

Shelter Care	17 slots for \$4250 a week
Intensive Care	20 slots for \$7000 a week
Structured Group Care	25 slots for \$6250 a week
Group Care	20 slots for \$3600 a week
Foster Care	40 slots for \$3000 a week
Nonresidential Care	178 slots for \$8900 a week
Total	300 slots for \$33,000 a week

(2) Projected Average Cost per Client: \$4665 per career

* Based on figures provided by MSA.

Diagram 4: THE METRO PROGRAM WITHIN THE
COTTONWOOD COUNTY JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM



C. METRO PROGRAM

(Site Visit Report 6)

1. Origin and History

The METRO program initially began as a residential program and day care facility for youth with educational and emotional problems. With the support of the juvenile court, the program expanded its services to include juvenile offenders.

The treatment strategy of the program has undergone considerable change since its inception, moving from formalized therapeutic techniques to reality therapy in order to elicit more student involvement in the day-to-day educational activities of the program.

2. Point of Intervention

Youths are referred to METRO following an adjudication of delinquency and placement on probation for an indefinite period of time. A probation officer makes the referral to METRO.

3. Referral Criteria

The major criteria for referral is that the youth has educational and behavioral problems. Having fallen behind in school, the youth is expected to be motivated to raise his/her academic skills. The goal is for the youth to achieve a grade level appropriate to his or her age. Youths admitted to the program must have average or "potentially average" intelligence.*

The youths participating in METRO have committed offenses ranging from truancy to assault with a deadly weapon.⁺ Most are from lower to lower-middle class families, with two-thirds being male and whites slightly in excess of black youth.[‡]

* The IQ range in the program is between 62-136.

⁺ METRO has no eligibility restrictions for type of offense. The probation officers, however, indicated that they screened out "violent or aggressive types."

[‡] The ethnic makeup varies according to referrals and is not a result of screening criteria.

Referrals are processed by the program's social worker. Information concerning the youth is obtained from the court and then the youth and his family are interviewed. Both parents and youth must consent to involvement in the program. Next, a summary of the youth's education, legal, social, family, psychological and medical data is presented at a weekly program staffing. When the youth is accepted into the program, a date is set for prescriptive testing. This entails two days of observation, during which the Environmental Deprivation Scale and MMPI are administered. An academic prescription is then prescribed to bring the youth up to grade level.

4. Program Services

While the youth is being initiated into program routine, a three-week evaluation takes place. When completed, the psychologist, head teacher and social worker meet with the youth and another student of his/her choice to determine the overall treatment plan. The head teacher suggests academic goals from the results of the Test of Average Base Education (TABE), and behavioral goals are determined by mutual consent. The student and staff select two target behaviors to be strengthened or changed. This is accomplished with the aid of staff feedback, reinforcement and utilization of the point system during each class period of the day.

The primary purpose of METRO is to develop a community-based intervention program for enhancing coping skills: self-control, social interaction and education work skills. Program objectives are: 1) to identify individual strengths and weaknesses; 2) to provide an individualized environment in which the necessary skills for successful living can develop; and 3) to alter the natural environment so that the newly acquired skills are fostered while the previously learned inappropriate behaviors are discouraged.

"Altering the environment" is defined as "working with school personnel and parents and helping the juvenile to affect his/her environment."

The academic program is highly structured and individualized and uses a programmed learning system. While for younger youth, the goal is grade level functioning, for those over 16 the goal is a reading level adequate for participation in a vocational training program.

The program is committed to the assumption that all young people can develop adaptive skills and get "turned on" to the process if they are appropriately motivated... (by providing) massive doses of positive feedback for making small steps in the right direction.
(Research team, SVR 6)

Through testing, METRO has found the clients' academic functioning to be 3 to 5 years behind normal grade placement. The program claims an average monthly gain of 1.1 to 1.9 grade levels over 2 and 3-month periods. Students frequently state that school problems or flunking a grade was the motivating force for accepting referral. "I learned a lot there," and "It's a lot easier to do good in school there," were comments frequently heard during interviews. However, the unvarying work routine and small peer groups were criticized: "It messes you up socially. It's scary to go back to a big school where you don't know anyone."

The METRO Program operates on a 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., 5-day week, year around schedule in two temporary classrooms on the state university campus. The day is broken up into four academic periods consisting of individualized instruction in physical education, art, health and reading. A ten-minute break between periods is used for smoking and talking. Sixty seconds before a class begins, a teacher calls out, "Ready up!" to indicate a period of silent preparation for the coming task. Trips are scheduled for Friday, otherwise deviations from the routine are determined by staff.

Consistency, the staff believes, is beneficial to the youth. On the other hand, students commented: "...I get tired of the same old thing every day," and "I get bored with the classes being the same."

During a student's stay in the program, a termination date is suggested according to academic achievement. When the date approaches, another TABE is administered. The staff then meets with the child to discuss these results and the fulfillment of behavior goals. As public schools admit students only in September and January, academic goals aim for these dates. The transition from the program to school or work was considered difficult by several youths.

METRO views success as completion of the program together with avoidance of conviction for any offense.* The court, however, considers a dropout without further offense a success. In the 2 1/2 year life of the program, there have been 10 dropouts; 4 were committed to the state training school for another offense and 6 have not engaged in further delinquent activity. Program statistics show that only 3.3 percent of graduates have been charged with new offenses. The program claims the recidivism rate is 9 percent for all participants.†

When the youth completes the program, it is for the probation officer to decide whether to terminate or continue the probation period.

5. Staff

An ex-offender was co-developer and is now the director of the program. The remainder of the staff consists of a master teacher, ~~social worker~~, psychologist, a teacher, teacher aide, counselor, behavior manager and support staff. All staff have Master's degrees except the teacher and teacher aides.

* 90 percent are considered successful graduates.

† This could not be substantiated by the field research team.

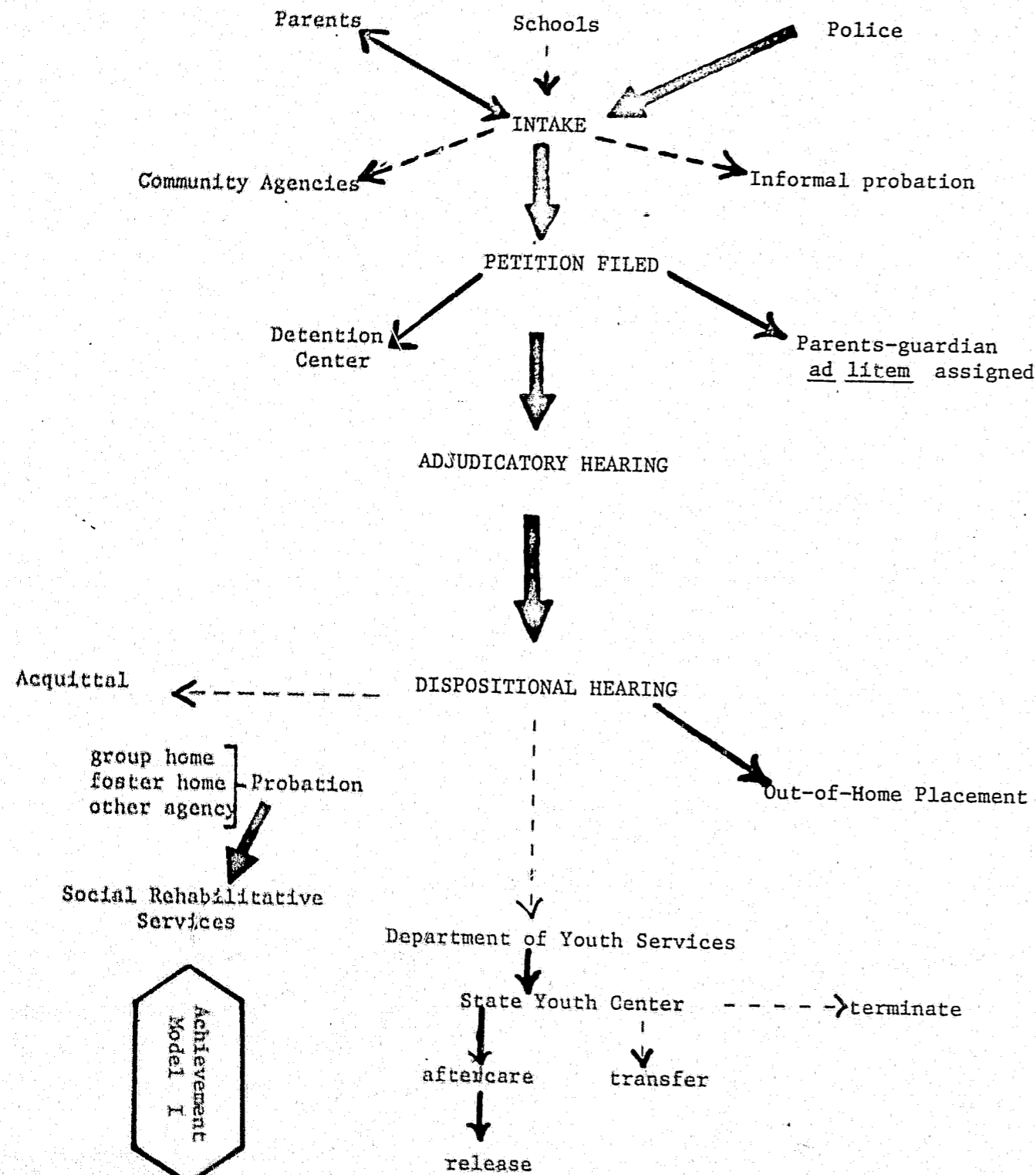
6. Funding

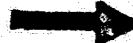
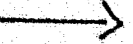

METRO started with a grant from the state planning agency in a facility donated by the university. A third of the budget was supported by the Department of Labor through a local employment training organization (CETA). Presently the program has applied for an extension of the grant from the state planning agency. The program has submitted a grant proposal to CETA to double its size in 1976. If approved, students will receive salaries while attending a half-day in pre-employment training. They have also applied to the State Department of Youth Services for a grant to continue the program in its present state in 1976 under DYS administration.

D. ACHIEVEMENT MODEL I

(Site Visit Report 10)

Diagram 5: ACHIEVEMENT MODEL I WITHIN THE JACKSON COUNTY JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM



 most frequently used path to Achievement Model I
 moderately used path through system
 infrequently used path through system

1. Origin and History

The Achievement Model I program is one of 56 replications of the Achievement Place Model developed in Lawrence, Kansas in 1967. The program has been in operation since 1973 and maintains a board of directors composed of local community members which is responsible for the budget and overall program policy.

2. Point of Intervention

According to its charter, Achievement Model I can only accept adjudicated boys. If adjudicated delinquent, a youth may be placed on formal probation and assigned a probation officer, who then selects the program.

3. Referral Criteria

Achievement Model I provides services for 12-16 year old white, male, middle-class juvenile offenders who have been adjudicated as either delinquent and/or dependent-neglected children. The following are the program's selection criteria:

- (1) Age: the youths must be between the ages of 10 and 16. (Specified by licensing requirements)
- (2) I.Q.: the youths should have an IQ of at least 70.
- (3) Locale: the youths must reside within the county area.
- (4) Presenting Problem: the youth's behavior problems and his status with the court, school, and his family are such that the youth would likely be institutionalized if not sent to the home (in the opinion of the Admissions Board).
- (5) Court Adjudication: the youths' problems are so serious that the court has or is about to adjudicate the youth.

- (6) Failure of less restrictive or structured forms of intervention; the youth typically will have failed to respond favorably to probation, therapy, or counseling services provided in the community.
- (7) Family: the youth must have a family in the community (parents, relatives, or foster parents) to return to with the assistance of the program staff.

The youth will be excluded in the following instances:

- (1) Certain violent offenses: a youth who has committed murder, forcible rape, or armed robbery, etc., would be excluded from consideration.
- (2) Drug Addiction: youths who show a serious physiological dependence upon dangerous narcotics (e.g., heroin or barbiturates) or alcohol, as judged by a physician.
- (3) Serious physical disability: a youth with a major physical handicap (e.g., blindness or confinement to a wheelchair) which would prevent normal mobility within a group home, school, or community.
- (4) Chronic history of running away: youths whose primary reason for referral is running away or who display a prolonged history of running away combined with other offenses.

4. Program Services

The goal of the home's behavior modification treatment program is to establish - through reinforcement and instruction - important behavioral competencies in social, academic, prevocational and self-care skills that the boys have not acquired. The treatment plan assumes that after learning these skills the youths will be more successful in their homes and schools, and that the natural reinforcement from this success will maintain the appropriate behaviors.

The primary treatment technique used is behavior modification through the means of a token economy. Points can be earned or lost based upon the youth's behavior. Points can be used by the youth to purchase certain privileges or to progress through levels of lessening control, and eventually to the freedom of returning home. In the first stage of the program - which usually lasts for about two or three days - points are awarded and monitored on an hourly basis. After successfully completing the hourly stage, the boy then progresses to the daily stage. In this stage he can earn 10,000 points a day for privileges. Points earned can be used for weekend visits home. In the next stage, points are awarded and monitored on a weekly basis. The boy enters this stage only after accumulating 150,000 points during the daily stage. In the weekly stage the youth needs 3,000 points per day for privileges and also needs 24,000 points by the end of the week to go home. At this point in the process "bonds" can be bought at 1,500 points each. Bonds serve as an exchange for privileges, allowances, or other material items that the youth may want. In order to proceed to the merit stage, a youth needs a total of 100 bonds.

Once a youth has progressed to the merit stage, no points are given or taken away and all privileges are free. A maximum of ten errors is allotted per week in the merit stage for four weeks. After successful completion of the merit stage, the boy then proceeds to the Homeward-Bound stage where he will spend most of his time with his parents. If a youth begins to have trouble while at home or at school during the Homeward-Bound stage he then re-enters the program for a period of several days or weeks to work through the problem.

A youth who fails at any stage (gets into trouble or runs away) may be fined a certain number of points and be placed in a substage. While in the substage, he is required to earn 20,000 points a day for privileges, plus make up the fined points in order to continue in his stage of the program. The only time a boy returns to the hourly stage is upon commission of an offense which has brought him before the court. On the average it takes approximately four weeks to get from the hourly system to the merit system.

5. Staff

The home is staffed by a married couple, referred to as teaching-parents, who have been trained by the program's workshop. The teaching-parents are a white couple in their late twenties. James has an M.A. in educational psychology and Jane is working on her M.A. in social work.

The special training for teaching-parents consists of a five-part sequence:

- (1) a one-week workshop (about 50 hours of instruction) at the university that provides the teaching-parents with the basic knowledge and skills required to establish and operate a treatment program.
- (2) a three-month practicum and consultation period where the teaching-parents begin working in residential treatment settings where they are employed and where they receive frequent (several times a week) telephone consultation from the training staff.
- (3) an evaluation (subjective) of the treatment program at the end of the third month by the training staff and by each of the consumers of the program (including the juvenile court, the department of welfare, the schools, the youths and their parents).
- (4) a second one-week workshop at the university that provides the teaching-parents with more detailed information on maintaining a successful treatment program and on evaluating their own program.

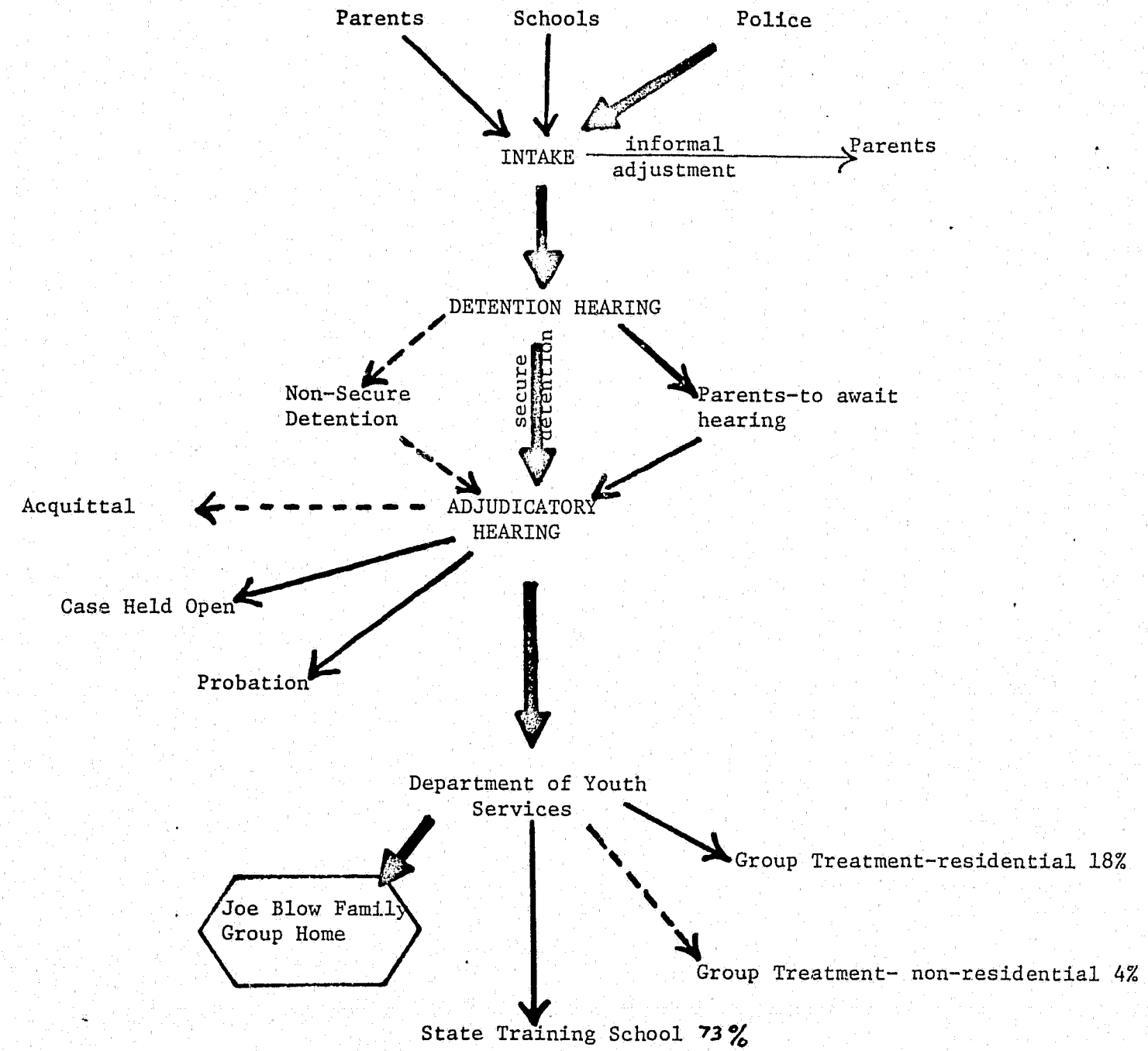
- (5) after the second workshop the training staff provides further evaluations of the treatment program after six months of operation and again after 12 months of operation and continues to provide intermittent telephone consultation to the teaching-parent trainees. Additional training is given if needed.

The teaching-parents are mainly responsible for administering the treatment program and developing a positive personal teaching relationship with the youth. Not only do the teaching-parents assume responsibility for the youths, but they also act as their advocates in the community. They are responsible for the usual administrative duties of the program and for preparing and cooking meals. The teaching-parents keep in frequent contact with parents, schools, juvenile court, the probation department, the welfare department, and various community agencies and employers.

6. Funding

The home is owned and operated by a private organization of approximately 400 professional people from the local community who sponsor social service events. The organization provides a monthly budget of \$1,200 per month for the home and pays the teaching-parents a combined salary of \$9,600 per year. The organization also pays for services and maintenance of the home. In addition to this funding source, the home receives \$15.00 per day living expenses per client from the department of welfare.

Diagram 6: THE JOE BLOW FAMILY GROUP HOME WITHIN THE EXCELSIOR COUNTY JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM



- most frequently used path to Family Group Home
- moderately used path through system
- - -** infrequently used path through system

Note: Secure detention and commitment to D.Y.S. are infrequent dispositions for most juveniles moving through the court but are part of the path for most clients of this particular program.

E. THE JOE BLOW FAMILY GROUP HOME
(Site Visit Report 9)

1. Origin and History

The Joe Blow Family Group Home was developed on the initiative of Mr. and Mrs. Blow. The Blows, who have eight children of their own, applied to the state Department of Youth Services and were accepted as a licensed family group home. They have been in operation since 1973 accepting youth from the state DYS.

2. Point of Intervention

Youths placed at the Blows home are screened and referred by the DYS.

3. Referral Criteria

Youths at the Joe Blow home are boys, ranging from 9 to 13 years old. Mr. and Mrs. Blow are black and handle only black children. Two of the six placements are allotted to boys committed to DYS as delinquents and four are for status offenders adjudicated dependent. Offenses range from truancy to breaking and entering. The six boys in the group home at the time of the site visit were from outside the local area.

There is a five-member screening committee to select youths for the home consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Blow, the DYS counselor, the counselor's supervisor and the director of group homes for the area. The committee examines a boy's background, problems, and the offense(s) for which he has been adjudicated. The Blows retain control over who finally comes into the home: "We try to see if what we have to offer is really what the child needs. We have found that reading about a child is much different than seeing a child." They do not feel themselves capable of handling children with severe emotional problems so they attempt to eliminate these children during the selection process; clearly this is not always possible. The Blows also try to weed out youths with whom they prefer their children didn't come into contact, e.g., children exhibiting homosexual tendencies.

CONTINUED

1 OF 3

4. Program Services

On paper, the six-month stay at a foster group home is geared toward preparing the youth to return home. This is interpreted by DYS to mean that the children must be taught to accept the authority of the adults around them. Group sessions held by the DYS counselors five days a week attempt to inculcate the youths accordingly. The sessions use a form of reality therapy and guided group interaction. The boys themselves are to formulate what their problems are and come up with possible solutions. Mrs. Blow said that she and the counselor used to tell the boys how to handle their problems, but found that this tended to handicap them. "Once they returned home, they had to be on their own again." Now they try to let the children come up with their own solutions.

The sessions consist mainly of the group raking the boy over the coals for behavior which the DYS counselor considers unacceptable. Usually included is the admonishment, "You'll never get home like that!"

Mrs. Blow tries to add a positive dimension to the sessions with praise for the boy who accomplishes something during the day. She also likes to handle problems as they arise, rather than waiting until the group meeting. The sessions would probably disband without the DYS counselor's presence.

The Blows' basic concern is with teaching the boys how to function in a family setting:

We try to teach these children how to function positively in a family setting. Regardless of what kind of background they are from, when they return home we want them to be able to deal with it....But the main thing is to give them a chance to see how a real family functions with love and affection and sometimes with problems and a lot of screaming, but still with love and affection. And that is accomplished better by seeing rather than a lot of talking. (Mrs. Blow, SVR 9)

All children at the home attend school at the insistence of the Blows.* During the school year, the day begins at 5:30 a.m. After getting up the boys straighten their rooms and have breakfast. They catch a bus to school at 6:45 a.m. After school they return home and have a snack before doing their homework. If they finish early they are allowed to watch television or play until dinner. After dinner they attend the group meeting for an hour. Bedtime for the younger boys is 8:00 p.m., for the older boys, 9:00 p.m.

A Saturday around the home is a day of cleaning. Everyone pitches in to do chores around the house. Once chores are completed, the boys are on their own.

During the three years that the FGH has been in operation, 39 youths have passed through its doors. Thirty-four of them returned home or to a foster home. The other 5 were sent to state training schools.

5. Staff

Mr. Blow is a minister and Mrs. Blow was a missionary.⁺ They have 8 children of their own, 3 girls and 5 boys, ranging in age from 8 to 18. When they moved to the area in 1972, the church turned a large, rambling house over to them that had served as a semiconvalescent home at one time. It is this house that provides the setting for the Joe Blow Family Home.

Mr. Blow is the head of the family and breadwinner. Mrs. Blow spends the day at home with the children and also acts as secretary to her husband's

* There have been occasions when some of the children could not make it in the public school. For these the B's arranged for a tutor. A few children have also been allowed to attend the vocational school.

⁺ Religion is not forced upon the children; church attendance on Sunday is not insisted upon.

janitorial service. The only prior experience the Blows have had was briefly acting as cottage parents in a girls' training school. They currently participate in a 2-day training for group home parents offered by DYS a few times during the year.

The Blows' philosophy is basically one of treating the children as their own. "We try to operate as one big family - with lots of love and affection."

6. Funding

The Blows do not receive salaries for their services. DYS pays a rate of \$6.38 per diem per youth. DYS considers family group homes to be the least expensive of their community-based programs.

CHAPTER VII
PROGRAMS AND PROCESS

Introduction

Re-examining the Typological Framework

As a guide to program selection for field work, a typological framework was established which attempted to delineate community-based programs according to their stated purposes. This framework made distinctions between rehabilitation, reintegration and nonintervention.

As noted in Chapter VI, the site visits revealed a gap between the ideal purposes of programs as they existed on paper, and the actual operation of these programs; when these ideals are translated into action the typology breaks down. For example, in each of the programs visited, a combination of strategies was used; the most common was a treatment plus reintegration strategy. Although nonintervention was not a stated purpose of any of the programs, it did influence the strategy of at least one program which used a combination of advocacy, rehabilitation and reintegration to provide the minimum degree of intervention required to keep the youth out of trouble.

In general, it can be said that community-based programs represent a heterogeneous collection of assumptions, ideal purposes, and operating strategies. As such, the initial assumption that community-based programs can be categorized according to their stated purposes proved inadequate for delineating the range of activities which surround community-based alternatives to incarceration.

Focus of the Assessment

The field research identified a number of important issues having significant bearing upon the use and operation of community-based programs;

it is felt that they are of critical importance for policy, funding, and research efforts.

There are three broad areas in which specific issues arise in the use and operation of community-based alternatives to incarceration: Target Population; Program Elements; and Factors Extrinsic to the Operation of Programs. The intent of the assessment is to guide the reader through issues involving selection processes of clients for community-based programs; and finally, to examine issues which place community-based alternatives to incarceration within the broader context of funding and political considerations. Throughout the discussion, reference is made to the operation of incarcerative facilities in order to highlight both their similarities and differences with community-based alternative programs.

SECTION ONE: TARGET POPULATION

In this section three aspects affecting the target population of community-based alternatives to incarceration are discussed: referral process, placement criteria, and client choice.

A. The Referral Process

Decisions as to placement in community-based programs are made by juvenile courts or corrections agencies.* At this stage, the court might consider diagnostic evaluations, usually consisting of psychological testing and social history write-ups, to aid in determining whether a youth is capable of functioning in a community-based program. One such process is described by the field research team:

Following the adjudicatory hearing, the case is assigned to an assessment officer in the probation department. This begins the process of collecting background information and diagnosing the psychological composure of the "delinquent" for a major decision on placement and treatment. The probation officer assigned to the case writes a social history and makes arrangements with a psychologist and physician. The Court Assessment Team (CAT) eventually receives a packet which at minimum consists

* This study defines alternatives to incarceration as occurring after adjudication. However, one of the problems encountered during the field research centered upon the issue of determining whether youths who are being referred to community-based programs from the juvenile court are in fact being referred in lieu of incarceration. The problem is especially the case when referrals to community-based programs take place prior to a formal adjudication of delinquency. An example encountered in the field research illustrates the issue.

In site visit 1, it was found that probation officers have enormous discretion in deciding whether to refer youth on an informal basis to a program, or to bring a youth before the court in an adjudicatory hearing. It is the practice of probation officers in this particular juvenile court to provide a community-based program for youths as an alternative to formal processing.

of a social history, a psychological evaluation and a medical examination report. On the basis of this information, CAT determines for which programs the girl is eligible. (SVR 2)

Placements from the Department of Youth Services to community-based programs commonly follow a similar pattern with the referral based upon a diagnosis which determines that the youth can function in a community-based program. In one state agency, placement decisions are made at "staffings" where various Youth Service personnel discuss, as they put it, "what the kid has been doing, how he has been doing, whether he has been in the community, and whether he should be in the community." (SVR 7)

B. Placement Criteria

Though program placement criteria reflected the view that youths should be placed in programs according to their specific needs, the field investigations found that referral agencies (probation, DYS, etc.) depended on other factors when making their placement decisions. These included organizational considerations such as the availability of placements of the types of intervention efforts at various phases of the juvenile justice process (see diagram of intervention points in Chapter VI).

Placement criteria are also defined relative to the types of youth being sent to incarcerative facilities and notions concerning the types of youth considered appropriate for community-based programs. In the twelve sites visited, most juvenile justice officials expressed the view that incarcerative facilities are appropriate and necessary for serious offenders. However, there are widely varying opinions as to what constitutes a serious offense. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that one third of all incarcerated youth in the United States (and in the case of girls alone, more than half) are status offenders.

The field research did reveal two broad strategies which determine the type of youth for whom community-based programs are being used: a) shallow end; and b) deep end.

1. Shallow End

The most common criteria that was found (in 8 of 12 site visits) insured the placement of relatively nonserious offenders into community-based programs. One program, for example, only takes girls who are classified as suffering from "adolescent adjustment reaction;" therefore persons prone to violence or acting out behavior are precluded from the program (SVR 2). For another program, a correctional administrator's placement criteria are: "Mature and responsible behavior, ability to function in a relatively unstructured environment and the initiative to do things on his own." (SVR 1) A third program, though not excluding youths by the nature of their offenses, concentrates on first offenders; according to the director of the program, this means juveniles who have not been involved in "real serious offenses." (SVR 9a)

Based upon field research information, it appears that many community-based programs are being used for shallow-end offenders, that is, youths who have committed minor offenses or are first offenders. Many of these community-based programs exist in a correctional milieu in which more youths are placed in incarcerative facilities than in community-based programs. It appears that in these cases youths are being placed in community-based programs for whom the chances of incarceration would have been slight. As the project's site team commented in one particular situation, "the main question is whether girls who are experiencing 'adolescent adjustment reactions' require placement in...a restrictive atmosphere." As one of the

girls in the program put it, "I never hurt anybody, except maybe myself."

(SVR 2) In response to the administrator who referred boys exhibiting "mature and responsible behavior," the site team made the following incisive comment: "It would seem that a boy exhibiting such exemplary behavior would be an incongruity in a correctional institution." (SVR 1) Finally, it may well be that such placement criteria are widening the net to include youth who do not require any type of program.

2. Deep End

Two community-based programs visited exist in a state where the minimal use of incarceration necessitates community-based programs for the vast majority of juvenile offenders. Of approximately 2000 youth being handled by the state correctional agency, less than 150 are being held in incarcerative facilities. Within this context, referral criteria to community-based programs are less restrictive. For example, in contrast to the shallow end program which takes girls with "adolescent adjustment reactions," a community-based program for girls in this particular state records the following client offenses: "...use of motor vehicle without authority, shoplifting, breaking and entering, assault and battery,..." (SVR 4) The typical client in this program is one "that has become so imbedded in the system that the judge sees commitment to DYS as the only alternative left." (SVR 4)

In the second program, the site research team found that:

[B]y the time they (the youth) get assigned to the program they have generally been in and out of court ten or more times for a variety of offenses. Car theft, breaking and entering and other property offenses are the most common violations...some of the youths have been convicted of violent crimes against people such as assault and rape. Many of them are in the position where committing one or two more offenses could result in their being bound over to Superior Court as adults... (SVR 7)

In another state an experimental program has seen the need to establish strict criteria in order to insure that only those youths in imminent danger of being incarcerated are referred (SVR 3).^{*} Committal to the state corrections agency in this state, as is usually the case elsewhere, results in incarceration. The program director commented that the youths in the program were "hard core," and implied that the program was actively pursuing a deep-end strategy. As the site team commented:

Strict criteria are used to insure that MSA is used as an alternative to incarceration...Because of the... criteria 55.6 percent of all the clients of MSA were arrested for major felonies, 23.6 percent for minor felonies, 5.3 percent for major misdemeanors, 2.8 percent for minor misdemeanors, and 2.8 percent for miscellaneous delinquency. (SVR 3)

C. Client Choice

Many program staff and juvenile justice personnel feel that an expressed desire to enter a program is a necessary prerequisite for successful completion of the program. In other words, youths will not make it in the program unless they want to. The nature of this choice, however, is affected by the consequences of not choosing the program; in many cases the alternative is incarceration in a state training school. As the research team found in one situation:

Fear and the persistent threat of incarceration is... extensively capitalized upon from screening interview through probation process and into the programs... This coerciveness excludes choice...In the first place, a choice between a relatively free program placement and the state training school is not a choice. It might be more properly called a stacked deck. (SVR 1)

^{*} See description of Multiple Services Agency in Chapter VI.

Despite the stated objective to give youth some say in the placement process, the placement decision is commonly made for the youth by juvenile justice personnel: "Some kids in METRO indicated that they were told by the judge or probation officer to enroll and that for them there was no other choice." (SVR 6) Even where the explicit threat of incarceration is not used the authority of the court or correctional agency generally appears sufficient to ensure that its recommendations are followed.

Summary

In 8 of the 12 sites, it was found that community-based programs are being used for shallow end offenders: those youth who are first time offenders, and/or have committed minor offenses. Such shallow end programs exist in states where more youths are incarcerated than are placed in community-based programs as alternatives to incarceration. It does not appear that such community-based programs are serving youths most likely to be incarcerated. A central issue that is raised is whether the shallow end approach to community-based programs is reducing the number of incarcerated youth, or whether, in fact, it is widening the juvenile justice net.

SECTION TWO: PROGRAM ISSUES

This section explores the areas of community-basedness, control, and program staff, in light of the information gathered during the field research.

A. Community-Basedness

The extent, frequency and quality of linkages between program staff, clients, and the local community provides a basis for determining the degree to which programs are community-based relative to incarceration.

1. Extent and Frequency of Linkages with the Community

One aspect of incarceration is its social separation from the community. In this respect, the extent of linkages to the community is extremely limited; in many cases it is nonexistent. The social separation common to many of the incarcerative facilities that were visited was acutely expressed by one youth who had been held in an incarcerative facility: "...You can never see your friends or go anywhere, there's nothing to do...up there you never go anywhere." (SVR 2) Similar to an incarcerative setting, one community-based program restricts the extent of community contacts: "During the initial thirty days, the resident is allowed no outside contacts by visitors personally or by mail or telephone unless it is a necessary 'business matter'" (SVR 8).

The majority of community-based programs visited placed varying limits on the extent and frequency of linkages with the community. This was particularly the case with residential programs, many of which use an achievement system to regulate the extent of community contact. One program example illustrates how this works: "Girls on the third level and above

can take 45-minute walks in the neighborhood after dinner." Attainment of a higher level enables an increase of contact; "going home on two weekends a month, a 3-hour shopping trip on Saturday,...and going out one weekend night," and finally, the highest level permits "going home every weekend, go(ing) on approved shopping trips, and go(ing) out on both weekend nights" (SVR 2).

In such programs the youth can attend local schools or have a job in the community where they have extensive community contacts. Group activities may include going to the beach or to a museum. However, outside of structured community events, activities are generally confined to within the program until the appropriate level is achieved.*

There is a great difference between programs which do and programs which do not limit the extent to which youths and staff interact with the community. Unlimited community interaction is illustrated by a nonresidential program located in a storefront in a large urban area.

The storefront is the hub of NIP activity...People come and go. Some are NIP youths, some are staff, some used to be in the program and others are "regulars" from the community who've never been in the program. A 17 year old "NIP kid" explained: "people who aren't even in the program come in here all the time...maybe it's the atmosphere." (SVR 4)

However, the extent and frequency of linkages with a community is not necessarily determined by whether a program is residential or nonresidential as the above example might indicate. One nonresidential program, for example, serves as an alternative school, and has limited linkages with the community during the enrollment period. The program's focus is on increasing the reading levels of its students. As such, most of the focus is on

* See Chapter VI and this chapter's section on control for a more detailed description of an achievement level system.

classroom related activities. In contrast, two residential programs insisted on youth being present only for meals, house meetings, and at a specified time at night.

2. Quality of Community Linkages

The quality of program linkages with a community was recognized as a critical measure of community-basedness. Though the extent and frequency of community linkages might be high within a particular program, quality of linkages may be lacking. An example of this is provided by a community-based program (a group home), in which the youths attend the local school on a daily basis. Apparently the youths feel stigmatized by their identification with the group home and this has a profound effect on the quality of their relationships at school.

They attend public school, although they feel stigmatized in varying degrees, and consequently are limited in forming friendships outside the Home. Girls at one school were called "the San Quentin girls" by other students. Consequently they insist on being dropped off a couple of blocks away from school because the Home vehicle has a state license plate. (Research team, SVR 2)

Within this particular program, quality also depended upon whether the youth was from the community in which the program was located or from another part of the state. Again, the research team comments:

The Home is more or less community-based depending on whether the girl is from Castleview or an outlying area. This affects whether the girl can continue at the same school she had been attending and how often her parents can come to visit... (Parents on welfare have an added burden because of the inadequacy of public transportation in Castleview.) (SVR 2)

In a different program, over 60 percent of the youth are from outside of the community in which the program is located. The program places a heavy emphasis on developing and maintaining contacts with its local

community through local schools, vocational training programs, and jobs. Recognizing that these linkages enable the youth to have positive community experiences, the research team nevertheless raises an interesting issue; these experiences are taking place outside of the community to which the youth will eventually return.

All of the...community contacts...(do not appear to be) helping the youth from outside Redville to deal more effectively with the kinds of pressures he will experience once he returns home. His community is not involved in, nor aware of the progress the youth is making and consequently, his reintegration into his community (may) not be any easier because of his community contacts while in the program. (SVR 9)

Some programs recognize the need to remove the youth from his or her own community for a period of time in order to break bad habits, or to alleviate some of the pressures that may have developed as a consequence of the offense that the youth committed.

This view was reinforced by a youth who had been through a number of community-based programs, and is presently incarcerated in a state prison. This youth felt that the nature of his offense made placement within his community detrimental to his chances for rehabilitation. He stated that he was never able to overcome the stigma that he felt the community had attached to him by virtue of the offense he had committed. In effect, he never had a chance to become reintegrated into his community.

One referral program places some youths in wilderness training programs for a period of six weeks before returning the youth to his/her community (SVR 3). It is felt in this program that sometimes it is necessary to remove the youth from his/her own community to provide a unique experience elsewhere.

The general impression gained during the field research, however, is that programs indigenous to the youth's community enhance the quality of the youth's community experiences. In fact, 8 of 12 programs visited worked mainly with youth from the immediate surrounding community.

Some programs which deal with older delinquent youths place a great emphasis upon the youth maintaining a job within the community. The findings of the research team in one program indicates a common problem in trying to obtain quality employment for teenage youth:

The trouble (is) that there are few jobs available for the boys regardless of vocational aptitude. At the time of the site visit, none of the boys had jobs above a menial level. As far as could be determined through interviews with staff and juveniles, the only jobs that are available for the boys - as far as anyone could remember - low-paying, unexciting and rare. The reality of the employment situation is presented in the following breakdown. Of the 18 boys in the program, 3 are employed, 8 are in training, 2 are newly arrived and 5 are unplaced. (SVR 1)

Furthermore, for those youth in job-training programs, there is no guarantee that their training will lead them to meaningful employment.

Sexist attitudes affect the quality of linkages; a discrepancy was noticed within one group home for girls, compared with the group homes for boys. A remark made by an official, associated with the girls' program, illustrates the possibility that some programs for girls may be limiting the nature of linkages with the community because of certain assumptions made about the particular needs of girls: "Boys are very materialistic. You can just find them a job to keep them busy...Girls' needs are more emotional." (SVR 2) The research team commented:

The effect of this pervasive attitude is that the girls' needs for meaningful activity...are not considered a priority. While the boys in a similar program in Region 4 are encouraged to find jobs, the girls do volunteer work. A number of the older girls felt that they would like to have jobs where they could earn some money...When asked what improvements they would make in the program, many girls responded that they were bored and would like to have more concrete things to do... (SVR 2)

Despite the likely possibility of holding menial jobs, as noted in an earlier example, the girls feel that having a job in the community is qualitatively better than doing volunteer work.

The nonresidential programs encountered in the field research are particularly striking in the degree to which quality linkages with the community are emphasized. Though it was found in the alternative school program (referred to in chapter VI) that the focus of classroom activities limited the extent and frequency of community linkages, it was recognized that the quality of the linkages was high. A major emphasis in the program is placed upon working with school personnel and the youth's parents in an effort to "alter the natural environment of the delinquent so that the newly acquired skills" are usefully applied. The program appeared to be quite successful in reintegrating youth back into school at higher grade levels.

Another residential program focused its activities around the quality of the youths' community experiences by providing guidance to situations encountered by the youths on a day-to-day basis. The daily routine of this program gives an illustration of how this is accomplished:

At 9 o'clock a counselor may pick-up a couple of girls and take them off to breakfast. Over breakfast the girls may relate the events which have transpired since the last time they saw their counselor. They talk about the hassles at home or school or with their latest boyfriend. A couple of hours later, the counselor drops the first two girls off at their home or a friend's. The counselor may then take a girl to a doctor's appointment, or pick up a group of girls and take them to the zoo. After lunch, several counselors may get together and take the girls in their groups horseback-riding. At 5:30 another group of girls will meet at the Girlstown Apartment to make jewelry and talk. (Research team, SVR 4)

This study cannot draw firm conclusions concerning the quality of linkages maintained by nonresidential programs as opposed to residential programs. However, the nonresidential programs encountered during the field research appeared to place a greater emphasis on community linkages than the residential community-based programs.

Summary

Community-based programs exhibit varying degrees of community-basedness along the dimensions of extent, frequency and quality of linkages that the program has with the community. In this respect, programs might be placed on a continuum according to their community-basedness.

An issue that remains unresolved is the impact of community linkages in a program upon youth who are not from the community where the program is located. In some cases it was observed that this separation might have a detrimental effect upon the youth's ability to become integrated into his own community. It was also found that there may be circumstances where it may be best for some youth to be placed in programs away from their own communities.

Finally a difference was found in the community-basedness of some programs for girls as opposed to those operated for boys. It may be the case that community linkages, especially in regard to job opportunities, are more restrictive for girls than boys in certain programs.

B. Control

Control in programs can be examined from four perspectives: type; degree; duration; and the use of discretion together with the distinction that is made between control and services in programs.

1. Types of Control

Types of control in incarcerative and community-based programs vary from program to program and within individual programs. One type of control found in an incarcerative setting is described by the site research team:

He is given a sheet, a blanket, a towel, a bar of soap and a plastic cup and then led to a small concrete room which has a thick door with a narrow peephole. Across from the door a concrete platform with a narrow mattress on top of it catches a beam of light from a big upper window. There is a built-in aluminum washbasin and toilet. A lightbulb, protected by wire mesh is set into the high ceiling...The boy notices for the first time that there are cameras everywhere...He is always being watched. (SVR 1)

Incarceration, or physical confinement, is one of the more extreme types of control.* In many of the training schools visited, this type of control is manifested by confinement in a locked cell or locked facility. In the above example surveillance with a camera is also used for control purposes.

* Physical abuse was not observed during the field research. Though some youths did report some degree of physical coercion, its extent could not be determined.

In training schools where the majority of the population is not held behind locked doors or high fences, "eyeball" surveillance and geographical distance can be equally effective as controlling mechanisms. The following example is described by the research team as it related to a youth in a state training school:

The one hundred plus miles of country between (the youth) and Metropolis was as effective a wall as any ever built. He could run (escape), but as soon as they missed him - in an hour or so - they'd blow the whistle and inform the people living on the mountain that another boy was loose, and they'd hotfoot it into the woods with their dogs and chase him down. In return the school would give them a bounty for his capture. Even if he did evade the mountain people and their dogs, he'd have to outwit the school's dogs and the guards patrolling the roads in trucks. (SVR 1)

In the field research, only one alternative program (investigated during a site visit to a community-based program) uses physical confinement for control purposes. Though it only had 15 clients at a time, it had 25 full-time staff and was located on the fourth floor of a thousand-bed public health hospital. In addition to the high degree of surveillance by staff, youth were physically confined to the ward.

All of the project-selected community-based programs used five types of control to varying degrees: a) achievement systems; b) the threat of incarceration; c) peer pressure; d) program regimentation; and e) surveillance.

2. Degree of Control

The degree of control maintained in extreme types of incarcerative settings can range from four hours in lockup to an example of a youth who was confined in a 4' x 6' steel cage for 38 days (SVR 6). In all the training school settings visited, a high degree of control was maintained

through surveillance; the staff constantly watched the youths and controlled their activities.

a. The Achievement System

The achievement system was used in over half of the community-based programs visited. Points are achieved on the basis of a youth's behavior.

Two descriptions follow:

The point system is devised to help motivate the youths to learn more appropriate behavior...house chores are assigned to each individual and points can be rewarded or deducted if the child does or does not do his job well. (Research team, SVR 10)

Points are given for group meeting attendance, participating in activities, keeping the curfew, working at a job or training course, and attitude. Points are taken away for not working, fighting, stealing, dope and lying. (Research team, SVR 1)

The staff feel that a point system compels the youth to be responsible for his/her behavior. With the accumulation of points come privileges, the final privilege being successful discharge from the program. Attaching rewards and punishments to specific behavior theoretically provides a way to set limits upon and monitor behavior.*

b. Threat of Incarceration

In the majority of programs examined, a second type of control was illustrated by using the threat of incarceration. The use of the "hammer" upon youth represents, from the viewpoint of many staff, an effective tool for controlling behavior. "If the child has a fear of The Man, at the very least, then that's something we can work with." (SVR 1) It was observed that the threat of incarceration can make a youth "exhibit a markedly high degree of desire" in performing program activities (SVR 1). The potential of the "hammer" is perhaps best illustrated by the staff reactions in

* See Chapter VI for additional program description, Achievement Model I.

another program to the loss of this form of coercive control. The research team observed that "the staff is uncomfortable over the loss of detention as a backup and may attempt to find another method of isolation..." (SVR 6).

It is difficult to determine the extent to which this type of control is used within individual programs. As noted in the description of this type, one program did have the use of an incarcerative facility (the local detention center) on a weekend basis to give credence to the threat until a judge put a stop to that practice. In at least four of the programs that were visited, youth were made aware that improper behavior in the program could result in their being incarcerated.

c. Peer Pressure

A third type of control was manifested in two of the programs visited. This type involves the use of peer pressure where the responsibility for control rests with the youth in the program. A group process is designed to pressure individuals to conform to the dominant values of the group. "Through the use of peer pressure...the residents are vested with the responsibility of...controlling each other's behavior." (SVR 9) Groups can, as an aspect of controlling each other's behavior, impose sanctions upon individual youth.

The groups have major responsibility for discipline... In most cases sanctions are limited to restrictions or privileges or demoting the resident one level. The ultimate sanction is a recommendation for transfer (to the state training school). (SVR 9)

Though staff has the final authority over any disciplinary decisions, in order to maintain the concept of individual culpability, youths are seldom overridden.

The degree of control maintained in those programs using peer group control can be quite intense. Aside from formal daily meetings which last about an hour and a half, there is constant mutual vigilance throughout all program-related activities.

d. Program Regimentation

Rigid scheduling in two programs examined provides the basis for a high degree of control. The schedule of one program covers the entire range of daily activities including "work crews, therapy sessions, groups, and counseling sessions and seminars." (SVR 8) As such, all of the youth's daily activities are tightly regulated.

e. Surveillance

The fifth type of control being used in community-based programs is surveillance. A nonresidential program employs what it calls client tracking. The tracking program provides intensive supervision of youths who are living at home. The staff in a tracking program are assigned four or five youths; their primary responsibility is to know where the youth is, and what s/he is doing. Counselors use detailed forms to log their efforts with the youth on a daily, weekly and monthly basis. The research team states: "The files are kept in the spirit of maintaining concrete information...the emphasis is on knowing what factors are influencing the youth's ability to stay out of trouble..." (SVR 7)

The intensity of control maintained by a client tracking program makes it a highly regarded placement by one state department of youth services. A correctional official commented that the program can "contact the kid every single day...there is no state agency or no county agency that I know of that can give that kind of supervision to a kid." (SVR 7)

An interesting consequence of the tracking system on one occasion was that a counselor prevented an attempted arrest of one youth by showing the police a "Daily Activity Log;" he and the youth had been together on the day in question.

While the majority of community-based programs used some type or degree of control, two programs were noteworthy in functioning without any overt control techniques. In these programs, a close relationship between the staff and the youth appeared to be a more subtle control device. The research team made the following observation in one of these programs:

Initially the staff will spend a great deal of time with the girl. The counselor will take her out to breakfast, lunch, dinner, or just for a coke. The counselors see themselves as a kind of sounding board - someone the girls can tell their problems to and who they can trust not to "fink" or moralize about whether their activities are good or bad... the staff attempts to build up a one-to-one relationship of trust and understanding. As such, the girls look upon the staff as friends. (SVR 4)

However, as noted, programs of such relative informality appear to be in the minority.

3. Duration of Control

The issue of duration concerns how much time a youth spends under the control of a program. The central issue encountered in a majority of the programs is that for some youths and in some instances the existence of alternative community-based programs may be increasing the duration of control that programs have over youth. For example, in one program, all youths were spending more time under the direct control of the alternative program than they would have experienced in the state training school.

Furthermore, the time the youths spent in the alternative program was often not counted toward their commitment period. Thus, a youth could spend up to four months in the community-based program and still run the risk of being incarcerated without having committed any further violation.* This situation provoked the following comment from a youth who had "done time" in the alternative program, and is presently incarcerated in the state training school.

Well it's a trick man. Four months is four months no matter where you got to do them. The difference being that four months in the program may or may not get you out. It may just get you sent up here after all with another four months to do. At least here you can do your time without being afraid of another commitment. (SVR 1)

Another youth in a training school felt that "time only counts for the state, all that program time is on your own." (SVR 1) It is obvious that such a situation is not an unusual occurrence; in at least half of the programs it was apparent that the community-based alternative program is not considered a substitute for incarceration. In some instances, failure in a particular alternative program is seen by some juvenile justice and program personnel as a failure in alternative programs in general. As a result, failure automatically means transfer to a state training school.

In contrast with this, one example was found where program failure was not considered as the basis for such transfer. The site visit team noted that:

One of the most impressive facets of both NIP (the program) and DYS (the juvenile correctional agency) is their willingness to accept failure. It was assumed that a certain number of youths were going to run away from programs, and that others would get into trouble. (SVR 7)

* The average length of stay in the state training school is four months in this particular state.

It is recognized by the staff and juvenile justice personnel associated with this program that failure might indicate the particular program is not helping the youth, and perhaps a different type of community-based program is needed.

Availability of community-based programs is one other important factor which may affect the length of time a youth spends in the program, and whether s/he is incarcerated as a consequence of failure, or moved to another program. Though hard evidence was difficult to obtain, it does appear that where community-based programs are in wide use relative to incarceration, there is a greater tendency to use community-based programs instead of incarceration. Where the availability of alternative programs is limited, the mere need to place youths somewhere can result in the youth's being incarcerated for lack of another alternative.

The issue becomes more complex from two standpoints: defining the duration of control needed in order for a program's goals to be realized; and judging the seriousness of individual cases which may influence whether program failures should be transferred to a different type of community-based program or be incarcerated. The discretion used to make such decisions is discussed next.

4. Discretion

Discretionary decision-making by program staff was evidenced in two major areas: in the administration of controls and sanctions and in establishing criteria for program success and failure and length of stay. Staff, in most cases, have responsibility for defining unacceptable behavior and deciding the consequences for the youth involved. Such discretionary judgments can have both positive and negative consequences. In one program,

failure to abide by program rules resulted in the loss of points. Some of the program rules include prohibitions against "cursing, inappropriate physical contact (hitting or kissing - the program is co-ed), and being tardy three times." (SVR 6) The research team describes how such behavior is punished:

(The) behavior is punished by "consequences" which range from doing "quack quacks" (walking and quacking like a duck in front of the group) to staying after school.

Until it was recently prohibited by a judge, one result of refusing to take "consequences" in this program was placement in a detention center for a 24-hour cooling-off period (SVR 6).

Particular sanctions can be applied by the staff based upon arbitrary definitions of unacceptable behavior. For example:

One time when I was thirsty I went in the kitchen and took a glass of tea, and when I brought the glass back I lost 200 points for stealing. They said it was supposed to be like home here, so how can that be stealing? (Youth, SVR 2)

The accumulation of a record of poor behavior within another program can result in an increased length of stay or in termination.

Termination is rarely based on any one incident, but is the result of repeated unacceptable behavior such as frequent use of drugs or alcohol, chronic lying, aggressive behavior, sexual acting out, or running away. (SVR 2)

Termination for unacceptable behavior can, as already noted, result in the youth being incarcerated.

The previous examples are not typical of all of the programs that were visited. Some programs appeared to be extremely careful in their discretionary decisions, and made efforts to insure that the administration of sanctions for certain behaviors was not capricious.

A further issue with considerable significance for the operation of community-based and other correctional programs is that in some cases program staff have the authority to define certain types of behavior as delinquent, and then impose sanctions which can increase the degree and duration of control over a youth.

Of equal concern is that in many instances the imposition of sanctions is justified as a form of treatment. This is illustrated by a program which uses peer pressure as a treatment strategy. The research team observed that the treatment was not separated from the imposition of sanctions in the program.

...Since treatment is seen as eliciting conformity to the dominant social values (of the group) any deviation from those values will be dealt with by the group under the guise of treating the individuals' problems...In most cases discipline is limited to restrictions of privileges, or demoting the resident one level. The ultimate sanction is a recommendation for transfer (to the training school). (SVR 9)

It was also found that increasing duration in a program was justified for treatment.

Summary

Community-based and incarcerative programs can be examined along the dimensions of type, degree and duration of control. Each of the types of control exhibited in incarcerative programs such as physical confinement, surveillance, regimentation, and peer pressure, are also the types of controls that are used in community-based programs.

Along the dimensions of degree of control, it appears that some community-based programs can be favorably contrasted with incarcerative programs. This is especially the case with a tracking program which relies

on the constant surveillance characteristic of many training schools, but uses it in a positive way. However, other community-based programs appear to be less concerned with such obtrusive control techniques, and attempt to minimize the degree of control within the program.

In terms of duration of control, there are some indications that community-based programs may be increasing the duration of control over youth by either lengthening the time that a youth spends in a community-based program relative to incarcerative programs, or by increasing the length of stay of youths within incarcerative programs.

Discretion is also an issue which affects the degree and duration of control within community-based programs. Furthermore, treatment decisions can affect the degree and duration of control within programs.

As a final important note, information gathered during the field research did not find a notable distinction between the kinds of youth placed in programs exhibiting different types, degree, and duration of control.

C. Staff

Program staff are largely responsible for maintaining a balance between a positive environment and the necessary degree of control within a program. Staff background, in all programs, is considered important for relating to the youths. The apparent trend in many programs is toward a staff comprised of ex-offenders, former program graduates, and persons who have grown up in, or experienced, an environment similar to that of the youths with whom they work. The director of one program comments about her staff:

Their strengths lie in the experiences they have had. E. used to be a drug addict. She is funded through the city of Puritantown so we don't have to pay her. R. grew up in the Projects and her mother walked out on her when she was 16. All the counselors are active community residents, and most of them have some background in working either as foster care parents or running a group home. (SVR 4)

Staff in another community-based program were described in the following manner by the research team:

Thoreau has 24 staff members most of them graduates of this or another therapeutic community. They are generally young, and having come from a therapeutic community themselves, are very much in tune with the residents. (SVR 8)

The majority of programs examined use a paraprofessional staff instead of professionally trained social workers. A program operated by the public defender's office believes that using ex-offenders is crucial to a successful program. The chief public defender stated that:

For many reasons, using the ex-offender as a correctional agent often provides advantages over the usual middle class white social worker. Because the ex-offender himself has experienced the whole process of arrest, trial, conviction, incarceration, release, and subsequent job hunt, he is in a unique position to understand the client.* (SVR 12)

The primary requirement for staff in another program is that they be "street wise" and be able to relate to the youths on their own turf and not be conned by them (SVR 7).

The practice of using paraprofessional staff instead of professional social workers is not without controversy. In one community-based alternative program, the fact that staff had not received social work training

* See program description, SVR 12, in Chapter VI.

with more traditional agencies caused some juvenile justice personnel to view the program's staff as less competent than probation officers, or as "less than professionals" (SVR 3).^{*} However, in this program as well as in others with similar type staff, it is strongly believed that there is no substitute for on-the-job training, and practical experience.

In a similar context, two programs placed great emphasis on professionally trained staff. In these programs the staff, or teaching parents have degrees or are working for masters in such fields as educational psychology and social work. Furthermore, the staff receives intensive job training in the form of classroom instruction, workshops and trainee periods in programs where they are observed and graded according to their performance (SVR 10). These programs tended to be very structured in their approach toward youth.

One element common to all of the programs encountered was the high level of staff commitment to the program and the youths. It is apparent that working in community-based programs demands an extraordinary amount of time and energy. In some residential programs staff appear to be working constantly with the youth, responding to crisis and counseling as well as working with more mundane day-to-day issues. The nonresidential programs are notable in that staff are on call 24 hours a day. The staff in these programs feel that their ability to provide services for youths depends on "our being there when they need us, no matter what time of the day or night it is." (SVR 7) It was anticipated that "burning out" by staff would be a problem; this did not turn out to be the case. Only once was it cited as a problem in respect to staff commitment. In the majority of programs a generally favorable impression was gained of staff-youth relationships. These relationships appeared to combine an empathetic regard for the youth

* See Chapter VI for program description.

with a realistic, and disciplined approach. Perhaps one of the best indications of the kind of relationships that staff are able to maintain comes from observations made by a youth:

They got a lot of really funky programs in DYS and really stupid shit people doing it for money, but people here aren't into that, you can tell...you know they want to help you out - like my counselor came to court with me and he was sick and everything and there wasn't anything he could really do, but he came anyway because that's the kind of guy he is. (SVR 7)

The program balances a high degree of control over the youth's daily activities with a caring approach toward the youth.

Other programs were apparently less successful in this respect. The research team gathered impressions from one youth who did not feel the staff was helping her.

This place isn't doing me any good. Everything they are teaching me I already know...I have a lot of hangups, but I'm not going to talk to a counselor here because it is too personal. I wanted to see a psychiatrist instead of coming here...(my counselor) just can't take criticism. I'm supposed to be learning to take criticism and she can't take any criticism at all. (SVR 2)

The intangible balance between caring and control that is maintained by staff appears to have an important effect upon the youth's view of his or her experience in the program. In many instances this determines whether a youth feels s/he is being helped by a program, or whether the program is seen as a controlling experience only.

SECTION THREE: FACTORS EXTRINSIC TO COMMUNITY-BASED ALTERNATIVES

In this section, two major organizational factors extrinsic to program operation will be discussed: Single program strategies versus program network strategies, and funding. A third important factor, the political context of community-based programs, concludes the section.

A. Individual Programs Versus Network Strategies

In nine of the twelve site visits the individual community-based program operates in isolation. While individual programs may use different treatment strategies within the program itself, other community-based programs are not considered to be necessarily relevant to this process.

The single program method of intervention can best be understood when contrasted with the network strategy of intervention. Only in three of the twelve visits was the network strategy evidenced. Programs existing as part of a wider strategy sequentially or simultaneously bring several services to bear on the individual youth. One program serves as a network in itself (SVR 3).^{*} This program operates as a brokerage agency and uses the network strategy to offer "widely varying alternative settings...from minimal supervision by a voluntary advocate while the (youth) lives at home, to extended psychiatric treatment in private hospitals, or six weeks of wilderness survival training" (SVR 3). For example, the network strategy can link programs in sequence so that a youth may undergo six weeks of treatment in a psychiatric hospital, followed by residence in a group home, and then return to his own home and be under the supervision of a community advocacy program.

^{*} See program description in Chapter VI.

The network strategy can be used when a youth is unable to make it in one program, as one site visit illustrated:

If the situation has deteriorated...it is up to NIP and DYS to determine whether the youth should be continued in NIP, put in another program, or sent to a residential program for three to six months and then reinstated in NIP. (SVR 7)

The context within which NIP operates illustrates its place within the network of programs operated by DYS.

Region 4, which Sausberg NIP serves, has access to various non-secure residential programs and foster homes both in and out of the region, as well as to other agencies providing specific services such as community mental health. NIP in Sausberg and its satellite office in Clothville are the only non-residential programs in the region outside DYS parole services. In addition, Region 4 is allotted four slots in Secure Care programs throughout the state. (SVR 7)

The network strategy provides a different way of looking at how community-based programs might be used as alternatives to incarceration. Viewing programs as part of an overall strategy gives greater depth and flexibility to the notion of providing alternatives to incarceration.

B. Funding

A number of important issues were recognized as having a bearing on the funding of community-based programs:

- (1) Public versus private operation of programs
- (2) Monitoring
- (3) Status offender legislation
- (4) Program costs.

1. Public versus Private

Issues arise out of the differences between programs operated by public agencies and programs whose services are purchased by the state, operated by private agencies. Privately operated programs appear to provide a certain flexibility lacking in publicly operated programs. This flexibility is particularly apparent in their ability to maintain staff on rigorous and unorthodox schedules; staff who in effect "live their jobs" is a common feature. For example, the live-in counselors seem to be the mainstay of one residential program. The head counselor lives at the program, having a room on the top floor by the upper dorm. He conducts the nightly group sessions upstairs and is considered to be aware of the general atmosphere of the program. This living arrangement enables him to establish stronger relationships with the youth (SVR 1).

Another area in which a privately operated program is seen as advantageous is when it is associated with a well-respected local organization. Being associated with the local YMCA enabled one program to become established and maintain considerable community support. The research team comments that:

The respectability and trust shown the YMCA by all organizations is evident in their (the program's) informal, unwritten working relationships and understandings. (SVR 1)

The fact that a private agency already has roots in the community appeared, in this case, to have a positive effect on the ability to run programs for youth.*

* In contrast, in another site visit one of the apparent disadvantages of state operated programs is the difficulty they have in eliciting community involvement. It seemed that communities felt little more than an abstract connection with state operated programs; such programs were seen as being the responsibility of the state (SVR 9).

Personnel in one state juvenile correctional agency feel very positive about the system of contracting with private groups rather than providing services themselves. They stated the following as advantages of that system:

- (a) It allows more innovation. Any program which is run by a governmental agency takes forever to get started because of bureaucratic red tape - funds are always a problem and political intrigue invariably comes into play. The private sector, in addition, has more resources available.
- (b) Programs can hire and fire on the basis of personnel's abilities to do the work. Programs run by the state have to involve Civil Service which often means that people who are not really fit for jobs have to be hired, and once hired it is nearly impossible to get rid of them.
- (c) Programs which don't work can be scrapped or changed easily, DYS can simply not renew the contract. This is not so easy with public programs which often go on - effective or not - for years.

There are also some disadvantages of the public-private liaison. A juvenile justice official in one state pointed out that one disadvantage of purchasing services from privately operated programs is that well-established private programs can wield considerable power over youth placement and program development (SVR 4). The official felt that private agencies can become as fossilized and resistant to change as large public bureaucracies.

The reliance of private agencies on other funding sources can have direct ramifications for the youth in the program. One program, which depends upon the state-operated Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, had to deal with an issue which illustrates a problem resulting from such dependence. DVR's orientation is toward vocational training and employment. Their funding guidelines state that youth must be of legal age to drop out of school in order to attend training courses. It is also a requirement

that boys entering the program be diagnosed as mentally disabled by a psychiatrist in order to qualify for DVR funding under their "behavioral disorder" provision. The possible negative effect of such labeling of youth was raised with program staff, since every boy entering the program is classified as "mentally disabled" as a matter of course. Though a psychiatrist, who diagnosed the youth, expressed severe reservations regarding the labeling process, program staff felt that it was justified in order to acquire adequate funding for the program.

Another important issue arises when programs receive funding from sources other than state agencies. In one case, a program was compelled to make either substantive changes in programmatic content, or in their intake policies, as a result of the funding agency's demands. A change in philosophy of the parent funding combined with the end of LEAA funding forced this program to accept different youth. The research team observed that:

Changes in the target population from the present hard-core delinquent to less serious offenders, possibly decreasing the number referred from the state institution, may be imposed by the parent organization. (SVR 5)

This problem is obviated in a state which operates its own programs. Officials in this state feel that state-operated programs provide the stability inherently lacking in many programs which depend on uncertain, year-to-year funding arrangements (SVR 9).

2. Monitoring

Monitoring of private agency programs appears to be either limited or non-existent. One state agency which has the task of monitoring over 200 community-based programs admits that it has a major task to insure adequate quality control (SVR 4).

The general lack of monitoring of privately run programs is highlighted by one community-based program which has a staff of six full-time employees, a budget of \$133,000, and only five youth - all from the same family, and three under the age of ten. Though the program was created to serve delinquent youth as an alternative to incarceration, it is presently serving as a residence for youth who are neglected and dependent. Two of the youths, ages 15 and 16, had been living with their grandmother instead of their parents, and the other three siblings did not even know why they had been placed in the program. One of the youths explained the predicament to the research team:

A group home supervisor came after me and my sister at work and she told us we were going to have a meeting, and me and my sister didn't know what it was for so we went and Winny (county welfare supervisor) told us we had to go up there and stay with Peggy. We didn't know why. We had stayed with my grandmother practically all our life and hadn't been in any trouble at all... (SVR 11)

The case presents an extreme but concrete example of the problems that can arise from a lack of monitoring.

Only in one case was there a consistent attempt at monitoring and it was built into the program itself (SVR 3). The service brokering agency divided its staff into two major areas of responsibility: case management, and resource development. The case management staff monitors the progress of youths assigned to the various private agencies from whom services are purchased. In addition, agencies are visited by the resource development team at least once a month. These two sources of information are compiled into one report on the quality of services being rendered by all the service-providing agencies.

Monitoring takes on a different shape in the state-operated programs. One state which operates community-based programs points out the ability to provide uniform services throughout their programs. Close adherence to manuals which spell out guidelines and operating procedures for state programs appears to aid in the maintenance of a relatively consistent level of services (SVR 9).

3. Status Offender Legislation

Status offender legislation is having a profound effect upon traditional funding arrangements. In one state it is no longer possible for non-delinquent youths to be committed to the state agency. The state agency therefore does not fund the placement of these youth in alternative programs. Among the consequences of this new arrangement is that programs are not taking status offenders, and a vacuum has been created around the provision of services for this category of youth. The seriousness of the situation is evidenced by the fact that CHINS (Children in Need of Supervision) youth in this state are now spending up to 45 days in detention while awaiting placement. Also, some youth who were previously being adjudicated as status offenders are now being adjudicated delinquent, so that they can become eligible for funding.

4. Program Costs

A final area related to funding is that of program costs. The wide variety of funding arrangements and the bewildering array of cost accounting formulas and procedures makes it very difficult to obtain reliable information on the cost of running community-based programs. As a result, it is difficult to substantiate cost claims made by programs and thus make a comparative analysis regarding costs of different types of community-based

programs. It is therefore also difficult to make a comparative analysis regarding costs of different types of community-based programs and training schools.

Three points stand out from the information gained concerning the costs of programs. First, with only one exception, the costs quoted by community-based programs were comparatively less than the costs of incarceration quoted by state agencies. The exception was found in the referral agency which places some of its youth in highly expensive intensive care programs. The second point that can be made is that in general, cost information was more easily obtainable from the two state-run programs than from the privately operated programs. Certain programs showed what might be interpreted as an unwillingness to share cost information with the research team. Finally, some programs did not have cost information readily available and were unable to explain precisely how they arrived at their figures. This was particularly the case with one program which receives funding from both state and private sources (SVR 1).

In light of the difficulty of obtaining reliable information concerning program costs, funding agencies would benefit considerably from the development of uniform cost accounting procedures.

C. The Political Context of Community-Based Alternatives to Incarceration

During the field visits, the overall political context of each of the programs was not always apparent. However, there were three significant exceptions to this. The first example concerns the development of an experimental network or strategy program in a major urban area with a high crime

rate (SVR 3).^{*} The development and operation of the program was influenced by the organization of key figures in the field of juvenile justice into a policy board. The board is composed of representatives of the following agencies: juvenile court; department of court services; the youth division of the police department; state child welfare agency; Department of Youth Services; State Parole and Pardon Board; and the state attorney general's office. The policy board was viewed as a major breakthrough in uniting critical agencies in making policy decisions concerning the handling of juvenile offenders. In effect, the policy board provides the mandate for the program's attempts to provide a range of alternative programs for relatively serious offenders who otherwise would have been incarcerated.

The second example comes from a state which has abandoned traditional forms of incarceration in favor of over 200 community-based programs.⁺ This policy has focused attention on the state DYS' plans for those youths who are in need of secure custody. The state has contracted with private agencies for intensive care programs throughout the state, each of which provide secure care for up to twenty youths.[†] Intake is regulated by a quota system which limits to approximately 100 the total number of youths placed in intensive care at any one time. The limited availability of intensive care is a constant source of friction with juvenile justice personnel who feel that more such facilities are needed. The controversy surrounding the intensive care issue illustrates a central question for the

^{*} See discussion in Chapter VI.

⁺ The state is one of the largest states in the U.S.

[†] At the time of the field research report, it was indicated that the largest of these programs containing 35 youth would be closed, and two new programs created to take its place.

development and use of community-based alternatives to incarceration: what types of offenders can be placed in community-based programs, and what types of offenders should be placed in secure settings?

A third state clearly illustrates the politics that surround the fundamental question of how juvenile offenders should be handled. This state has pursued a deliberate strategy of reducing the number of youth within their state training school system through the development of community-based programs (SVR 9). Over a six-year period the number of youth incarcerated was reduced by over 30 percent.* The reforms initially did not generate much controversy. However, by the end of 1973, a battle ensued between those who supported the reforms and those with a more punitive orientation who felt the new emphasis on community-based programs was too soft. Many judges, sheriffs, and newspaper writers attacked the Department of Youth Services for coddling youthful criminals. A balance of power was maintained between the critics and the agency until the retirement from public office of some major supporters of the reform. A reactionary response then began to reverse the reformist trend which had been symbolized, in part, by the use of community-based alternatives to incarceration. From information gained during the field research, it appears that there have been dramatic consequences resulting from the "law and order" reaction. The following figures obtained from the state correctional agency illustrate changes that have occurred from the end of 1974 to midway into 1975.

* The training school population dropped from around 1600 in 1968 to 950 in late 1974.

- (1) Commitments rose from 1.9 percent of those youth initially referred to 4.4 percent, an increase of 132 percent. During the past fiscal year as opposed to the previous fiscal year, the number of commitments went from approximately 2,500 to 4,990.
- (2) Recommitment of aftercare youth (parole commitments) increased from 219 to 395.
- (3) The average length of stay for all training school programs in May, 1975, was 7.4 months. Five months earlier it was 3.4 months.
- (4) The population in the state training schools increased from a low of about 950 to a level of over 1700.

Some correctional observers theorize that if training schools themselves are not closed concurrent with the creation of alternative programs, those incarcerative facilities will continue to be used at or near their full capacity. This appears to have been the case in this state; the development of community-based programs has not resulted in the decarceration of juvenile offenders.

On a broader, more general level, the situation in this state also illustrates the schizophrenic demands of the juvenile justice system. In particular, community-based programs are being established in an atmosphere of attempted balance between the conflicting goals of humane treatment for offenders and demands for a more punitive policy toward juvenile crime.

SECTION FOUR: CONCLUSIONS

This study has assessed the contemporary state of community-based alternatives to incarceration. An attempt has been made to focus upon issues which have relevance for research and policy considerations. In particular, this has included immediate issues concerning the day-to-day operation of community-based programs, and extrinsic factors which place community-based programs within the context of the juvenile justice process. Qualitative data has been obtained using two techniques: 1) a review of the available literature; and 2) field research to cover a range of programs in which interviews were conducted with program participants, and juvenile justice personnel from judges to state administrators.

The program issues examined in the field research have also been raised in the research and other literature concerning the use of community-based programs. Several important findings relative to program operation have been highlighted in this report. These findings require considerably more attention from researchers and administrators alike.

A. Community-basedness

The field research was aided by the conceptual exploration of community-based corrections undertaken by Robert Coates.¹ The findings of this study indicate that programs differ in important respects depending upon the linkages that are developed with the community. The dimensions of extent, quality and frequency of community linkages still require translation into measures which determine the degree to which programs are community-based.

B. Control

In examining community-based programs, an attempt was made to distinguish

between purposes of control and services. The importance of making such a distinction has been made by several researchers and most forcefully in a recently published study by Paul Lerman.² The strong impression gained from the field research in this study is that community-based programs are viewed by juvenile justice personnel primarily in terms of treatment services rather than control. In support of Lerman's findings, it appears that distinctions are rarely made by program personnel or other juvenile justice staff between activities related to the provision of treatment services for youths and those that serve a control purpose. A number of instances were observed during the field research of increased control over youth being justified by a treatment rationale. As Lerman notes:

The issue is not whether, on reasonable grounds, wards should ever be locked up. The issue is whether a correctional agency...can accept the responsibility for depriving youth of rights and privileges - and can then forthrightly address the issues associated with the administration of sanctions. If the conceptual distinction between social control and treatment is not made, then the responsibility of organizing a nonarbitrary administration of sanctions is not likely to occur.³

C. Discretion

Again the findings of this study tend to support Lerman's conclusion that the wide use of discretion by program personnel results in ad hoc policy-making which has direct consequences for youths in programs.⁴ Some of the consequences of discretionary decision-making observed during the field research included increased duration and degree of control over youths in programs for arbitrary purposes. Specific examples were found of youths being incarcerated because of program failure not because they had committed another delinquent offense.

Another study which has examined the effects of discretionary decision-making found that the development of special juvenile delinquency police units

was associated with higher rates of juvenile delinquency.⁵ The fact that juvenile justice personnel exercise enormous discretion in making diversion decisions was highlighted in a study by Cressey and McDermott.⁶ Yet policies and litigation attempting to reduce the use of arbitrary and capricious discretion have not been common in the juvenile justice field, especially compared to efforts being made in this regard in adult corrections. The few efforts in this area of juvenile justice have been almost entirely concerned with institutional and not community settings. This study's field research strongly supports the importance of developing more precise conceptions of fairness and justice; policies which place parameters around the use of discretion in programs; and the monitoring and evaluation of programs in these terms.

D. Costs

This research effort experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining reliable cost information on programs. Fiscal data is generally not recorded in a manner which allows for a careful analysis of program costs. The cost issue is receiving attention from the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections; hopefully the methodology developed during the course of that study will aid in the development of more sophisticated cost accounting measures. The NAJC researchers have reported that states spend considerably less on community-based programs than on the operation of institutions, and that average per-offender costs were less than half the average institutionalized cost.⁷

Careful accounting of fiscal costs is important at both the individual program level and with respect to their impact on policy decisions. Paul Lerman's reanalysis of the fiscal impact of probation subsidy in California

provides an important warning that there may be unanticipated and unmeasured fiscal costs resulting from policy decisions.⁸

E. Recidivism

Most research efforts in both juvenile and adult corrections have centered upon attempts to measure programs in terms of their impact upon recidivism. The accumulated research has underlined that there is little empirical evidence to support the view that community-based programs are more successful in this regard than incarceration. Comprehensive surveys of the research literature, most recently by Martinson, show that such alternative programs are no less successful than incarcerative programs.⁹ Even if it is not possible to demonstrate that alternative programs are more effective in reducing crime, it is necessary to show that the public is not being exposed to greater danger as a consequence of their operation. Measures of recidivism are clearly important, but they should not be used as the sole determinants of correctional policy.

F. The Central Policy Issue

This study has been concerned both with issues that arise in viewing an individual program and in the broader context of which programs are a part. Reference has been made to the important work being undertaken at the Harvard Law School's Center for Criminal Justice in this regard. The Center's researchers have made a distinction between programs and the strategies that they might be said to represent. This model allows for the state of flux which characterizes individual programs, and for the possibility that youths may be associated with more than one program, either simultaneously or sequentially. The Harvard study is unique in addressing both linkages between programs, and the relationship of a range of programs to wider strategies for change.¹⁰

The role that community-based programs are playing as a strategy to provide alternatives to incarceration has been a central issue addressed by this report. The main question is whether community-based programs are in fact serving to replace or to supplement juvenile incarceration. In the majority of cases, the findings of the field research strongly indicate that community-based programs appear to be serving a supplementary rather than an alternative role. This is in concert with recently published findings of the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections which has addressed the same issue. The University of Michigan researchers state:

The development of community corrections is not associated with reduced rates of institutional incarceration. States that place more offenders in community-based programs do not place fewer in training schools although there are several exceptions. In general as the number of offenders in community-based facilities increases, the total number of youth incarcerated increases. ¹¹

In eight of the twelve site visits conducted by this project, community-based programs were found to be dealing with shallow end offenders who in all likelihood would not have been incarcerated had a community-based program not been available. It appears that the use of community-based programs for shallow end offenders neither limits the penetration of youth into incarcerative programs, or reduces the level of incarceration. In this regard, an important research question to be asked is: to what extent does the development of community-based programs lead to a widening of the juvenile justice net?

Although this study did encounter instances of community-based programs being used for deep end offenders as part of a strategy to reduce the number of incarcerated youth, such programs were the exception.

Given the policy directions set by the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, and by a series of national commissions in favor of reducing the level of incarceration and the overall extent of control in the

juvenile justice process, there remains a critical policy decision that must be made with respect to the funding and use of community-based alternatives to incarceration. This policy decision revolves around a fundamental question: should community-based programs be tied to a policy of decarceration? This study has underlined the importance of making an explicit policy decision, rather than allowing policies to develop through default which often result in a series of unanticipated or undesired consequences. The present community-based programs might well become significant in providing alternatives to incarceration but this is generally not the case at present. If such programs are to serve that purpose explicit policy decisions are required and the implementation of these decisions must be closely monitored.

NOTES

- 1 Robert B. Coates, "A Working Paper on Community-Based Corrections: Concept, Historical Development, Impact and Potential Dangers" (Harvard Law School: Center for Criminal Justice, 1974). Unpublished paper.
- 2 Paul Lerman, Community Treatment and Social Control (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).
- 3 Ibid., pp. 83-84.
- 4 Ibid., pp. 79-90.
- 5 James Q. Wilson, "The Police and the Delinquent in Two Cities," ed. Stanton Wheeler, Controlling Delinquents (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1968), p. 28.
- 6 Donald R. Cresse and Robert A. McDermott, Diversion From the Juvenile Justice System, National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, 1973).
- 7 Rosemary Sarri and Elaine Selo, "Some Selected Findings from the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections." Paper presented at the American Correctional Association, Nashville, Tennessee, August, 1975.
- 8 Lerman, op. cit., pp. 157-187.
- 9 Douglas Lipton, Robert Martinson and Judith Wilks, The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment: A Survey of Treatment Studies (New York: Praeger Publications, 1975), p. 247.
- 10 Robert B. Coates and Alden D. Miller, "Evaluating Large Scale Social Service Systems in Changing Environments: The Case of Correctional Agencies" (Harvard Law School: Center for Criminal Justice, undated). Unpublished paper.
- 11 Rosemary Sarri and Elaine Selo, loc. cit.

APPENDIX A:

ALTERNATIVES TO INCARCERATION SITE VISIT SUMMARIES

Site Visit Report 1: PROGRAM #1

Program #1 is a residential facility that utilizes a point-system as the basic tool for controlling client behavior. Criteria for acceptance into the program are: "Mature and responsible behavior, ability to function in a relatively unstructured environment and the initiative to do things on his own." Clients range between the ages of 16 and 18 because the funding source, Division of Vocational Rehabilitation (DVR), will not fund any other age group. Offenses are either truancy, curfew, etc., or minor burglaries. No violent or "dangerous" youth are acceptable. All clients enter the program on probation with successful completion of the program a condition of their probation. This program is intended to serve as an alternative to incarceration throughout the state but it does not appear to receive many referrals from outside the immediate area.

The program is funded through the DVR (80 percent) and the city's YMCA (20 percent). With the exception of the cook, all staff are undergraduate or graduate students - either ordained or about to be ordained ministers.

It is located in a southern city with a population slightly less than 200,000, 20 percent of which are black. Crime and unemployment rates reflect the national picture.

Site Visit Report 2: GIRLS GROUP HOME

The Girls Group Home is in the former county home for unwed mothers. All of the clients are diagnosed as "non-violent" by a psychologist and attend school and/or work in the community. The girls are between the ages of 14 and 17, and most are status offenders (incorrigibility, truancy, and running away). There is a small percentage of girls petitioned in court by social service agencies as this was the only way to obtain services for them. Referrals are from the juvenile court. Most of the girls come from family situations where severe conflict exists between the parents and themselves.

The program goals, through use of a point system and reality therapy, are to teach the girls how to function in the adult world. The girls are supposed to learn to take responsibility for their actions and make their own decisions, but the way the program is set up, there are very real limitations on their input into actual decision-making.

The program is one of eight similar residential alternatives to the state training school and is funded by LEAA with future plans to have the state pay per diem costs. It is located in a southern port city of 310,000 with a minority population of 30 percent (mostly black).

Site Visit Report 3: MULTIPLE SERVICES AGENCY (MSA)

MSA purchases services from private agencies for youths on probation referred from the county juvenile court and for youths on parole from the Department of Youth Services (DYS). Funded by LEAA, the purpose of MSA is to provide various alternative settings for the youths in lieu of incarceration in a DYS operated institution. The criteria for admission to the program is that the youths must have at least four recorded police contacts including two delinquency petitions; must have committed an offense which would result in commitment to the DYS; or must have been adjudicated delinquent or in violation of probation and would be committed to the DYS if not referred to MSA. It has a maximum capacity of 400 youths per year who receive services for a maximum of six months each. Services vary, including supervision by volunteer advocates, hospitalized psychiatric treatment, and wilderness survival training.

The program serves youth from a county which includes a major city and has a total population of over five and one-half million. The crime rate in both the county and the city are well above the national average. Although minorities make up less than 25 percent of the population, over 70 percent of the youths committed to the DYS are members of a minority group. MSA attempts to maintain the same ethnic proportions as the population committed to the DYS; the program also accepts all adjudicated girls.

Site Visit Report 4: GIRLSTOWN

Located in a state with a fairly extensive network of alternative programs for male juveniles, Girlstown is one of a few such programs for female juvenile offenders. It is a non-residential counseling program that accepts both status offenders and delinquents between 12 and 17 years old. Most have backgrounds of truancy and running away, most come from large families (many of whom are on welfare), and some have previous drug abuse offenses. Delinquents are referred to the program from DYS; fewer CHINS (status offenders) are referred by the court as DYS no longer pays for their placement (initially the program was geared mainly to status offenders).

Treatment is limited to informal counseling, field trips and crisis intervention on a 24-hour basis. Staff attempt to show their clients how to use any and all community service agencies that are available, and intervene on the part of the client in family disputes.

The program receives per diem payment from DYS. It is located in a lower middle class community that is adjacent to a large eastern city. It is a densely populated community of 85,000 of which 98 percent are white.

Site Visit Report 5: THE SURVIVAL CLUB, INC.

The Survival Club, Incorporated juvenile program is a halfway house providing residential aftercare for male juvenile offenders. Run primarily by adult ex-offenders, funding comes from LEAA, the county probation department and the State Youth Bureau, which administers the state training schools for juveniles. Clients, who are referred from the county probation department and state training schools, must be 16 to 18 and on either probation or parole. Survival Club has a maximum capacity of 15 clients. Boys in the program are considered to be "hard to place" or "hard core," having generally committed violent crimes against people. The treatment philosophy is one of rehabilitation, utilizing "empathy" and "identification" along with various counseling techniques such as reality therapy, behavior modification, self-actualization, value orientation, and comprehensive evaluation. The program also draws on the external resources of many state and local service organizations.

Located in a southern city with a population of 1.5 million, The Survival Club, Inc. occupies a refurbished mansion in an older, racially mixed neighborhood. The city itself is densely populated and currently experiencing rapid industrial growth. Minority people represent one third of the population, 20 percent black and 12 percent Spanish-speaking Americans. The program at the time of the visit has 13 residents, 8 blacks, 3 Spanish-speaking Americans, and 2 whites.

Site Visit Report 6:

METROPOLITAN EDUCATION AND TREATMENT FOR REHABILITATION OFFENDERS (METRO)

METRO is a non-residential program which provides juveniles on probation with remedial education. The goal of METRO is to return the youths to public schools at a grade level commensurate with their chronological age. Youths are referred by the probation department after adjudication. Screening is conducted before referral to insure that youths are of average intelligence and are not "violent or aggressive types." Youths have committed offenses ranging from truancy to assault with a deadly weapon. METRO serves as an alternative to commitment to the state training schools. Clients are youths from lower and lower middle class families and boys outnumber girls two to one. The program serves a maximum of 15 juveniles at one time, of whom approximately half are white and half black; this is not a result of program policy but rather depends upon which juveniles need the program services at the time of referral. Funding is obtained through grants from LEAA and CETA.

METRO is located in a southern city of about 70,000 people with a black population of 27 percent.

Site Visit Report 7: NEIGHBORHOOD INVOLVEMENT PROGRAM (NIP)

NIP is a program which provides support services and supervision to adjudicated youths. Located in a state which recently closed down its large incarcerative facilities for juveniles, NIP is a non-residential alternative to incarceration for youths committed to the DYS. The youths are from 12 to 17 years old and have generally been in and out of court, on probation, and in various programs prior to their involvement in NIP. Their offenses include car theft, breaking and entering, assault, as well as any misdemeanor. NIP is part of a private, non-profit organization which receives payment from the DYS for its services. The program provides a wide range of services: informal street counseling, youth advocacy, and enrollment in school or work programs. The average length of stay with the program is six months.

NIP is run out of an old store front in an old industrial eastern city of 180,000 people.

Site Visit Report 8: THOREAU HOUSE

Thoreau House is a co-educational, modified therapeutic community which houses and treats juveniles and adults with drug-related offenses. The program owns 3 homes in residential areas, each functioning as a separate phase of the treatment: a therapeutic community, pre-reentry, and reentry. Only 6 of the 73 residents were juveniles at the time of the site visit, and most had had extensive experience with institutionalization ranging from orphanages to drug programs, detention centers and juvenile hall. There are no specific criteria for acceptance besides drug-related offenses. Both sexes (homosexuals are also accepted) and all races, socio-economic statuses and all offenses are included in the client population. Referrals came from the 5 local county probation offices though some clients are from more distant parts of the state.

The program obtains funding through the National Institute of Mental Health, and the National Institute of Drug Abuse on a per diem/per client basis. Most of the staff are either graduates of this program or another one similar to it. Thoreau House was founded in 1969 by an ex-addict and a young executive at a pharmaceutical company. Since then it has abandoned most of the de-humanizing aspects of traditional therapeutic communities due to inherent problems in such a treatment program which included the necessity for a certain degree of coercion, the high failure rate, and the inability of T.C. graduates to function in a non-T.C. setting.

This program is located in a large coastal city with a population of 700,000 and an unemployment rate of 10 percent. Two of the 3 facilities are old 4-5 story mansions, the third a series of large apartments. All are located in residential areas of the city.

Site Visit Report 9: PROCESS VISIT TO REDVILLE

The site visit to Redville was made in order to investigate alternative programs within the context of a centralized state juvenile corrections system. A reform movement which began in 1968, intended to set up a state-run network of community-based residential programs as alternatives to commitment to a state training school. After initially reducing the length of stay for youths in the state training schools, the state agency's policy was modified and the length of stay in a training school increased. There are now about the same number of youths incarcerated as there were at the time the reforms were instituted. The following three summaries are of state-run group homes, the main resource for alternative placements within the state.

NOLTON HOUSE

Nolton House is a residential program which serves as an alternative to the state training school for 25 percent of its clients and as an after-care facility to 75 percent of its clients (transferred from the state training schools). Funded by the state, it was the first community-based residential facility in the state. There are now 28 similar programs. Nolton House has a capacity of 25 boys between the ages of 15 and 17 but often operates at two or three youths over the capacity. The majority of the youths are first commitments to the Department of Youth Services for breaking and entering, auto theft, drug abuse, and robbery. Though this is supposed to be a community-based program, 60 percent of the youths come from outside of the Redville area. Although 33 percent of the program's clients are members of a minority, which is greater than the percentage of minorities in the city, it is well under the 60 percent minority population in the state training schools.

The treatment method consists of reality therapy and guided group interaction. It is felt that a group-oriented process is best suited to achieve the goals of rehabilitation and reintegration. Successful reintegration is hampered by the fact that the client's own community and family are often a great distance from the physical setting of the program.

Redville is a small metropolitan area of 103,000 people of which approximately 24 percent are minorities. It is the state capital, has an unemployment rate of just over 7 percent, and the average household income is \$12,648.

THE JOE BLOW FAMILY GROUP HOME

This is a private home that provides housing for six black male youths between 9 and 13 years old. Since it is a state DYS policy to place those juveniles who are most likely to return home in a group or foster home setting, the clients are considered "one-way kids." Two of the youths had been adjudicated delinquent and were committed to DYS; four were status offenders who had been declared dependent-neglected at the time of the site visit. The average length of stay is six months. Treatment is in the form of nightly GGI sessions with a DYS counselor. Otherwise, the clients are treated as if they were a part of the family. Per diem costs are paid by DYS; the Blows do not receive any salary. This program is also located in Redville.

NEWTON COUNTY GIRLS PROGRAM

This is a residential program that houses up to 20 girls, 12-18 years old. Initially most of the clients were runaways or up on charges of having

violated probation. Due to state legislation barring DYS commitment of status offenders, clients now have been adjudicated delinquent for breaking and entering, assault, shoplifting, and disorderly conduct. They must all be on first commitment to DYS. They remain in the program from 3 to 6 months and can expect to be on 6 months of probation following their release. Group counseling and a point system are utilized to teach the girls how to become responsible members of the community. The major goals are socialization and reintegration with a secondary emphasis on education. Some responsibility for house rules is given to the staff but this appears to be limited.

Site Visit Report 10: ACHIEVEMENT MODEL I

Two group homes were studied during this site visit. They are both replicas of the original Achievement Place started in Lawrence, Kansas in 1967. They accept boys from the ages of 12 to 16 years referred to the program from the juvenile court. Generally the clients had been adjudicated delinquent or dependent-neglected for status offenses. Most were from white, middle-class families residing in the two suburban communities in which the group homes were located. Juveniles who have committed serious violent offenses, been adjudicated for drug abuse, have a serious physical disability or who have a chronic history of running away are not accepted in either of these programs.

Staff are trained by the Achievement Place workshop program and use an extensive point system, a behavioral skill training curriculum, and a type of self-government system. The treatment plan assumes that after acquiring certain social, academic, pre-vocational and self-care skills, the youths will be able to successfully return to their homes and schools.

Site Visit Report 11: THE GREEN PINE GROUP HOME

There are 3 homes located on the Green Pine Indian Reservation which provide residential and counseling services to native Americans who have been adjudicated dependent-neglected or delinquent. Referrals to the program come from the county juvenile court and the welfare department. They have a capacity for 16 clients but since the beginning of operations in June, 1975, only 5 juveniles have been referred. Although the clients are supposed to be active in community programs, it seems that few, if any, contacts are actually established and operationalized. The program is staffed by 2 house parents in each home.

The program was a response to the failure of off-reservation placements which removed the youths from their community, family, and friends. Until 1972, a church operated a residential facility on the reservation. At this time, the 3 homes were purchased and they opened their doors in 1975 with funding from LEAA.

The total population of the reservation is 720 people, 85 percent of whom reside in the town of Green Pine. About 68.5 percent of the families are under some type of state or federal welfare program. The average per capita income for the county in which the reservation is located is \$2,310.

Site Visit Report 12: PROCESS VISIT TO NEEDLEVILLE

This visit investigated the overall juvenile justice process in Needleville and included a study of diversion programs in addition to alternatives to incarceration. The trend in this city seems to be toward an increasing emphasis on sanctioning rather than treating juvenile offenders, particularly in the pre-adjudicatory stages of the process. The following is a summary of one program that appears unique in the light of the previous eleven site visits.

THE PUBLIC DEFENDER'S COUNSELING PROGRAM

The Public Defender's Counseling Program is a dispositional advocacy project that provides services to all youth from the preliminary through dispositional hearing. The staff are all ex-convicts who work as counselors to recommend alternatives to traditional dispositions. The clients are generally between the ages of 14 and 17; 300 were provided with services during 1974.

Funding has been through the public defender's budget, Program for Local Services, LEAA, CETA and the Community Youth Action Council. There have been times when the counselors must volunteer their services as funding has been fairly uneven. The PDCP is located in Needleville, a city of 750,000. The county contains approximately one-third of the state population and accounts for 43 percent of all the property crimes and 47 percent of all violent crimes for the state.

APPENDIX B:
RESEARCH DESIGN ISSUES

By
Robert Eyestone

The assistance of Dr. David A. Ward, in the preparation of the final paper, is greatly appreciated.

A. Dimensions of Alternatives to Incarceration Programs

The research for this project revealed substantial variation among alternatives to incarceration programs along several dimensions. Briefly, the most important of these were:

- (1) control: programs varied in the amount of control they exercised, and in whether control was regarded as a matter of surveillance or as part of treatment;
- (2) services: programs varied in the number and kinds of services provided, and whether the services were provided on the program site, in the local community, or in the juvenile justice system;
- (3) replacement/supplement: programs varied in intent. Some appeared to be replacing formal incarceration and some appeared to be supplementing it. This distinction was not always seen or expressed by operating staff.

These variations create substantial ambiguity in the meaning of the phrase "community-based alternatives to incarceration." A possible interpretation of the variations would be that the rising popularity of the concept of alternatives to incarceration has encouraged a number of experimental efforts which have extended the original intent. Further, it is not necessary, or even wise, at this point in the development of alternatives to try to resolve definitional ambiguities and impose a new orthodoxy on alternative programs. Alternative programs may be asked to do different things in different communities, depending on the nature of juvenile problems in the community and its response to these problems. The numbers and variety of juvenile offenses as well as local community response will differ when urban and rural counties in the same state are compared.

Given these considerations, questions of control, service provision and the functions of alternative programs in the overall juvenile justice system may be regarded not as troublesome ambiguities to be resolved at

the national level, but rather as policy choices to be made on an experimental basis by states or by local communities.

But even though much of the variation found in the projects' survey of operating alternative programs represents a legitimate effort to apply the concept to differing local conditions, several important research problems stand out. These problems can best be introduced by a brief description of types of alternative programs actually observed in the field. Within the strictly programmatic elements of control and services, four types of program, each with distinctive purposes, can be identified (Figure 1).

Figure 1 is presented only as an analytic aid. In the field these distinctions are often difficult to make. The problem of comparability of services is always present, and often programs do not provide the services that they promise. So as a bare minimum, monitoring of the program actually being offered to each client is essential. The question of control is more difficult, since certain measures of client control (those used in behavior modification programs, for example) are customarily viewed as part of "treatment" and not merely control of clients. Therefore monitoring should be organized or at least reviewed by someone other than operating program personnel in order to mitigate or avoid a self-serving perspective.

The addition of types of offender or offenses to the program types already presented offers a set of anticipated outcomes for alternative programs (Figure 2). From these outcomes it should, in theory, be possible to construct evaluation designs appropriate to each situation. But several barriers arise at this point. For one thing, the analytic and operating perspectives are quite different. Operating personnel may know whether their program contains first or minor offenders, or repeat or serious

Figure 1

Analytic classification of "community-based alternative" programs.

	high emphasis on services	low emphasis on services
more control (whether or not also viewed as treatment)	"child saving"	custodial
less control	re-integrative	minimal effort alternative - administrative convenience?

Figure 2

Anticipated effects of different "community-based alternatives."

used mainly for repeat offenders or serious crimes used mainly for first offenders or minor crimes

high control,
high services

high control,
low services

low control,
high services

low control,
low services

child saving?	child saving
humane custody	humane custody - crime control reaction?
re-integration?	re-integration
no effect, other than cost minimizing	no effect, other than cost minimizing

juvenile criminals, but they may not be able to draw any conclusions about the primary function of their program - does it replace or supplement incarceration?

Second, and more important, staff of alternative programs usually cannot control the type of offenders referred to their organization. An alternative to incarceration program may be frustrated in the intentions of its staff by receiving types of clients it considers inappropriate for the program. The site visit evidence suggests that an alternative program operating at the deep end (such as for felony cases destined for a state training school) tends to replace incarceration, while a shallow end alternative program (such as one intended for minor offenders) only supplements incarceration. But it appears that only the exceptional alternative program receives the type of client that would justify evaluating the program solely against the aims expressed by its staff.

To review the argument so far: there are a number of difficulties in evaluation at the program level. One is that the kinds of alternative programs offered in a juvenile justice system are themselves policy choices, and are not amenable to evaluation at the program level.¹ A further difficulty is that the vested interests and understandable biases of operating program personnel undercut their ability to evaluate their own programs.

The further research needed in alternatives to incarceration can best be conducted at the state level, although it may also be carried out by a county or large municipality in which several distinct alternative programs have been established. The basic research strategy outlined here relies upon systematic comparisons among alternative programs with

reference to common goals or expected outcomes. From such comparisons, conclusions may be drawn about the preferred form of alternative program to achieve the intended goals of the programs.

Alternatives to incarceration for juveniles are classified using three basic parameters. While individual program personnel may not clearly see where their program fits into this overall scheme, or be able to control (and hence vary) these parameters, both understanding and manipulation of one or more parameters are possible at the state level. If a sufficiently large number of distinct programs are available, the "natural" variation among programs can be a research tool without the need to change any operating program experimentally, thereby reducing research costs and minimizing the disruptive effects of research on operating programs.

B. Research Efforts Conducted at the State Level

Evaluation of alternative programs should begin with state policy decisions about the kinds of alternatives to incarceration that will be funded within the state. These policies should be articulated in terms of both expected results (goals) and selection of techniques to achieve these results (means). The research design may thus call for an evaluation of the effectiveness of different means to a common goal, or of similar means to a common goal applied to different client groups, or of similar means directed toward differing goals.

Some of the anticipated linkages between means and goals can be derived analytically (see Figure 3), but some of the goals established by given programs will be the result of political decisions. In other words, states make policy decisions about accountability in juvenile justice programs whenever they include or exclude evaluative criteria (goals)

Figure 3

Evaluative criteria for "community-based alternatives to incarceration."

Program parameters:

Evaluative criteria:

high control, high services.....	improved attitude better post-release adjustment lower recidivism rate better family relations better employment record
high control, low services.....	lower per-client cost greater justice? higher arrest rate?
low control, high services.....	improved attitude better post-release adjustment lower recidivism rate
low control, low services.....	lower per-client cost

which are not linked directly and logically with particular means. For instance, a juvenile justice system voluntarily assumes an extra accountability burden if it promises that its alternative to incarceration will treat juveniles more justly or more humanely than the state training schools do.² In some instances, the connection between a program and the likelihood of further criminal activity is so tenuous that claims of reduced recidivism may also be examples of "volunteered" accountability; state officials often regard recidivism or crime control to be a politically required evaluative outcome criterion.

Three kinds of studies which a state might fund can be described. Each assumes that certain policy decisions have been made regarding the basic purposes of alternatives to juvenile incarceration; each is designed to provide the state planning agency with information useful in further program planning and funding. Research is carried on within the context provided by policy decisions, and policy choices are not themselves questioned.

Study 1: The importance of specific services for subsequent client community "adjustment" and recidivism. In this study it is assumed that alternatives to incarceration are designed to remedy deficiencies that prompt juveniles to turn to delinquent activity. For example, the assumption may be that personal shortcomings can be overcome if the offender gains marketable skills based upon grade achievement and specific job training. In the jargon of evaluation research, the operating goals for this type of alternative to incarceration program would be participation by youth in school or vocational training programs. The instrumental

goal is provision of specific work skills, and the ultimate goals are better post-release adjustment and lower recidivism through regular and more satisfying employment.

Study 1 asks merely whether service "a" is more useful to juveniles than service "b," for example, career counseling in comparison with remedial basic education. Ambiguity in the notion of "usefulness" requires careful attention to evaluative criteria. The program itself must be monitored to see whether it actually does provide the state services, and whether there is substantially more difficulty delivering one or another of the services being studied (the operating goals level). The programs' immediate effects on client skill levels must be measured (instrumental goals) by comparing information gathered on entry into the program with information from the exit interview and tests, where appropriate. Finally, to improve the validity of the comparison of program effects (or to fulfill political demands for accountability), client experiences should be followed up for a minimum of two years after leaving the program and information collected on specific kinds of community adjustment such as school and work and on subsequent criminal activity.³ The state planning agency must clearly state what information is needed and by what criterion "community adjustment" and recidivism are to be judged.

In carrying out this simple comparison of competing services, clients must be separated from each other in the experimental programs and there must be adherence to the original program over the course of the trial period to avoid spurious causal effects.

The other, non-experimental, approach to Study 1 depends on the existence, within a state, of a number of alternative programs offering differing kinds of services to comparable groups of juveniles, and under comparable degrees of control. In effect, this is a "natural" experiment, in which both types of service run simultaneously and can be evaluated at the same time. A state may be fortunate in having such a collection of operating programs, but it is much more likely that it will have a variety of programs providing different services for groups of juveniles also differing in certain systematic ways. Obviously, program professionals will try to fit services to specific client needs, even within a single alternative program.

Researchers faced with this problem must be prepared to do one of three things:

- (a) they can attempt, if enough programs and clients are available, to select appropriate comparison groups by an involved process of sorting through a large number of individual case records;
- (b) they can attempt, after assembling case data, to disentangle the potential multiplicity of causes of post-release adjustment (control, services, type of client, etc.) by multivariate statistical analysis;
- (c) they can, as a last resort, assert that the uncontrolled variations among programs do not seriously effect their conclusions about the impact of differing kinds of services.

These approaches are, however, time consuming and costly.

The important thing to note about experimental, quasi-experimental, and non-experimental research designs, is that they all require, for one reason or another, measurement of the basic parameter variables of control, kinds of services, community-basedness of services, and type of client. In

the experimental design, monitoring of these variable is required to guard against a problem technically called "selection maturation interaction," in which significantly different clients might be referred to the alternative program after it changed its services.⁴ In the non-experimental designs monitoring of the same variable is necessary to select comparison groups (option a) to measure possible alternate causes of observed effects (option b).

Study 2: The importance of control as a program element in alternative programs. Control may be operationally defined as follows:

- amount of client self-direction allowed
- number and kinds of specific liberties and controls on the daily routine
- extent to which activities are organized by group rather than by individuals
- extent of client participation in decisions and program governance
- justice: is there a clear statement of the juvenile's rights and responsibilities to the program?
 - is there a possibility of double jeopardy
 - is there a threat to return the juvenile to incarceration if he fails in the program?
 - is the duration and degree of control in the program less than that under incarceration?
 - is there a right to terminate treatment or participation in the program at any time without prejudice?
 - is there a clear and definite termination to the juvenile's involvement with the program?

This study assumes that the nature and degree of control exercised in an alternative program is an important independent policy variable which can be set by policy makers in the state juvenile justice system. While the degree of control in a program is not a complete specification of the

program's operating characteristics, control may assist or mitigate against the achievement of program goals in either the "child saving" or "alternate custody" forms of alternative programs.

Program staff may argue that the relative absence of control over its clients is an integral feature of an alternative program. A program which emphasizes growth in self-reliance may allow clients to participate in operating the program as well as giving clients freedom in a wide range of personal decisions and actions. These operating goals are based on the assumption that self-reliance is an important factor in post-release adjustment.

To assess the significance of degree of control in an alternative program the research design requires either:

- (a) experimental variation in the type and degree of control within a given program, or
- (b) careful selection of "treatment groups" and "comparison groups" (that is, programs) matched for their program techniques and types of clients, but varying in degree of control exercised over clients.

As in the case of Study 1, the experimental approach is generally the preferred technique. A sample of alternative programs can be required to monitor certain aspects of the conduct of their clients for a time, then change the nature of their program along the control dimension while continuing to monitor the effects of these changes. Major difficulties may arise not so much from the technical details of the research design as from the ability of program staff to change their orientation and procedures quickly. For these reasons it is important to provide continuous monitoring of the various aspects of control; researchers can then measure carefully how much and what kind of control was and is currently being imposed on each client. Researchers must develop a clear set of measurements for control and guard against the inclination of program personnel to describe control as "treatment."

Program services must also be monitored to insure that those actually delivered do not change as the degree of control changes. Similarly, the type of juvenile offender must be monitored to guard against changes in who is referred to a particular program, and also to test the possibility that control may be more critical - useful or detrimental - for some kinds of clients than for others.

If a non-experimental approach is adopted for Study 2, measurement of kinds of services, community-basedness and types of clientele is also necessary. As in Study 1, these measurements are needed to select comparison groups, to allow for multivariate analysis of the case data, or to test the assertion that effects other than those from differing levels of control are random and therefore self-canceling.

The major differences between Study 1 and Study 2 are not in the supposed independent variables, since they must be measured in any case, but in the operational and instrumental program goals. Emphasizing the freedom-control dimension highlights the importance of client attitudes toward the alternative program. The concept of just or fair treatment is also closely related to freedom versus control policy choices, although some states may decide to regard justice as an optional accountability question.⁵

Study 3: The significance for the juvenile justice system of choosing a "deep end" strategy rather than a "shallow end" strategy. This study is appropriate for states which want to use alternative programs to reduce the need for large secure facilities, such as training schools, and to reduce overall system case loads by decreasing recidivism.⁶ The emphasis here is placed on clients and linkages between an alternative program and the rest of the juvenile justice system, and not on specific program content.

The initial step in Study 3 is different from those of Studies 1 and 2. In Study 3, researchers should first seek to describe the relationship between existing alternatives to incarceration and other parts of the juvenile justice system. Specifically, they must determine:

- (a) which clients go to alternative programs - are they typical of all offenders? or how do they differ from juveniles confined in traditional penal institutions?
- (b) when clients are referred to alternative programs do they go before or after some period of incarceration in a traditional penal institution? is there a wait to get into an alternative program? are alternative programs open ended or do they have a definite termination? can clients return to alternative programs voluntarily or involuntarily?
- (c) what are the attitudes of judges and probation officers toward alternative programs? how has the availability of these programs modified the sentencing and revocation practices of judges and probation officers?

The answers to these questions should form a working description of the alternatives system within a state. This working description can aid in analyzing changes in time series of arrest rates, court case loads, numbers of juveniles in alternative settings, and numbers of incarcerated juveniles. Sophisticated techniques are available for time series analysis,⁷ but often the results can be only tentative because of the complexity of the processes under study and the possibility that unknown factors influenced the time series at one point or another.

Knowing how alternatives fit in with the rest of the system helps to raise the plausibility of the time series analysis. For instance, if juveniles must typically spend time in a training school while awaiting an opening in a community-based alternative program, the existence of the alternative would not reduce the size of training school commitments; however, it should reduce the average length of time served and thus the

average daily population of a training school or reformatory. If judges see alternative programs as beneficial to juvenile offenders, the availability of these programs would not necessarily reduce the number of cases referred to the juvenile justice system.

Researchers in Study 3 should be able to compare deep end and shallow end alternative programs. Analysis of time series data will generally not be helpful with this task nor will it often be feasible to match programs or experimentally vary program strategies between deep and shallow ends, since too many other related and confounding variables must be changed at the same time. Researchers will have to return to their working description of the state alternatives system, review and examine the general conclusions of their time series analyses, and draw inferences about the significance of the deep/shallow choice. They will, in effect, be evaluating the state's "natural experiments" in the alternative area, with special reference to problems such as improper choice of clientele, system bottlenecks caused by insufficient numbers of alternative program openings, and counterproductive court attitudes. Their conclusions will thus take the form of "reform" recommendations.

C. Conclusion

These three studies are examples of the kinds of research needed to evaluate current alternative programs and to provide the basis for program improvement and development. They expand upon existing work by broadening the evaluation design to include operating and instrumental goals as well as measures of recidivism. This explicitly focuses on various aspects of process as well as ultimate impact on individual clients.⁸ In addition

to these sorts of data, collection of cost data for all programs surveyed should be gathered. States should establish standard cost accounting procedures for all juvenile institutions, facilities and programs for cost comparisons. Thus if alternatives to incarceration programs or services are not useful, if they do not reduce recidivism rates, it will still be possible to examine the dollar cost of confining juveniles in prisons and in community facilities.⁹

Technical Appendix:

Suggestions for Operationalizing some Basic Concepts in
Community-Based Alternatives to Incarceration

Control:

- amount of client self-direction allowed
- number and kinds of specific liberties and controls on the daily routine
- extent to which activities are organized by group rather than by individuals
- extent of client participation in decisions and program governance
- justice: is there a clear statement of the juvenile's rights and responsibilities to the program?
 - is there a possibility of double jeopardy
 - is there a threat to return the juvenile to incarceration if he fails in the program?
 - is the duration and degree of control in the program less than that under incarceration?
 - is there a right to terminate treatment or participation in the program at any time without prejudice?
 - is there a clear and definite termination to the juvenile's involvement with the program?

Services:

- number
- kinds
- duration
- where are services offered?

Replacement/
Supplement:

- changes over time in system case load
 - in composition of case load
 - in incarcerated population
 - in average length of stay in secure facilities
- composition of alternatives population relative to total juvenile offender population
- changes in sentencing and revocation practices by judges and probation officers in regard to referral to alternative programs and to the juvenile justice system as a whole

Recidivism:

- how long a follow-up time period?
- what kind of crime - any new crime or relative reduction in seriousness of crime?
- is an informally diverted or non-adjudicated case evidence of recidivism?

NOTES

1

The futility of single program evaluations is argued by Paul Nejeleski and Judith LaPook in "Monitoring the Juvenile Justice System: How Can You Tell Where You're Going If You Don't Know Where You Are?" The American Criminal Law Review, 12, No. 1 (Summer 1974), pp. 27-28.

2

The need for accountability is argued by Marvin E. Wolfgang in "Making the Criminal Justice System Accountable," Crime and Delinquency, 18 (January 1972), pp. 15-22.

3

Robert Martinson demonstrates the importance of follow-up interval in "What Works? - Questions and Answers About Prison Reform," Public Interest, 35 (Spring 1974), p. 34.

4

Donald T. Campbell, "Reforms as Experiments." Revised version in Carol H. Weiss, ed. Evaluating Action Programs (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1972), p. 191.

5

Rosemary Sarri and Elaine Selo argue that justice is a precondition of program effectiveness in "Evaluation Progress and Outcome in Juvenile Corrections: Musings on a Grim Tale," eds. Park O. Davidson, F. C. Clark and L. W. Hamerlynck, Evaluation of Behavioral Programs (Champaign, Ill.: Research Press, 1974), p. 261.

6

Useful critiques of the concept of recidivism can be found in Sarri and Selo, op. cit., p. 257 and Paul Lerman, "Evaluative Studies of Institutions for Delinquents: Implications for Research and Social Policy," Social Work, 13 (July 1968), pp. 55-64.

7

Campbell, op. cit.

8

Lloyd E. Ohlin, Robert B. Coates and Alden D. Miller in "Evaluating the Reform of Youth Correction in Massachusetts," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 12, No. 1 (January 1975), pp. 3-16. Also, see Robert B. Coates and Alden D. Miller, "Evaluating Large Scale Social Service Systems in Changing Environments: The Case of Correctional Agencies" (Harvard Law School: Center for Criminal Justice, undated). Unpublished.

9

For evidence that "nothing works," see Martinson, loc. cit.; James Robison and Gerald Smith, "The Effectiveness of Correctional Programs," Crime and Delinquency, 17, No. 1 (January 1971), pp. 67-80; and Walter C. Bailey, "Correctional Outcome: An Evaluation of 100 Reports," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 57 (1966), pp. 153-160; Lerman, op. cit., p. 63 also argues in favor of a more humanitarian approach on the grounds that there is no evidence that a humanitarian approach incurs greater risks of failure.

APPENDIX C: EVALUATION DESIGNS

By

Gary Miller

The assistance of Dr. David A. Ward, in the preparation of the final paper, is greatly appreciated.

I. INTRODUCTION

One of the purposes of this project has been to develop research designs for evaluating the effectiveness of community-based alternatives to incarceration programs. These designs ideally could be employed by program personnel in making subsequent program modifications and in ascertaining program "success." They take into account a number of constraints placed upon researchers which frequently rule out the use of an experimental design. This report recognizes the problems of implementing experimental designs; therefore, less rigorous but more applicable quasi-experimental designs are discussed.

Before outlining the evaluation designs, a more fundamental consideration must be discussed. The essence of this report dealing with alternatives to incarceration is that a distinction must be made between two different types of strategies: shallow end strategies (the most frequent type) in which alternative to incarceration programs are designed primarily for relatively nonserious offenders in order to halt penetration into the system, and deep end strategies in which alternative to incarceration programs are designed for all types of offenders including the more serious offenders (in order to provide an alternative setting for the treatment of even the more hard core of the youths). Whichever strategy is used has fundamental implications for the target population and placement decisions, the degree of control exercised by the program, the length of stay in the program, and the probabilities of program success. Any evaluation of alternatives to incarceration programs must keep this distinction in mind.

It has been argued in preceding sections of this report that different types of alternative to incarceration programs have different objectives which are not always recognized or acknowledged and have fundamentally different implications for the structure of the juvenile justice system. Despite these differences, this project has been asked to develop a set of evaluation designs applicable to any program. This is possible but an all-embracing design may obscure the fundamental distinction in program types established by this project. These cautionary remarks are intended to guard against such a possibility.

This report is concerned with a design for evaluating client outcomes of particular alternative to incarceration programs. When people speak of alternative to incarceration programs, they are usually referring to community-based programs which will be the focus of the proposed evaluation designs since these are the programs that require special LEAA funding. However, another alternative to incarceration is placing the youthful offender on formal probation at home or with relatives or with a foster family and under the direct supervision of a probation officer. This type of alternative can be treated as a comparison group for the purposes of evaluating community-based programs. A community-based program thus implies something more than direct supervision; it usually involves a special staff and some form of treatment technology.

The client outcome type of evaluation design has been widely used by correctional agencies, although such users have not always been forthright in revealing the less than clear-cut nature of the findings. In the

past investigators have failed to recognize that treatment effects have been confounded by other uncontrolled variables. While such a design has some inherent weaknesses, it may be the best alternative, given typical constraints upon research programs.

These client outcome designs are unlikely to generate information that would illuminate the major system-wide concerns raised by this project. This paper proposes two additional types of evaluation strategies, termed system-wide and program process designs, that will address the research questions outlined in Appendix B, Research Design Issues.

Altogether, three types of research designs are proposed with a number of evaluation objectives in mind:

- (1) client outcome design; to evaluate effectiveness of a particular program in producing change in its clients' conduct;
- (2) system wide design; to evaluate the implications of a number of programs within a particular jurisdictional area in relation to the overall effectiveness of the entire juvenile justice system;
- (3) program process design; to evaluate more closely what goes on inside programs in terms of a number of non-traditional objectives, such as protection of due process rights, the degree of intervention in the lives of youth offenders, the use of discretion, degree of informal processing and/or labelling, etc.

It is essential to emphasize that a single evaluation design or strategy cannot answer all of these questions simultaneously. A review of the history of evaluation research in the field of delinquency suggests that, typically, only the client outcome strategy is employed; it should be supplemented with the other two strategies. It is hoped that, given typical shortages of funds for evaluation research, the many different agencies will not all select the client-outcome strategy.

II. GOAL CLARIFICATION

According to one authority on evaluation research, "The purpose of evaluation research is to measure the effects of a program against the goals it set out to accomplish as a means of contributing to subsequent decision-making about the program and improving future programming."¹ This statement implies that programs are designed to achieve a specific end or ends and that there is an explicit theory that suggests why a particular program should produce that end.

In actuality many programs do not have clearly articulated goals but rather are broad-aim programs that hope to achieve a rather nonspecific "change-for-the-better." In addition, such programs often have no clear theoretical basis for the particular form of the program but are based on a general hunch that such an approach will work.

Upon close examination, alternatives to incarceration programs are like broad-aim programs; they have multiple and often conflicting goals, some of which are articulated and some of which are covert. The usual focus of evaluation research is, however, upon one desired outcome - the reduction of recidivism. Yet, the typical response to such evaluations is to criticize them for focusing upon only one objective to the exclusion of a number of other objectives considered worthy by staff members.

The multiple objectives of a community-based program vary depending upon the degree of expected change in client behavior, the time perspective taken (are long-range improvements desired or would short-range ones be satisfactory?), the theoretical perspective taken, and whether the focus is upon program inputs and processes or upon program outputs.

With this problem in mind a number of evaluation strategies are proposed, each capable of measuring multiple outcome variables. Restricting evaluation efforts to a single outcome measure often only accentuates the controversies surrounding evaluation research and contributes further to the record of nonutilization of such studies.

There is no simple solution to this problem. Measuring multiple goals, although reflecting the multifaceted nature of the program, does not solve the problem of choosing between goals. If an evaluation study indicates that some objectives, but not others, have been met to a satisfactory level, can significant decisions about the program still be made? Certainly a global judgment about program success or failure is difficult, if not impossible, although this is what decision-makers usually look for. Given conflicting findings (a typical result if multiple outcomes are assessed), two decision-making alternatives exist.

On the one hand, it can be recognized that it is seldom possible to make overall judgments about program efficacy even though important information about the program has been learned - information that may guide future program modifications. However, persons charged with making overall program funding decisions are seldom pleased with this type of information. On the other hand, the most important desired outcome can be decided before the evaluation begins. This latter course is seldom taken, since it forces into the open the usual dissensus about performance stands by which programs are to be held accountable. And attempts to specify goal priorities ahead of time often do not prevent others from contending that the "wrong" outcomes were measured or used in making program decisions. If an evaluation uses multiple outcomes, it can be expected that program proponents will herald

any indication of program success, even though the program failed to achieve equal or more important outcomes.

Of these two fallible solutions, it is recommended that decision rules be established before the evaluation is conducted. At a minimum, the success and later utilization of evaluation research depends upon the prior establishment of goal priorities. This, of course, is a political decision, and varying forces will mobilize, each lobbying for the importance of certain outcome goals. For example, this project has articulated the need for considering a number of nontraditional outcomes (e.g., degree of penetration into the system, degree of control exercised over clients, justice, due process, etc.) in any evaluation effort. If this antecedent step is not undertaken, the evaluation results will remain mired in controversy and a diffuse sense of dissatisfaction with evaluation research as a tool in agency decision-making will persist.

III. CLIENT OUTCOME DESIGN

A. Introduction

Most evaluation research is of two types:

- (1) Process evaluations that assess whether the program was implemented in accordance with its stated goals, methods, and guidelines, how the program actually operates, and how program operations are affected by its milieu.
- (2) Outcome evaluations that assess the degree to which the program produced change in the direction of its stated goals.

Most evaluations are of the latter type, although there is good reason to believe that the former type of evaluation is equally important.

Ultimately, alternatives to incarceration programs must be evaluated in terms of individual level outcomes - the degree to which there are demonstrable changes in youths participating in the program. Although the picture remains incomplete, the first step is to propose a general client outcome design that can answer a variety of questions about a particular community-based program, or alternatively, can compare two or more programs. The proposed design is suited for gathering two types of client outcome data: individual changes while participating in the program and individual post-release behavior.

The suggested design should have wide applicability for a variety of questions about client outcomes. This evaluation design has been widely used in the field of juvenile justice and corrections; an attempt has been made to improve some of its weaknesses. However, specific modifications will always be necessary in order to make it applicable to the unique circumstances of any particular program.

B. A Nonequivalent Control Group Design

1. Nature of the Research Design: A quasi-experimental design is proposed that approximates the experimental method but does not employ random assignment of individuals to treatment and control groups. A quasi-experiment is less adequate than a true experiment for clarity of possible inferences, but it is proposed because of the difficulty of implementing a true experiment.

A true experiment, while preferable on methodological grounds, is not often feasible in the case of alternatives to incarceration programs for a number of reasons:

- (a) the alternatives to incarceration programs to be evaluated are not "demonstration projects" where the primary objective is to ascertain the efficacy of the program. Rather, many programs have already been initiated. Treatment and implementation are the main goals of these programs, not experimentation. This mental set severely limits the flexibility of program design and client placement, which in turn, mitigates against the type of research control over program operations necessary for a true experiment.
- (b) Similarly, it appears that randomization of client placement, the essential aspect of an experimental design, is usually not feasible.*

A major barrier to random assignment, discovered by Lerman,² was the slow client turnover rate in the alternatives to incarceration treatment programs, resulting in lack of space for new clients. This situation produced clients who instead of being assigned to alternatives to incarceration programs were processed through the state agency for traditional handling. Other discretionary decisions made by court officials and administrators often upset carefully designed randomization schedules; such decisions are based on the perceived needs of clients or the justice system and not upon the need to preserve the integrity of the research design.

- (c) Program operations are typically complex, making it difficult to specify what the treatment is to insure that either the experimental or control group has not been contaminated by exposure to other programs or agencies.

2. Schematic Description of the Design: The basic outline of the design is presented in Figure 1.³ This design is a more elaborate version of the frequently-used nonequivalent control group design; that is, assignment to the treatment or comparison group is not strictly random.

*If randomization is possible, it definitely should be used, and in that case, this proposed design easily translates into a true experiment.

Figure 1

A NONEQUIVALENT CONTROL GROUP DESIGN

STUDY GROUPS:	INITIAL		T ₁		T ₂	T ₃	T ₄
	CONTACT		ENTRANCE	TREATMENT	EXIT	ONE-YEAR FOLLOW-UP	TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP
<u>TREATMENT:</u> Community-Based Program	I ₁	R	O ₁	(X ₁)		{ F ₁	F ₂
	I ₂	R		X ₁	O ₂		
<u>COMPARISON #1:</u> Incarceration	I ₃	R	O ₃	(X ₂)		{ F ₃	F ₄
	I ₄	R		X ₂	O ₄		
<u>COMPARISON #2</u> Direct Supervision Probation	I ₅					F ₅	F ₆

During Program or Incarceration
After Program, Incarceration, or Probation

Symbols:

R = Random Assignment
 I = Intake Measurement of Personal Background and History
 O = Measurement of Individual Attitudes and Behaviors

F = Follow-up Measurement of Repeat Offenses and Positive Achievements
 T₁ = Time at entrance to program or incarcerative facility
 T₂ = Time of release from program or incarcerative facility

Possible Statistical Controls for: (1) Social Class (2) Minority Status (3) Age
 (4) Number of Contacts with Other Programs

Separate Analyses for: First Offenders vs. Repeat Offenders; Status Offenders vs. Misdemeanants and Minor Delinquents vs. More Serious Delinquents

CONTINUED

2 OF 3

Thus, one cannot assume initial equivalence of the groups on personal background and history variables. This design combines measurement of short-term program outcomes (individual changes while in the program) with those of long-range program outcomes (behavior after release from the program). While this design does not involve random assignment to treatment and comparison groups, it does involve random assignment of measurements to individuals in the different groups. Also, the design is relatively flexible; it can be used to evaluate one program, the relative success of many programs, and different types of programs relative to each other. Parts of the design can be omitted without jeopardizing its logic.

The design is described as if it were evaluating a community-based program in a particular locality. The essence of the design is to compare the behavior and attitudes of youths who are placed, after adjudication, in a community-based program in lieu of incarceration with relatively equivalent youths who are placed in institutions or are placed on formal probation with direct supervision.

Traditionally, community-based programs have been contrasted only with institutionalization in training schools.⁴ This comparison has some inherent weaknesses:

- (a) It tends to assume that assignment to the alternatives are random, when evidence suggests that a host of procedures and discretionary decisions upset the randomization procedures.⁵
- (b) It ignores the fate of adjudicated youths who are placed upon formal probation and returned to their homes or relatives or foster families and directly supervised by probation officers.

This design attempts to compensate for these shortcomings by comparing the community-based programs with both direct supervision probation and incarceration and by recognizing that the study groups are not initially equivalent.

As Figure 1 indicates, the treatment group consists of juvenile offenders who have been placed in community-based programs during a certain time period. At this point the shallow or deep end variety of community-based programs will not be distinguished between since the program is being compared with other alternatives. This distinction, however, is important for comparison between two different types of community-based programs and it is important in the system-wide design. The first comparison group consists of those offenders who have been adjudicated and incarcerated in prisons, jails, reformatories, training schools or secure hospitals. The second comparison group, used only for comparisons on post-release behavior, consists of those offenders who are placed by the court on formal probation under the direct supervision of a probation officer and who have been returned to their family, relatives, or a foster family. These offenders are not incarcerated, and are not sent to a special community-based program.

The comparison of these study groups in terms of client outcomes is improved immeasurably if there are attempts to initially equate the groups through some randomization procedure. In planning the research, such efforts should be encouraged as much as possible. It is unlikely, however, that such efforts will be completely successful. There are several ways in which such a randomization procedure might be introduced. For example, the California Youth Authority's Community Treatment Project set up a special parole unit which was responsible for placing clients in community treatment programs. Once a youth reached the reception center after being adjudicated, s/he was

randomly assigned to either the special parole unit of the community treatment project or to the Department of Youth Services for placement in an institution. Thus, random assignment to different intake units can approximate random assignment. It should be remembered, however, that this process was not entirely successful in the California Project.⁶

In other cases where a special parole unit is not established for placement in community-based programs, there are usually two possible sources of referral to such programs. In these cases, a youth placed on formal probation may be assigned either to a community-based program or placed under the direct supervision of a probation officer; a youth assigned to the Department of Youth Services may be assigned either to a community-based program or to a training school or reformatory. Thus, offenders are assigned to community-based programs from either the probation department or the corrections department. Given two sources of referral, it is more difficult to implement a randomization scheme. Each agency (probation department and corrections department) would have to cooperate in randomly assigning clients to either a community-based program or direct supervision probation in the first case and to either a community-based program or a training school in the second case. The probability of successfully implementing this scheme is low.

Thus, this design is a type of quasi-experiment rather than a true experiment. Since the study groups cannot be assumed to be initially equivalent, it is necessary to collect background data on persons in each group. This data collection is represented by the symbol "I" in Figure 1.

3. Objectives of Programs and Outcome Variables: Since the design is intended for general application to a range of alternatives to incarceration programs, we can specify only a limited number of outcome or "success" variables that all programs (irrespective of particular treatment technology) could potentially measure. In addition to these common goals, each particular program will have relatively unique goals that are directly linked with the treatment technology employed. For example, a community-based program using group therapy might employ measures of improved communication and problem-solving, but a program emphasizing job training would be more interested in assessing improvement in job-related skills and attitudes.

Five types of outcome variables could be assessed:

a. post-release outcome measures: Given the primary objective of reducing delinquency or halting penetration into the juvenile justice system, evidence of repeat offenses and positive achievements after release from the program should be gathered. Exactly what constitutes a repeat offense is not easily determined - it is confounded by differential responses of social control agents, undetected delinquency, degrees and frequencies of law violation, and the possibility of distortion of official statistics to promote or discredit a particular program. Also, there may be disagreement as to whether status offenses should be included in such tabulations, since many feel that arrests for status offenses should be eliminated.

However, offending juveniles should be followed up for at least two years following release from the treatment program or from the end of probation or processing by regular intake or release from an institution or being counseled, warned and released. During this time period, a number of indicators could be tabulated for each of the study groups:

- (1) Percent of repeat offenders - operationalized as juveniles rearrested or having parole suspended during the time period
 - a) percent for serious felonies
 - b) percent for misdemeanors and minor felonies
 - c) percent for status offenses
 - d) percent for violations of parole conditions.
- (2) Percent of juveniles with more than one repeat offense.
- (3) Percent of juveniles incarcerated.

Also, indicators of positive post-release achievement could be measured:

- (1) Improved school performance or percent remaining in school
- (2) Successful job placement or job performance.

b. changes while in the program: In order to obtain performance measures in a shorter period of time, measures of individual change during the course of participation in the program could be obtained. These measures are based on the assumption that positive attitudinal and behavioral changes exhibited while in the program are predictive of post-release adjustment.

Such measures might include:

- (1) Self-esteem, self-concept, feelings of competence.
- (2) Attitudes toward program staff (police).
- (3) Attitudes toward family and peers.
- (4) Feelings of alienation.
- (5) Expectations for the future.
- (6) Misconduct while in the program.

c. client perceptions of the program: Recognizing that the typical emphasis on reduction of recidivism is unrealistic as the only goal of community-based programs at this stage of their development it may be argued that they should be evaluated in terms of alternative goals, such as justice

or equity from the perspective of the client. If such matters are to be included in the research, indicators of the following might be taken at the time of release from the program:

- (1) Client perceptions of equality of treatment or perceived justice
 - a) between persons in the program
 - b) between persons in the program and other offenders.
- (2) Client perceptions of coercion by juvenile justice officials
 - a) at time of entering the program
 - b) while in the program.
- (3) Client satisfaction with treatment by staff.
- (4) Client perceptions about degree of control exercised by staff.
- (5) Client perceptions of the degree to which the staff was advocate for clients or juvenile justice officials.
- (6) Degree to which clients chose to enter treatment program.

d. program procedures measures: Along with client perceptions of the program, there are other nontraditional indicators by which to compare different community-based programs - measures of operating procedures used by the program staff. These outcome measures are used to evaluate programs because certain practices are deemed unproductive while others are deemed necessary for the success of community-based programs. The following program procedure measures might be taken:

- (1) Percent of clients who drop out of the program before being officially released.
- (2) Length of time that clients spend in the program. The longer time that clients spend in programs, the greater is the duration of control exercised over juveniles.
- (3) Percent of clients who are referred to community treatment program after having been incarcerated. This is an approximate indicator of the extent to which the alternative to incarceration program is supplemental to incarceration rather than an alternative.

- (4) Percent of clients who are incarcerated in response to their dropping out of the community-based program before they are officially released. This is an approximate indicator of the degree to which the threat of incarceration is used to enforce participation in the community-based program.
- (5) Indicators of the use of detention as a sanctioning technique. Community-based programs are premised on the notion of providing treatment for their clients, but some programs use detention as a technique for responding to crises and some have even begun to define the deprivation of liberty as a treatment technique. The greater the use of detention, the more that the program deviates from the initial conception of a community-based program and the more that it approximates incarceration. Two indicators of the use of detention might be used:
- a) percent of clients who were sent to detention center while in the treatment program
 - b) the average number of detentions per client.
- (6) Percent of clients who are placed in a community-based program in their home community. One of the justifications for community-based programs is to facilitate reintegration into the community. This report raises the question of whether it is better to remove youth from the community, or keep them there.
- (7) Measures of the extent and nature of the community contacts of clients while they are in the community-based program. This report has argued that community-basedness depends on more than the location of the program and should involve actual contacts with and participation in normal community activities. Community contacts would include the following:
- a) home visits
 - b) school attendance
 - c) job participation
 - d) participation in community voluntary organizations, e.g., YMCA, church groups, youth groups, etc.
 - e) going out on weekend nights
 - f) shopping trips
 - g) evening walks in the neighborhood
 - h) visits from friends.
- (8) Measures of auxiliary services provided (in addition to primary treatment effort).

e. contamination of treatment and comparison groups: These measures are not, strictly speaking, client outcome measures but can be used to ascertain the degree to which the composition of each study group in the evaluation differs from the initial program design.

- (1) Measures of discrimination in program assignment - a statistical measure of the degree to which assignment of youths to each of the three conditions (community-based program, direct supervision probation, and incarceration) is disproportionate in terms of minority status or social class level.

It is unlikely that all of these outcome indicators would be used in any one evaluation study, but they do reflect the range and types of outcome measures that could be employed.

4. Definition of Offender Population: For various reasons, a number of offender types are often administratively excluded from eligibility for community-based programs. Sometimes those accused of serious felonies or crimes of violence are excluded; sometimes repeat offenders are excluded. If a certain type of offender is ruled ineligible for participation in the alternative to incarceration program, this type of offender must also be eliminated from the other comparison groups when the outcome data is analyzed. This may mean that the population of offenders being evaluated is narrowed to some extent.

5. Use of a Randomization Procedure: Many previous evaluations of alternatives to incarceration programs have employed some form of randomization procedure in the assignment of an offender (meeting the eligibility requirements for that alternative program) to either the new alternative program or to the Department of Corrections. This procedure should be employed whenever possible, even though it has been argued that it does not insure equivalence of the treatment group with the comparison group.

6. Descriptions of Treatment and Comparison Groups: Each of the dispositional alternatives in the research design must be described on the basis of field observations. The research team should describe what typically happens, as well as the significant variations, in a community-based program, direct supervision probation, the intake process, and the incarcerative facility. These observations are necessary in order to check on a number of things:

- (a) The degree to which the treatment technique is what it purports to be.
- (b) The degree to which other treatment techniques or auxiliary services are provided by the program.
- (c) The consistency of administration of the treatment technique (or intake procedures or court processing) across individuals, administrative units, and time.
- (d) The possible detection of covert objectives and/or unanticipated outcomes.

Such observations refine our interpretations of differences (or no differences) in outcome variables between treatment and comparison groups.

7. Collection of Data: As Figure 1 indicates, the overall design calls for the measurement of individual attitudes and/or behaviors at five different points in time. At some points, collecting the data is relatively simple; at others, considerably more effort, time and money will be required.

a. initial assignment: A number of socioeconomic, historical, and family variables, as well as details of the offense for which the youth was arrested, need to be gathered at the time of assignment to either the probation department, the community-based program, or the Department of Corrections. This should not be a difficult procedure, since such information gathering is normal procedure. Measurement of these variables is necessary in order to ascertain initial differences in the treatment and comparison groups.

b. attitudinal and behavioral measures at early stage of entry:

These measures are taken on a randomly assigned one-half of all individuals in the treatment group and the incarcerated group. These are pre-test measures, to be used in measuring individual changes while in the program. Such measures should be obtained easily.

c. attitudinal and behavioral measures on exiting: These measures are obtained on the remaining half of the youths in the community-based program and incarcerated groups. This data should be easy to obtain from youths in both groups at the time they are released from the alternative program or from the training school. Special effort will be required to obtain such data from alternative program "drop-outs."

d. follow-up measures at one year: This involves following up each group cohort one year after their exit from the community-based program or direct supervision probation or training school. The many problems of following up cohorts is discussed by Glaser.⁷ The use of state and local records should suffice, unless there is reason to believe that later offenses committed out of state are differentially distributed between treatment and the other comparison groups. Following up the different cohorts for evidence of positive post-release achievement is a much more difficult and costly undertaking, probably involving a follow-up survey of all (or a sample of) individuals in each cohort.

e. follow-up measures at two years: Same procedures as used for the one year follow-up.

Attrition becomes a serious problem whenever different cohorts are measured over a long period of time. Specific methods to control and account for attrition are discussed by Riecken, Boruch and Glaser.⁸ The

most serious problem arises if there is differential attrition across treatment and comparison groups. The usual experience in research is: the less control and supervision the official agency has over youths and the more effort required to locate such persons at a later time, the greater the attrition rate. The direct supervision probation group in this research design presents the greatest danger of high attrition; special efforts will have been taken to minimize this biasing effect. Failure to do so runs the risk of confusing program effects with attrition effects.

8. Analysis of Data: As was indicated earlier, there are basically five kinds of outcome questions that this research design can answer. Before proceeding to outline the proper data comparisons for each type of question, nonequivalence of treatment and comparison groups must be dealt with. Even with some random assignment, it is not likely that we can assume initial equivalence in the groups. Matching of subsamples on the basis of pretest scores is inadmissible even though Adams recommends it,⁹ since such techniques typically underadjust for initial differences and create pseudoeffects.¹⁰ In addition, there are no pre-test scores for follow-up measures.

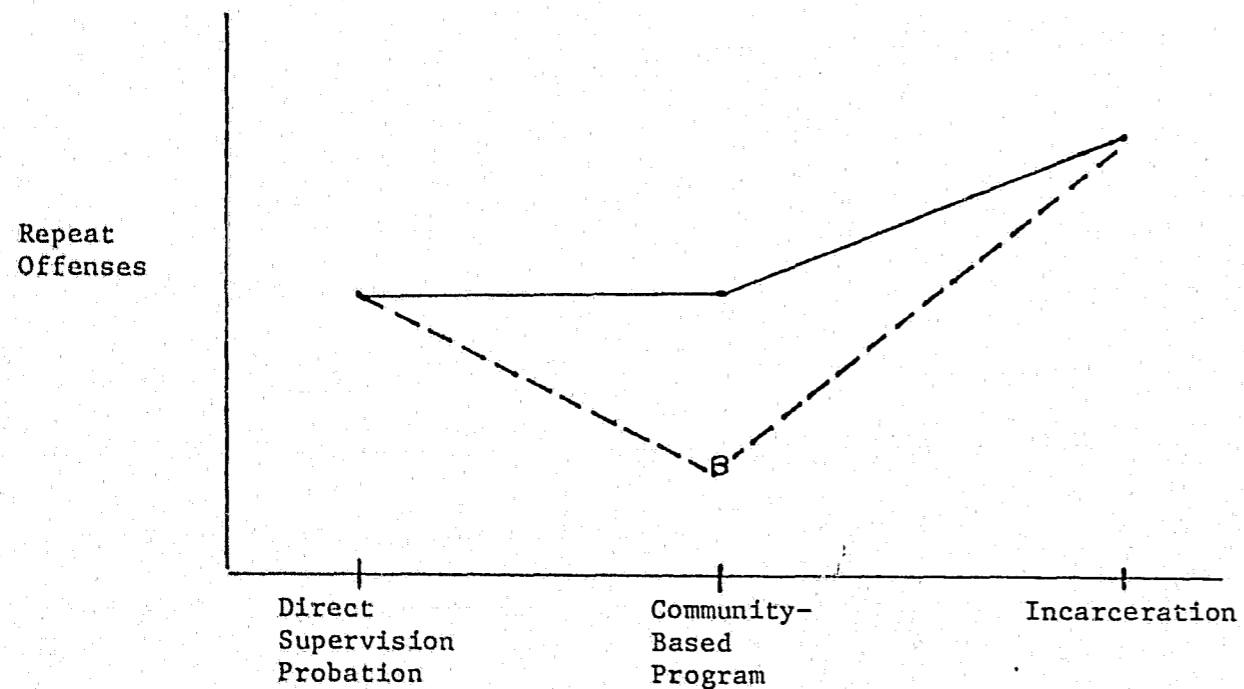
Two techniques exist for accounting for initial differences:

(a) In order to keep initial risk as constant as possible, analysis of change scores and follow-up measures should be conducted separately for first offenders and for repeat offenders, as well as for status offenders, misdemeanants, and for minor and more serious delinquents. This precaution will serve to minimize initial differences between treatment and comparison groups. In addition, it is possible to statistically control other variables that might confound the effect of the different dispositional alternatives. Such controlling variables might be: 1) race/ethnicity; 2) social class;

3) age; and 4) number of other programs that the youth participates in. It should be emphasized that statistically controlling for these latter variables is an auxiliary analysis technique and that they sometimes underadjust for initial differences. However, these controls may provide additional insight into outcome differences or into the types of juveniles that are helped the most by different types of community-based programs.

(b) Ruling out alternative hypotheses in a quasi-experiment is as much a logical process as it is a statistical process.¹¹ Thus, knowledge of the local correctional scene is essential in interpreting the findings of the evaluation. This underscores the importance of field observations in client outcome studies - a precaution that is frequently underemphasized. For example, two different assumptions can be made about the initial differences in "risk" of each of the four study groups. On the one hand, we might assume that disposition is not strongly related to risk, since too many other factors (e.g., demeanor of offender, attitudes of police or intake officer, availability of spaces in programs, etc.) play a role in determining disposition - or that the randomization procedure was relatively effective. In this case, we would expect that statistically significant differences between the groups in the follow-up measures can be attributed reasonably to the treatment. On the other hand, we might assume that youths in each of the four study groups vary in terms of initial risk; therefore, follow-up measures of law-breaking may reflect initial law-breaking tendencies more than they reflect treatment effects. This assumption requires that we examine more than differences in recidivism at some later point in time; one should examine the pattern of differences in group rates and determine if this pattern deviates from what would be expected on the basis of

assumptions about initial risks. Juvenile offenders who are placed in incarcerative facilities probably represent the most risky offenders and juveniles assigned to community-based programs and direct supervision probation probably represent less of a risk. The solid line in the figure below represents group differences in law-breaking behavior at a follow-up time predicted from initial risk alone (assuming no treatment effects). However, if the community-based program is effective, then one would expect to find the later law-breaking levels of those in the community-based program ("B") to be significantly lower than the level of law-breaking in the direct supervision probation group. The broken line in the figure below represents group differences in law-breaking if the community-based program is effective:



Referring back to Figure 1, the crucial outcome comparisons for each of the five types of outcome questions are listed below:

- (1) Post-Release Outcome Measures
 - a) one-year follow-up: Compare F_1 with F_2 with F_5
 - b) two-year follow-up: Compare F_2 with F_4 with F_6
 - c) ascertain if the initial differences disappear over a longer time period or if initially small differences get larger over time:
 - Compare $(F_2 - F_1)$ with $(F_4 - F_3)$ with $(F_6 - F_5)$
- (2) Changes While in the Program:
 - Compare $(O_2 - O_1)$ with $(O_4 - O_3)$
- (3) Client Perceptions of the Program:
 - Compare O_2 with O_4
- (4) Program Procedures Measures:
 - Compare different community-based programs on measures $(I_1 + I_2)$ and O_2
- (5) Program Contamination:
 - For evidence of discrimination, compare $(I_1 + I_2)$ with $(I_3 + I_4)$ with I_5

9. Drawing Inferences: A number of cautions must be exercised in drawing inferences from the results of an evaluation which are even more necessary when using a quasi-experiment such as the one proposed here. Campbell and Stanley list eight threats to internal validity and four threats to external validity. A detailed discussion of these threats is presented in Technical Appendix I. For purposes of brief exposition, it is possible to list which of these threats can be controlled or accounted for by the design proposed here:

	<u>Internal Validity</u>	<u>External Validity</u>
Controlled:	History	Interaction of Testing and Treatment
	Maturation	Interaction of Selection and Treatment
	Testing	Reactive Arrangements
	Interaction of Selection and Maturation	
Controlled to some extent:	Instrumentation	Multiple Treatment Interference
	Regression Effects	
Major Threat to Validity:	Selection Mortality	

It should be evident by now that this evaluation design does not evaluate the efficacy of a treatment technology so much as it evaluates a community-based strategy or administrative option. It is only when one evaluates the relative effectiveness of two different types of community-based treatment programs that one can talk about the nature of treatment technologies. Even then, it is difficult to disentangle the effect of the treatment technology from other features of the program.

One important caution: one must guard against carelessly attributing any differences in later law-breaking behavior of program participants to the success of the treatment technology. As Lerman indicated, the California Youth Authority's research department uncritically attributed a later reduction in parole revocation to the success of their community treatment program;¹² a much more plausible explanation was that the two different parole units (one for the treatment program and one for the Department of Corrections) reacted differently to later instances of law-breaking. The

result was that the community treatment group of offenders was much less likely to have their parole revoked for the same type of offense committed by the incarcerated group. Thus, the reduction in later law-breaking was more the result of administrative decisions than it was due to the efficacy of the treatment program.* When the indicators of success or failure are subject to observations or discretionary decisions of program treatment personnel, one must guard against attributing any improvement to the treatment program.

Finally, the credibility of inferences is improved immeasurably with replications of the program evaluation over time and over location. Even with tenuous inferences from a weak experiment, confidence can be gained with similar results of evaluations (also weak in design) conducted in another time and place. If this design is utilized in various locations around the country, it should be relatively easy to rule out some of the threats to validity.

10. Different Applications: Although the design has been presented as a technique for evaluating a specific community-based program relative to traditional ways of processing offenders, it can easily be used to:

- evaluate the relative effectiveness of two or more different community-based programs, each employing different treatment technologies; and
- compare the effectiveness of the shallow end alternative to incarceration strategy with the effectiveness of the deep end strategy.

11. Time, Costs, and Resources: Without specific information about a particular evaluation situation, it is impossible to specify precise cost

*This is an example of instrument decay - to use Campbell and Stanley's terminology.

and time estimates involved in undertaking this evaluation. However, some general comments are appropriate. Outcomes evaluations require a long time before feedback on program effectiveness is available. This proposed design would require as long as three years to complete. In addition, the cost of supporting a research team and of data acquisition will be high.

It is strongly recommended that this type of evaluation research be conducted by a research staff independent of program staff and operations. If this recommendation is followed, the cost of the evaluation study will be even higher. At a minimum, the research staff should be headed by a senior researcher quite experienced in the subtleties of quasi-experimental designs; the part-time services of a statistical consultant would also be required. All of these considerations suggest that adequate program evaluation is beyond the capabilities of program staff or a small internal research unit of a program. If program directors desire this type of an evaluation of their program, they will need to contract outside their organization or get substantial assistance from the research unit of the state planning agency.

Yet, it should be noted that, if this design is too ambitious for a particular program, its scope can be reduced. For example, the assessments of individual changes while in the program could be omitted. This would transform the design into a post-test-only comparison group design. This modification would lose some valuable program information but would still provide follow-up data on clients. However, such a modification should not be undertaken lightly, since this weakens the design considerably.

Alternatively, the research team might choose to gather follow-up data at only one point in time. However, the costs involved in this type of economizing is high in terms of the loss of important information.

IV. SYSTEM-WIDE EVALUATION DESIGN

A. Introduction

We have been arguing that a client outcome design for evaluating a particular alternative to incarceration program should be supplemented by a system-wide evaluation design that focuses upon the effect of establishing a new alternative to incarceration program upon the overall operations of the juvenile justice system. If such a strategy is chosen, then the proper unit of analysis is not the individual program, but the juvenile justice system as it operates in a particular locale (city, county, or state). Such an evaluation would not be conducted so much for a program director but more likely for an officer of the juvenile court or of the corrections department or possibly for a state planning agency.

The earlier products of the research project have raised the possibility that the establishment of a community-based alternative to incarceration program may have unintended consequences, namely the proliferation of programs, the widening of the net of the influence of the juvenile court, and discrimination in assignment to community-based programs or incarceration. A time series study of a juvenile justice system that has established a new community-based program may answer some of these concerns. In addition, where possible, such a design should be supplemented with a comparison to a comparable juvenile justice system that has not yet developed a system of community-based programs.

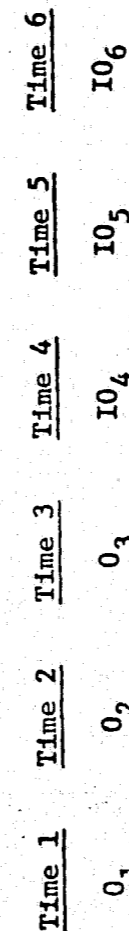
B. A Time Series Design with Continuous Intervention

The basic logic of the time series design involves a number of repeated measurements of an outcome variable across time with an intervention (establishment of the new community-based program) introduced between two of the measurements. Figure 2 represents this design in schematic terms.

As Figure 2 indicates, use of this design implies that data can be gathered from a number of time periods before the establishment of the new community-based program, and that the same information can be gathered over a number of time periods after the program has been established. In some cases, this may present problems, since normal information gathering of juvenile justice systems is not established with this type of evaluation design in mind. However, there ought to be standard crime and arrest statistics available to permit sufficient pre-program measures.

The design described here has been widely used to evaluate the effects of introducing a new program into a particular locale when a comparison group is not readily available or where the needs of evaluation were not anticipated. As Campbell has argued, it is an acceptable technique for conducting post hoc experimental analyses of social programs, innovations, or regulations.¹³ The essence of the time series design for making causal inferences is that the group or unit of analysis serves as its own control. Behavior after the introduction of the new program is compared with the behavior of the same group or unit before the introduction of the program. Some random (or maybe systematic) variation in the behavior of the unit can be expected; the attribution of cause to the new program rests upon

Figure 2
Single-Group Time Series Design with Continuous Intervention



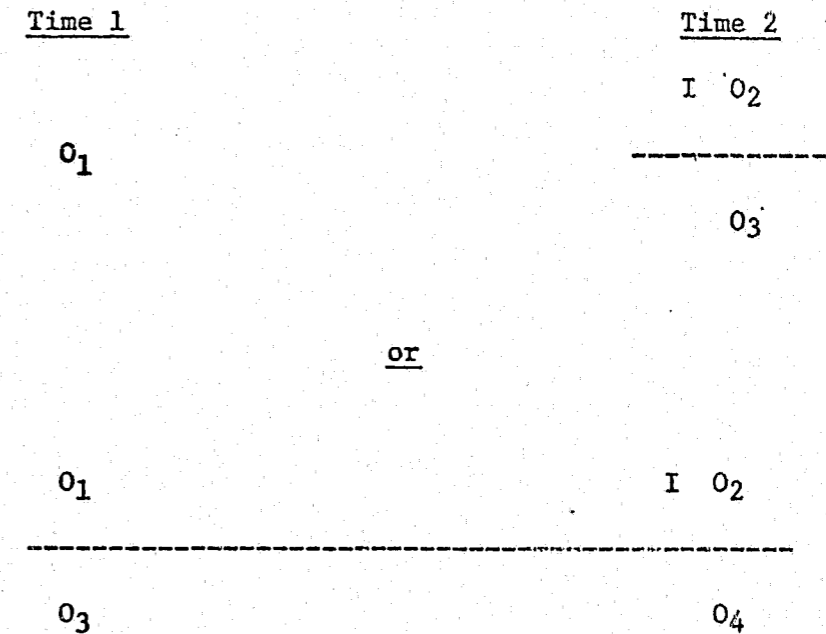
O = Measurement of outcome variable.

I = Presence of Community-Based Program.

the ability to argue there is marked discontinuity in the predicted direction in the time series data that corresponds to the introduction of the new program. And since the new community-based programs are continuous interventions and not temporary ones, the persistence of the discontinuity must be detected. As Campbell, Stanley and Glass argue, the inference that the intervention caused a change in behavior is not always straightforward, since the intervention may affect the form of the time series data in many different ways. For example, the intervention program may abruptly change the level of the series or change the level after a short delay; it may change the level of the series permanently, or only temporarily; it may sharply deflect a series formerly drifting downward, causing it to drift upward; it may make a highly variable series more stable, or vice versa. And there are other possible outcomes that might be interpreted as evidences of causality. However, careful scrutiny of the data can provide reasonable evidence of a program effect, all the time guarding against the false attribution of significance to random error and checking out various threats to validity.

This type of design is preferable to the pre-test - post-test comparison group design that is often used to assess intervention effects. Figure 3 presents the schema of the pre-test - post-test design. As Figure 3 indicates, this design takes measurements on the outcome variables at only two points in time, immediately prior to and after the intervention program has been introduced. There are numerous weaknesses in this design, but the most pervasive is probably the tendency to attribute causal significance to random variation. Since a suitable baseline of measurements has not been taken prior to the introduction of the new program, it is difficult to ascertain whether changes

Figure 3
Pre-test - Post-test Model



in the program group between times 1 and 2 are the result of the program or merely random variation. If additional prior baseline measures are gathered, as prescribed by the time series design, more information is available to help select the best explanation for the variation.

C. A Multiple Group Time Series Design with Continuous Intervention

A more adequate design, and one that may be used in comparing jurisdictional units with a new community-based program with jurisdictional units without one, is the multiple group time series design. This design enjoys much greater validity than the single group time series design, since it is based on a "between groups" as well as a "within groups" comparison of intervention effects. Its validity is even greater if experimental units are randomly assigned to intervention or no intervention or at least carefully matched.

The schematic description of this design is presented in Figure 4. In applying this design to the community-based problem, one of the study groups is a unit with an operating community-based program while the other study group is a unit without one.

It is unlikely that there will be random assignment of a community-based program to one jurisdictional area and not to the other. Comparability must be established by a careful matching of cities or counties for comparison on the usual demographic variables (e.g., size, socioeconomic and racial and ethnic makeup, size and organization of the police force, etc.).

In this type of time series comparison, one expects to find a discontinuity in the time series data of the unit with a community-based program and the lack of discontinuity in the comparison unit, all the time guarding

Figure 4

Multiple Group Time-Series Design with Continuous Intervention

	<u>Time 1</u>	<u>Time 2</u>	<u>Time 3</u>	<u>Time 4</u>	<u>Time 5</u>	<u>Time 6</u>
<u>Treatment Group</u> Unit with Community-Based Program	O ₁	O ₂	O ₃	I O ₄	I O ₅	I O ₆
<u>Comparison Group</u> Unit without Community-Based Program	O ₇	O ₈	O ₉	O ₁₀	O ₁₁	O ₁₂

against interpreting random variation as indicative of a discontinuity. And since the intervention is continuous rather than temporary, the discontinuity should exhibit considerable persistence.

D. Multiple Outcomes Measurement

Typically, time series designs are used to assess the degree of change in trend on one outcome variable of interest that can be attributed to some programmatic intervention. A number of outcome measures should be used in the evaluation of community-based programs, since there may be interest in assessing a number of unanticipated outcomes in addition to the typical desired outcome - a reduction in the number of incarcerations.*

A number of important outcome variables to be measured are listed below.

Such outcome measures can be used with both one and two unit comparison designs.

- (1) Does the establishment of a community-based program serve to reduce the number of juveniles who are incarcerated? The calculation of the number of juveniles placed in incarcerative facilities over time in each jurisdiction is one outcome measure for answering this question.
- (2) Does the establishment of a community-based program serve to expand the influence of the juvenile justice system over the lives of juveniles? A number of outcome variables might be measured to detect this effect:
 - a) the number of cite, warn, and release dispositions over time. If the establishment of the community-based program serves merely to dispose of troublesome youngsters who would have merely been warned and released prior to the program, then these dispositions can indicate net-widening tendencies. If the number of CWRs abruptly changes at the time that the community-based program is

*For example, Lerman's reanalysis of the California Community Treatment Program generated a number of different conclusions about its efficacy merely because he used more than one outcome measure.

- introduced, then there is some indication that community-based programs are not true alternatives to incarceration and that net-widening is occurring.
- b) the number of status offenders, minor offenders, or first offenders who are incarcerated. If a community-based program is truly an alternative to incarceration for these particular youths, then one should expect an abrupt decrease in the number of minor offenders who are incarcerated. It may be that many of these youths do not require any services at all.
- c) the total number of youths "treated" either by a community-based program or placed in a secure facility. If this measure shows an abrupt increase after the alternative community programs are developed, then we have evidence of a widening of the net of influence.

- (3) Does the establishment of a community-based program result in a change in the types of offenders who are incarcerated? A community-based program may reduce incarcerations of only some types of offenders and still be considered successful. If the shallow end strategy is operative, then one should expect a decrease in the number of youths incarcerated who are status offenders or minor offenders but there may be no change in the number of youths incarcerated who are serious offenders. On the other hand, if the deep end strategy is used, one should expect to find a decrease in the number of youths incarcerated who are serious offenders, as well as a decrease in the number of status and minor offenders who are incarcerated.
- (4) Does the establishment of a community-based program create an expansion of personnel and operating costs of a juvenile justice system? A number of outcome variables might be measured to detect this effect:
 - a) the number of community-based programs in a particular jurisdiction funded by the juvenile justice system.
 - b) the number of clients referred to the programs.
 - c) operating costs of the juvenile justice system. Two different indicators of operating costs might be employed: the number of personnel employed; and budget size. An abrupt increase in these indicators corresponding to the introduction of a community-based program would be indicative of an increase in operating costs attributable to the new community-based program.
- (5) Does the establishment of a community-based program result in an increase in the length of time an offender is under official control of the juvenile justice system? This indicator would involve calculating the average number of months that adjudicated offenders were under official supervision (direct supervision probation, participation in a community-based program, and incarcerated).

- (6) Does the establishment of a community-based program result in offenders being offered treatment tailored more to their individual needs? The existence of individually-appropriate treatment implies the existence of a wide variety of different treatment technologies. Thus, to ascertain whether the establishment of a community-based program serves to stimulate diversity in treatment technology, a survey of the number of different technologies available can be done. If the number of different treatment techniques available increases corresponding to the adoption of the community-based program, then we have some evidence that individualized treatment is more of a possibility.*

While it is unlikely that all of these indicators would be used in any single evaluation, they represent the variety of measurements necessary to answer the questions raised earlier. Gathering such data allows tentative assessment of some of the more systematic questions about the community-based program's effect on the juvenile justice system.

E. Collection of Data

With some exceptions, most of the data needed for the various time series analyses should be available in official records. Official records may not exist for some of the outcome variables; in these cases, time series analysis will not be possible, since adequate pre-intervention baseline measurements will not be available. It is recommended that pre-measures of the variables be collected for at least three years prior to the beginning of the community-based program and that post measures be gathered for at least the same amount of time. It is probably best to set the time intervals equal to one year.

*This type of evidence does not indicate whether matching of client needs with treatment techniques does, in fact, occur.

F. Monitoring the Intervention

Community-based program interventions are usually continuous over time, that is, they are introduced and then maintained over a number of years. As in the client outcomes design, it is essential to monitor the intervention as well as the outcomes variables over time. If the nature of the community-based program intervention changed after the initial implementation of the program, this would affect the time series data. If this change in administration were not detected by monitoring, there is the risk of attributing the second discontinuity in the time series data to random variation or spontaneous change when it really was the result of a later program change.

G. Analysis of the Data

Two major problems enter into the analysis of the data, aside from the special statistical problems of analyzing time series data.* In interpreting a change in time series data it must be remembered that any change corresponding to the intervention is not necessarily significant; what is necessary is a discontinuity or change in the prior pattern of changes. Generally, changes are in the level or the direction of the time series data, but more complex changes are possible. The interpretation of the change depends upon what is predicted.

Secondly, caution must be exercised not to attribute the change only to the treatment involved in the community-based program. As Lerman

*For further discussion of special statistical problems in analysis, see Gene V. Glass, V. L. Wilson and J. M. Gottman, Design and Analysis of Time-Series Experiments, Boulder, Colo.: Colorado Associated University Press, 1975.

suggested regarding the California Community Treatment Program, some changes in outcome variables may be as attributable to changes in administrative decisions or parole revocation criteria as they are to the effect of the program.¹⁴ This problem is addressed in our later discussion of validity.

H. Problems in Using Official Statistics

The use of official statistics as outcome measures presents some problems in reliability and validity. Official statistics tend to under-report the incidence of law violations in general, to under-report violations by middle and upper socioeconomic class individuals, and to over-report violations in areas habituated by poor and minority group persons. In addition, official statistics can be manipulated to present a distorted picture of criminality in a community.

I. Drawing Inferences

As in the client outcome design, there are eight sources of internal invalidity and four sources of external invalidity that need to be controlled or accounted for. In addition, there is one additional source of internal invalidity that is particularly problematic in time series designs. A detailed discussion of these threats to validity in the time series design is presented in Technical Appendix II. For purposes of brief exposition, it is possible to list which of these threats can be controlled or accounted for in the time series design:

	<u>Internal Validity</u>	<u>External Validity</u>
Controlled:	Maturation Testing Selection Mortality Interaction of Selection & other Sources	Interaction of Testing and Treatment Reactive Arrangements
Controlled to some extent:	Regression Instability	Interaction of Selection and Treatment Multiple Treatment Interference
Major Threat to Validity:	History Instrumentation	

J. Special Resources Needed for Time Series Analysis

Much of the data needed for the time series designs is retrievable from official records and/or can be collected by normal monitoring research on the various agencies in the juvenile justice system. However, special statistical consultation will be required. The complicated problems involved in analyzing time series data are beyond the experience of many researchers.

V. PROGRAM PROCESS EVALUATIONS

A number of research issues raised in the alternatives to incarceration report cannot be addressed by the two types of proposed evaluation designs - the client outcome design and the system-wide design. While many of these issues might be referred to as basic research issues, they should not be totally ignored in the evaluation of community-based programs. These

research issues basically concern the types of processes that occur within and around program operations. While most evaluation research in the past has focused upon program outcome measures (usually in terms of individual outcomes), many researchers in juvenile justice are calling for evaluation research to pay more attention to program processes and community context.^{15,16}

Process evaluations generally involve systematic observation of program operations, sometimes combined with interviews with program personnel, clients, and/or community leaders. These evaluations attempt to obtain a more detailed picture of how the program actually operates on a day-to-day basis (as opposed to how it claims it operates), the constraints under which the program operates, emergent procedures and strategies, variations in treatment implementation, covert objectives, and linkages with the wider community and other agencies. These types of issues often do not receive sufficient attention in outcome evaluations.

However, these types of evaluations are not "designed" in the sense that outcome evaluations are, except for specifying the sampling plan and observation schedule. Process evaluations involve trained observers spending a great deal of time at the program site at attempting to develop an intimate picture of how the program operates. Thus, no one type of research design for process evaluations is specified, but a number of research questions that lend themselves to this type of research strategy are delineated.

A number of research questions seem to require observational studies of program operations:

- (1) The use of discretion in initial arrests, assignment to program or incarceration, processing of clients in the treatment program, and pronouncements of treatment success.
- (2) The degree to which programs are just or equitable in their treatment of clients.
- (3) Humaneness of treatment.
- (4) The relative mix of treatment and punishment.
- (5) Variations in application of treatment technology.
- (6) Degree of control over client.
- (7) Linkages with other treatment agencies or juvenile justice officials and methods of coordination; quid pro quo arrangements; degree to which actions of other juvenile justice officials restrict the freedom of treatment program personnel.
- (8) Political constraints on treatment program.

This list could be extended. However, all that is important in this discussion is to emphasize that not all research questions can be answered by outcome evaluation designs. While observational studies do not generally possess the credibility of more quantitative evaluation studies, there are some questions that can only be dealt with by the use of process evaluations.

VI. A MONITORING SYSTEM FOR PROGRAM ACCOUNTABILITY

A. Introduction

The detailed proposals for developing program and system-wide evaluations were premised on the almost universal belief that programs must be held publicly accountable. Given the hundreds of community-based programs that exist or are being planned, rational decisions about the allocation of resources require more information about program implementation and

outcomes than has been provided in the past. Almost all observers of juvenile justice systems comment on the general lack of basic data on existing programs. For example, it is unlikely that it is even known how many community-based programs presently exist on a national or statewide level.

The detailed evaluation studies proposed earlier cannot provide enough information on all programs that exist. They are just too costly; they need to be employed judiciously and be supplemented by a monitoring system that systematically provides information on all existing community-based programs. Such a monitoring system must be capable of generating information on community-based program inputs and processes in a less costly but still efficient manner. Such information should be gathered by program staff in a consistent format so that program comparisons are possible. Such information should also provide higher decision-makers with a better overall picture of what is going on in the alternatives to incarceration field.

This discussion will focus upon a monitoring system for community-based programs, but it should not deflect attention from the need for monitoring all agencies in the juvenile justice system. If other agencies are not monitored it would be impossible to carry out the system-wide evaluations that were proposed earlier.

A monitoring system requires that a minimal amount of information about how a program works is gathered at periodic time intervals (at a minimum, once each year). If such monitoring data is provided by each program under their jurisdiction, they would be able to determine what they now are often unable to: are programs running as they were intended, are funds being used in ways planned, and are programs reaching the intended target population?

Program monitoring focuses upon program inputs and processes. Monitoring needs to be supplemented by program and system evaluations, which focus upon program outcomes. The combined use of both monitoring techniques and program evaluations provides the potential of generating the kind of information needed in making future program decisions.

B. A Routine Monitoring System for Community-Based Programs

Each community-based program should be required to collect specific information about its clients, its staff, and its normal operating procedures. Such information could be gathered as part of the normal information gathering process. However, in the past, programs have not gathered such information in a standard way, making it difficult to use by outside agencies. If a standard format for gathering information is employed, incomplete information, inconsistent tabulation methods, or incommensurable statistics would no longer be a problem.

Information on a number of aspects of the program should be gathered:

1. Program Initiation and History: In order to set the context for interpreting program statistics, each program should supply a rather detailed narrative of the history of the program - what it intended to accomplish, a specification of organizational goals (both short range and long range), how the program was initially implemented and with what resources, initial staffing, and a description of the institutional, community, and political context within which it began. This information should be updated yearly if there are pertinent changes in any of the above factors. Wherever possible, this information should be supplemented by a site visit by the funding agency.

2. Resource Allocation: Each program operates with a limited budget; it is imperative that efficient use of limited resources prevails. Thus, one important source of program accountability is the allocation of funds. The following information about program allocations of money and staff should be made at yearly intervals:

(a) Organizational Description: If the community-based program is part of another organization or maintains a close working relationship with another organization, this should be specified in detail. A detailed organizational chart should be provided which describes the division of labor of the staff - who is responsible for administrative duties, who conducts the treatment, who solicits additional funding, etc. In addition, the percentage of time of each staff member devoted to each of these different functions should be provided. A brief description of decision-making authority and modes should be provided. Finally, the hours that the program is open for accepting and treating clients should be specified.

(b) Program Staff: A list of program personnel should be provided, indicating job responsibilities, salaries, age, minority status, previous education and work experience. An average staff/client ratio for the year should be provided. If volunteers are used in the program, their role in program operations should be specified. Finally, any in-service training or educational programs for the program staff should be described.

(c) Budgets and Expenditures: The report should include a rather detailed delineation of funding sources and amounts, as well as plans for future funding. In addition, a general line item delineation of expenditures for the past year should be included.

(d) Physical Facilities: A brief description of where the program is located and housed, as well as projections of future space needs. If special equipment is used or needed, this should be specified.

(e) Outreach Activities: If the program has a special outreach program or set of activities, they should be described. The amount of time devoted to such activities should be indicated. If special efforts are made to follow up dropouts, they should be described.

3. Target Population: The following data about the target population of the program should be provided:

(a) a brief description of the intended target population;

(b) a statistical description of sources of referral of clients to the community-based program, e.g., what percent were assigned by the regular probation department, by the Department of Corrections or Department of Youth Services, and by other juvenile justice officials;

(c) statistics on clients served by the community-based program, including the following: number of clients served, number of clients completing the treatment, number of dropouts, number of clients arrested while in the community-based program, etc. Also, statistics on the prior violation history of clients should be presented, e.g., number of previous arrests, detentions, petitions filed, adjudications, and whether ever incarcerated before, as well as a categorization of clients by type of offense for which they were adjudicated (status offense, misdemeanor, minor felony, serious felony). Finally, the client population should be described in terms of demographic variables, such as age, minority status, SES, sex, and pertinent family and educational data;

(d) the range and the average length of time that clients participated in the program;

(e) a short description of the degree to which the types of clients who actually participated in the community-based program correspond to the intended target population.

4. Treatment Technology: The following information on the treatment provided by the community-based program should be supplied:

(a) a detailed description of the type of treatment provided by the community-based program, e.g., individual counselling, group therapy, behavior modification, vocational training, etc. This detailed description would involve a specification of exactly what the nature of the treatment is, the typical frequency of sessions, typical duration, type of follow-up after treatment. If additional types of treatment are also used, they should be described. Unusual problems should be noted;

(b) the extent to which detention is used as a sanctioning technique for dealing with misconduct, e.g., number of times used, average number of times used per client, etc.;

(c) other services provided to clients;

(d) estimates of time that treatment staff devote to treating clients, other administrative duties, supervisory activities, etc. should be provided;

(e) the truancy rate, if it is a residential program;

(f) specific criteria of "success," e.g., a specified number of sessions attended, judgment of professional staff, client having met certain performance goals, etc.

5. How Clients Exit from the Community-Based Program: Descriptive data on placements for clients leaving the program; e.g., are they living with family or foster parents or in another residential treatment program, are they in school, are they employed, etc.

6. Coordination with Other Agencies: Each program should be expected to specify the nature of its working relationships with other community-based programs, the police, the juvenile court, the Department of Youth Services, the probation department, etc. The exact nature of the coordinative activities should be specified. If the community-based program regularly has clients referred to it from another program or regularly refers its clients elsewhere for serial treatment (the network strategy), this should be described and summary statistics should be provided.

7. Community Input: The degree to which the community-based program receives input and feedback from community groups should be documented. Specifically, what community interest groups and what other juvenile justice professionals have influenced program operations and in what ways? Is there an advisory board for the program, and if so, are there any community representatives on it?

8. Follow-up Data on Clients: Finally, any efforts that the community-based program makes to follow-up its clients should be documented. If this is done, summary statistics should be provided, along with the way in which the program staff utilize such data.

C. Problems in Using Monitoring Data

Once monitoring data has been gathered, files must be generated and maintained in some central office, probably the state planning agency or a national clearinghouse. Such files will be used to generate descriptive data on community-based programs in the state and the nation. Unless the data is gathered using some standard form, it is virtually impossible

to compile overall statistics. The use of normal operations records of diversion and other types of programs will not suffice, since they are usually incomplete, incommensurable, bulky and inefficient.

There are still problems in using forms devised by a central office. When a data center or clearinghouse receives completed data forms from persons not under their control and when those persons who fill out the form do not use the information for their own work purposes, inaccuracies are likely. Thus, special efforts are necessary to insure the completeness and reliability of the data received. It is possible that a special unit of workers, responsible for data collection in the field, will have to be added to the staff of the state planning agency or the national clearinghouse. These workers would be responsible for training and assisting program staff in filling out the monitoring reports and for following up inaccurate reports.

Also, a system for precoding the data will have to be devised, so that once the data is received and stored, it can be efficiently retrieved at a later date.

D. Who Monitors Whom?

Program accountability data gathered through the monitoring system will, in all likelihood, be forwarded to the state planning agency for purposes of ascertaining whether the program is utilizing its money and staff in the intended manner (although it may also get channelled to some local supervisory agency before going to the state planning agency). Summary statistics about alternative programs can be generated by the research division of the state planning agency and then, if desired, routed to a national

clearinghouse for the tabulation of national statistics. This procedure approximates the notion of hierarchical auditing, suggested by Glaser.¹⁷

E. An Alternative Method: Use of Quality Control Techniques

If desired, there exists a more comprehensive method of building accountability into juvenile justice agencies and programs that could potentially supplement the above-mentioned monitoring procedure. A form of quality control could be introduced into the evaluation of community-based programs. This process would involve setting up a special research team for the purposes of continuously reviewing the quality of organizational performance. This special research team would randomly select a number of cases (individuals) who have been adjudicated and assigned to community-based programs. Once an individual case is selected, a thorough review of the processing of the client would be undertaken. This review would begin with the initial contact of the client with juvenile officials and trace the case until the juvenile was released from the program or supervision by juvenile officials. Each step of the processing would be reviewed in order to determine if the correct choices were made, if the rights of the juvenile were protected, if adequate treatment was provided, if discriminatory treatment was present, and how adequately the client was placed in a home or supervisory setting upon release from the program.

This procedure holds high potential for building in accountability in program operations. However, it is costly and difficult to undertake. It requires a great deal of time of the research staff, and it requires relatively objective standards of performance so that decisions and actions can be evaluated. At present, such standards of performance do not exist.

F. Dissemination of Results

Once the monitoring data is collected, evaluated, and summarized, the planning and funding agencies can use it to make decisions about future funding, continuation of programs, and/or expansion of programs. Feedback should also be provided to the individual community-based programs.

This use of the monitoring information is completely internal to the juvenile justice system. What has been left out of this process are interested individuals and groups external to the juvenile justice system. If there truly exists a commitment to public accountability, then this data must be made available to interested outsiders. Hopefully, more than summary data will be made available to the public.

VII. COST COMPARISONS

A. Introduction

A final way of evaluating community-based programs is to compare costs. While cost analysis does not deal with the issue of organizational effectiveness, it is a popular mode of comparison, given the difficulty of dividing reliable bench marks of effectiveness. Since resources for community-based programs are limited, economic considerations are often important.

One word of caution: It is tempting to focus too much on cost statistics; they are tangible, easy to interpret, and politically persuasive. However, there is always the danger of giving higher priority to monetary values than to effectiveness statistics. It is no easy task to reduce crime, and it is often a costly virtue. Cost estimates do not always adequately represent other kinds of savings to the community and society, such as money saved by reducing the number of incarcerated individuals,

the savings in property loss, personal loss, and psychic damage from prevented crime, savings in welfare costs, and gains in social and economic production.

There are numerous ways of calculating program costs, each with its strengths and weaknesses. A number will be presented, indicating how each could be applied. Given the large number of programs to be costed, one must rely upon relatively simple procedures that compare program costs in terms of standard units of comparison.

B. An Impractical Method: Cost-Benefit Analysis

The most sophisticated method of calculating costs and benefits to the community of a particular community-based program is some form of cost-benefit analysis. This technique not only calculates costs in a sophisticated manner but also attempts to estimate the financial value of the social benefits provided by the program. However, this technique has two overwhelming weaknesses: 1) it requires a great deal of staff time and effort to estimate financial values for social benefits which are sometimes overly vague and/or arbitrary; and 2) it would overburden community-based program personnel by making enormous demands on them to supply detailed program information regarding program costs and effectiveness. Except for unusually large experimental programs, this technique is not recommended.

C. Comparing Community-Based Programs with Incarceration

A critical comparison is between the costs of running a community-based program relative to the costs of incarcerating offenders. This is a difficult comparison, since clients typically spend different lengths of time in each

program. A simple total cost per client figure will not reflect this difference. For example, if a community-based program handles 25 clients in one year and has a total operating cost of \$50,000, while a training school handles 100 clients in one year and has a total operating cost of \$200,000, their per client costs are identical. However, if the average duration in the community-based program is six months and the average duration of incarceration is twelve months, then the community-based program is less costly.

If one calculates "cost per client-term," then one can relate total program costs to both the number of clients handled and average duration in the program. A cost per client-term is calculated by multiplying the average cost per client per month by the average duration in months:

$$\text{Cost per Client-Term} = \frac{\text{total program cost}}{\text{No. of clients}} \div 12 \times \frac{\text{No. of client-month}}{\text{No. of clients}}$$

Table 1 calculates a "cost per client-term" for three different hypothetical community-based programs and a hypothetical training school:

TABLE 1

ALTERNATIVE PROGRAMS

<u>PROGRAM ITEMS</u>	<u>CTP A</u>	<u>CTP B</u>	<u>CTP C</u>	<u>TRAINING SCHOOL</u>
Total Annual Expenditures	\$50,000	\$50,000	\$50,000	\$200,000
No. of Clients Admitted	30	30	15	100
No. of Client-Months	170	330	180	1400
No. of Clients Completing Program	25	20	15	100
No. of "Successful" Clients	20	15	15	60
Cost per Client-Term	\$787.51	\$1527.79	\$3333.36	\$2333.38
Cost per Client (Admitted)	\$1667	\$1667	\$3333	\$2000
Cost per Client Completion	\$2000	\$2500	\$3333	
Cost per "Success"	\$2500	\$3333	\$3333	

D. Comparing Community-Based Programs

It is easier to compare costs of different community-based programs. The procedures essentially involve tabulating the annual operating costs of the programs and dividing these figures by a standard unit (time, effort, number of clients). The main problem inheres in accounting for all costs of a program.

1. Total Annual Expenditures: One important type of comparison is total cost. The total cost of a community-based program should include: cost or rental charges for physical space, equipment and supplies, salaries, and

other operating costs. If a building has been purchased for the program, depreciation should be included. And if the project is part of a government division, estimates of supervision and auditing costs incurred by higher government offices should be included.

2. Cost per Client Admitted: This measure is merely the total annual cost of the program divided by the number of clients admitted to the program during the year.

3. Cost per Client Completion: This measure is calculated by dividing the total annual cost of the program by the number of clients who complete the program. This is a better measure than cost per client admitted, since it calculates how much it costs to get an offender through the program.

4. Cost per Program Success: A measure of cost that can be applied to the later life of a community-based program is the annual cost of the program per "successful" client, that is, a client who does not recidivate within a certain period of time (probably one year). This measure can be calculated by dividing the total annual cost of a program in a particular year by the number of clients who completed the program in that year and were not rearrested during the following year.*

*These three different ways of calculating program costs are presented in Table 1.

Technical Appendix I:

Validity Issues in the Client Outcome Design

Differences in post-test scores between treatment and comparison groups are presumed to be the effects of the program treatment. This causal claim may be invalid; events unrelated to the program treatment may have caused the differences between treatment and comparison groups. And these threats to the internal validity of the experiment or quasi-experiment are supplemented by other threats to the validity of generalizations (external validity).

Most discussions of research designs merely describe or list these twelve common sources of invalidity and generally indicate that efforts must be made to check them out. Yet no general discussion of validity problems can replace a careful examination of concrete research proposals, since some of the judgments about invalidity depend upon the particular research application. Thus, as a supplement to the proposed design, a more extended discussion of validity problems is included. The standard form is used for discussing validity problems, as originally presented by Campbell and Stanley.

Since the proposed research design involves two types of data comparisons (individual changes while in the program and post-release behavior), examination of validity threats will have to be conducted separately for each of these two aspects of the proposed design.

A. Threats to Internal Validity

1. History

An event or set of events extraneous to the program treatment but coincident with it may produce a change in the post-test measures of the criterion variables of the treatment group which is mistaken as a treatment effect. Between O_1 and O_2 or between X_1 and F_1 many other change-producing events may have occurred in addition to the program treatment. History becomes

a more plausible rival hypothesis for changes in the treatment group the longer the time lag between pre- and post-tests or between application of the treatment and the follow-up measures. In this design, the time lag is relatively long, and hence, history is a plausible rival hypothesis. In addition, there is relatively little experimental isolation in alternatives to incarceration programs, again strengthening the possible effect of extraneous events.

However, the use of comparison groups is a control for the possible invalidating effects of history, since external events that may contaminate the measurement of change or post-treatment behavior in the treatment group should also contaminate the comparison groups in the same way. Historical events that might have produced the $O_2 - O_1$ difference or the $X_1 - F_1$ behavior would also produce an $O_4 - O_3$ difference or similar $X_2 - F_3$ behavior. Thus, it is relatively certain that the possible invalidating influence of general history is controlled in the proposed design.

The historical events referred to here are external to the treatment and comparison groups. The use of comparison groups does not control for the possible contaminating influence of specific events that occur within the program and prior to the post-test or follow-up measures. It is impossible to control for this contaminating influence through design, but familiarity with the program and how it was implemented over time should alert the research team to internal historical events, independent of the treatment, that could have caused the $O_2 - O_1$ change or the $X_1 - F_1$ behavior. This underscores the importance of field observations of the program and comparison group processes.

2. Maturation

Maturation refers to all biological or psychological processes which systematically vary with the passage of time, independent of specific external events. Thus, $O_2 - O_1$ differences of $X_1 - F_1$ behavior may not have been the result of the treatment but of a process of maturation. This is a salient rival hypothesis in delinquency research, since numerous studies have indicated that delinquency rates vary systematically with age. There is often an attenuation of law-breaking behavior after the age of 18, which is a simple function of growing older. If the treatment group is composed of offenders who leave the program at the age of 17 or 18, reductions in law-breaking behavior may be more a function of age than of the treatment program.

Again, the possible extraneous influence of maturation is controlled in our proposed design by the use of comparison groups, provided that the treatment and comparison groups have the same age distribution. Changes between O_1 and O_2 and between X_1 and F_1 that are due to maturation should also affect the changes between O_3 and O_4 and between X_2 and F_2 in the same way. Thus, we can be relatively certain that maturation is not a rival hypothesis for the results of the quasi-experiment.

3. Testing

A third confounded rival explanation is the effect of taking a pre-test upon the scores of the post-test. For example, scores of persons being measured on attitudes and self-concept after the program treatment may have been affected by their taking the same tests at the time of entering the program.

Testing is controlled in the proposed design, since it calls for comparing the pre-test scores of a randomly selected one-half of the program and comparison group members with the post-test scores of the other half of program and comparison group members. Since people taking the post-test have not been exposed to the pre-test, there can be no confounding.

The same reasoning holds for the follow-up measures. There cannot be a testing effect here, since no pre-test is given. Also, a testing effect is not likely since the follow-up measures are relatively non-reactive; they are gathered using official records and not by the direct application of a test or questionnaire to the subjects.

Thus, testing is not likely to be a rival hypothesis.

4. Instrumentation

A fourth rival hypothesis is termed instrumentation or instrument decay and refers to autonomous changes in the calibration of the measuring instrument or changes in the observers or scorers used in assessing behavior or attitudes. This is particularly relevant to studies in delinquency, since arrest and conviction criteria have been known to change over time. If a study uses law violation rates as a criterion variable and change is assessed over a long period of time, then changes in rates between Time 1 and Time 2 may be more attributable to changes in the basis of making arrests than to the implementation of a new treatment program.

Instrumentation is controlled to a certain extent in the proposed design, since if there is instrument decay, it should exhibit its effect equally on measurements of both treatment and comparison groups. Thus, if the measuring instruments for assessing individual attitudes are changes between the pre-test and post-test, this confounding effect should manifest itself equally

on both the treatment and comparison groups. Also, if the discretions used in making juvenile arrests should change systematically over a time corresponding to the running of the new alternatives to incarceration program, this change should affect in about the same manner the follow-up measures of law violations for both the treatment and comparison groups.

However, there are two possible ways in which instrument decay may create validity problems for the proposed design. First, if the follow-up measures for the treatment program participants and the comparison group members are taken at widely divergent times it is possible that different criteria for arrests were in effect. Secondly, if police or parole officers (those who usually have contact with juveniles and determine the basis for arrests or parole revocations) are aware of who participated in the community-based program and who did not it is possible that they might apply different criteria for arrests of these individuals at a later time. Such use of differential criteria for re-arrests could either discriminate in favor of or against the new treatment program. Sarri and Selo present evidence that this has occurred in the past.¹⁸

If the follow-up measures of the treatment and comparison groups are obtained at approximately the same time, the former problem is minimized (although this is somewhat of a problem for the incarcerated comparison group, since some in this group may have been incarcerated for a lengthy period of time). Careful field observations can minimize the threat of the latter problem, since the research team may detect the shifting nature of arrest criteria. However, because of these two possible problems, one cannot be as confident that these sources of invalidity are always controlled as much as would be desired. Hence, instrumentation is controlled only to some extent.

5. Statistical Regression

A fifth possible confounding influence is statistical regression - effects attributable to imperfect test-retest correlations for groups selected on the basis of their extreme pre-test scores.

In one sense, regression effects should not confound this proposed design, since subjects are not assigned to the different study groups on the basis of pre-test scores. However, there is the possibility that initial dispositions to the new community-based program, direct supervision probation, and the incarcerated group are correlated with previous history or predicted risk. If this is the case, there is the possibility of regression effects.

Regression effects are controlled for in the part of the experiment that assesses changes while in the program. Pre-tests are given a random one-half of the persons in the community-based program and in the regular intake program. Thus, regression from extreme scores should be equally distributed across both groups.

However, regression effects are a more plausible rival explanation in any analysis of differences in follow-up measures. The more that initial assignments to each of the study groups is correlated with the prior records of the youths, the greater is the likelihood that regression effects may be present. This underscores the importance of attempting to randomize, as much as possible, the assignment of individuals to the different study groups. To the extent that randomization is approximated, regression as an alternative hypothesis is ruled out. Therefore, statistical regression is controlled only to some extent in this proposed design.

6. Selection

A sixth threat to the validity of inferences, and a major one in our proposed design, is selection. A selection bias is the differential assignment of individuals to the treatment and comparison groups. In a true experiment this is controlled by random assignment, which allows the statistical assumption of initial equivalence of the different study groups. But, in the proposed design, random assignment of offenders to the community-based program, the probation unit, and to the incarcerated group is not always possible.

To some extent, the selection factor is controlled in the assessment of changes while in the program, since there is a comparison of changes in scores over time. If the two groups differed in initial pre-test scores, this initial difference is taken into account in the calculation of "change." Again, the use of a comparison group and the collection of pre-test data allows control for selection differentials.

However, this control is not present in the analysis of difference of follow-up measures, since pre-test data is not available. As indicated in the design proposal, there are two approximate ways to analyze the data in order to take into account possible initial differences. One way is to focus on the pattern of differences rather than on absolute differences; the other way is compare follow-up measures, controlling statistically for relevant background and history variables. But, as indicated in the proposal, these are only approximating techniques.

Selection, as a rival hypothesis, is not controlled as adequately as would be desired in this proposed design.

7. Mortality

Mortality, or the differential rate of attrition from the treatment and the comparison groups, is also a serious problem for this proposed design. Since this research design would be conducted over a relatively long period of time and since control and supervision over youths in the different study groups varies, it is reasonable to believe that the drop-out or attrition rates will vary to some extent.

Except for extraordinary efforts to trace down drop-outs by the research team, there is no way to control for this potentially biasing effect. If there is a differential dropout rate, it cannot be assured that the $(O_2 - O_1)$ and $(O_4 - O_3)$ differences and the F_1 and F_3 and F_5 and F_7 differences were not due to the differential dropout rate.

One can attempt to measure the potential effect of differential mortality. Using the initial intake measurements, one can attempt to determine the extent to which the dropouts from the community-based program changed the composition of this group.

In terms of follow-up data on law violations, it appears that the best strategy, although also more conservative in terms of discovering program effects, is to retain the dropouts in the analysis of the follow-up data for the treatment group. Even though they did not receive the full "treatment," to ignore the dropouts in the follow-up analysis could bias the follow-up statistics for the treatment group in favor of the most cooperative and probably least risky youths.

Mortality effects are not controlled as much as would be desired in this design.

B. Interaction of Selection with Maturation

The final threat to internal validity exists in the possible interactions of selection with maturation, history, or testing. In these cases, the rival hypothesis is that the selection differentials combine with these other variables in a special way to create changes in the treatment group that are independent of the treatment. These types of interactions are relatively rare. For the proposed design it seems that the only plausible rival hypothesis is an interaction between selection and maturation. However, to the degree that the age distributions of the treatment and comparison groups are similar, this threat to invalidity can be considered controlled.

B. Threats to External Validity

The threats to external validity are generally interaction effects, involving unique combinations of the treatment and some other variable. These interaction effects represent a potential specificity of the effects of the treatment to some undesirably limited set of conditions. Thus, threats to external validity limit the ability to generalize from the findings.

1. Interaction of Testing and Treatment

The effect of an interaction between pre-testing and the treatment is commonly referred to as a "sensitizing effect." That is, the application of a pre-test sensitized the subjects to the forthcoming treatment program to such an extent that it is difficult to argue that the treatment might work on subjects not sensitized by a pre-test.

Sensitizing biases should not limit the generalizability of this proposed design, since the individuals who receive the post-test did not take the pre-test. And similarly for the follow-up data, the individuals were not pre-tested.

Thus, this confounding factor is controlled.

2. Interaction of Selection and Treatment

This source of invalidity arises if there is something about the population of offenders in a particular locale that would make them exceptionally receptive or unreceptive to the treatment program. In the case of the proposed designs for evaluating community-based programs, one would have to argue that there is something unique about offenders in those locales that choose to set up community-based programs that make them unique. There may be something unique about officials in a particular juvenile justice system in a city or county that led them to set up such a program in the first place. It is unlikely that this contention can be applied to the class of offenders, unless it is discovered that alternatives to incarceration programs are only set up in middle class communities (or lower class communities) or that they only apply to offenders of a particular class or minority status. As long as we discover similar results between alternatives to incarceration programs in various communities and those serving a various mix of offenders, this threat to external validity is minor.

3. Reactive Arrangements

Reactive arrangements occur when the subjects of an experimental program exhibit certain behavior and attitudes, not because of the effect of the treatment, but because of the knowledge that they are being studied and

observed. Thus, the very fact that somebody asks them questions and administers questionnaires may elicit socially desirable responses (Hawthorne effects or experimental demand responses).

This threat to external validity is minimized to the extent that data gathering is perceived as part of the normal routine of the program and to the extent that nonreactive measurements are used. In the proposed design, a number of minimizing controls for this source of invalidity are present. First, juveniles who come into contact with official agencies are typically asked to give a host of information about self and attitudes. It is not unreasonable to argue that the additional data gathering required by the evaluation research can be treated as part of the normal information-gathering procedure. Secondly, the use of official statistics for the measurement of the follow-up data effectively removes the reactive bias.

Reactive arrangements are relatively controllable in this design.

4. Multiple Treatment Interference

The final source of external invalidity is multiple treatment interference which is likely to occur whenever multiple treatments are applied to subjects either serially, concomitantly, or alternatively introduced, then removed. The multiple treatments often interfere with each other since the effects of prior treatments are not usually erasable.

In the sense that Campbell and Stanley discuss multiple treatment interference, it is not an invalidating factor in our proposed design since multiple treatments are not presented to the same subjects over a time period.

However, in the sense of attempting to ascertain to what extent the treatment technology itself accounted for the difference or change and to

what extent it was the treatment technology as it was embedded in a particular program milieu that was responsible for the change, this source of invalidity may present some problems for the proposed design.

The proposed design is not capable of determining with much certainty whether it was the treatment technology alone that explains the results. But it must be remembered that this proposed design is suited for evaluating the efficacy of a community-based program strategy, involving a set of administrative decisions and a set of special treatments rather than merely the application of a particular treatment technology. The usual state of affairs in community-based programs is multiple treatment - not administered systematically or in serial order but concomitantly and in various mixes. The proposed design evaluates the efficacy of a community-based strategy and thus, at this stage in the development of evaluation research, it is too early to consider attributing effects to particular treatment technologies.

Thus, multiple treatment interference is not a serious threat to the validity of this proposed design, not so much because it is controlled for in the design but because it is not a pertinent question for this type of evaluation.

Technical Appendix II:

Validity Issues in the System-Wide Evaluation Design

Changes in the level or direction of the time series data that correspond to the introduction of the community-based program are presumed to be caused by the program. This causal claim may be invalid; events unrelated to the intervention may have caused the changes in the outcome variables. These are threats to the internal validity of the quasi-experiment. In addition, there are limits to the generalizability of the findings (threats to external validity).

As in the discussion of the client outcome design, each of these threats to validity will be examined in light of the proposed time series designs. Again, since two types of time series designs were presented, validity threats are examined separately for both the single group time series design and the multiple group time series design.

A. Threats to Internal Validity

1. History

History represents a primary threat to the internal validity of the single-group time series design. There is no way to statistically separate the effects of a newly-established program from the effects of historical events that occurred coincidental with or shortly after the program was introduced. Only a detailed familiarity with the local situation can serve as a check on this source of invalidity. History as an invalidating factor is less relevant in the multiple group design. For most historical events, it is likely that external events will affect post-intervention behavior in the comparison group in the same way as in the treatment group. But there is an exception to this rule: If a set of historical events that affect

outcomes variables was unique to one of the two localities in the time series design and not to the other, the invalidating effects of history are still not controlled. Again, familiarity with the local situation provides some protection against invalid inferences.

2. Maturation

Maturation should not be a threat to internal validity in the single-group time series, unless a significant proportion of the juveniles under study are in an age for which it is argued that the introduction of the community-based program corresponds to a critical period in their personal growth and development. Maturation is controlled for if the age distributions of the juveniles under study are similar for both the treatment and the comparison group in the multiple-group time series.

3. Testing

Testing should not be an invalidating factor in either of the two proposed time series designs, since pre-tests are not used and the measurements are nonreactive.

4. Instrumentation

Instrument change or decay can be a source of invalidity in either of the two designs. If criteria for making arrests change over time, changes in the time series that are due to such changes in measuring instruments may be mistaken for effects of the community-based program (single group design). In like manner, if instrument changes occur in one locality and not in the other or if there are changes of a different nature in the two locales, invalid inferences about program effects may be drawn (multiple-group design). There is no way to statistically control for this possibility

in a time series design, but again, familiarity with the local events and processes can provide some checks against this problem.

5. Statistical Regression

A serious risk to the validity of any time series study occurs whenever an intervention program is introduced in response to a perceived acute problem. For example, this would occur if a particular jurisdictional unit decided to begin a community-based program because of unusually high rates of recorded juvenile crime. The problem with this occurrence is that the recent unusually high rate may merely be a typical variation in an unstable series. If this were the case, one would expect, on statistical grounds, some reversion to the earlier trend even without the introduction of the new community-based program. In this case, one would not be able to distinguish the statistical reversion to trend from an intervention effect. This is a subtle form of statistical regression. If such a time is not chosen for the introduction of the new program and if the two localities in the multiple group design are not selected for study because of their extreme delinquency rates, then statistical regression should not be a threat to validity in either the single or multiple group time series designs.

6. Selection

Selection should not be a threat to internal validity, in either the single or the multiple group design, since each group serves as its own control and the localities in the multiple group design are matched as much as possible.

7. Mortality

Mortality, in the usual sense of this term, is not a source of invalidity in either of the time series designs, since these designs are "replicative" time series studies and not "repetitive" ones. However, something akin to

mortality might serve to invalidate inferences about intervention effects: the change in unit composition of the treatment and/or comparison group over time. If, for some reason (such as change in population composition), the composition of the treatment group in the single-group design changed from the initial measurements to the later measurements, it would be difficult to distinguish changes in the time series data attributable to the intervention program from changes attributable to composition changes. Similarly for the multiple-group design, changes in the composition of either or both of the study groups will create problems of inference. Demographic analysis over time of the various localities under study should provide a check on this threat to invalidity.

8. Interaction of Selection and Other Sources of Invalidity

Under typical circumstances, this type of threat to validity should present no problems, since each group establishes its own baseline. Some problems in selection of treatment and comparison groups have already been discussed in the sections on maturation and instrumentation.

9. Instability

This is the threat to valid inferences about causality that is given most attention in time series designs. Instability refers to "statistical error," that is, unaccountable variation in the time series that may be mistaken for an intervention effect but which is not improbably larger than other unaccountable fluctuations in the series over time. Any time series data will reveal unstable fluctuation; the problem is in distinguishing this "normal" fluctuation from changes coincident with the intervention and inferred to be the result of the intervention. While this problem is not unique to time series studies, statistical analysis of such data is more

complex because of autocorrelation. Statistical methods for handling this problem are provided by Campbell, Stanley and Glass.¹⁹

B. Threats to External Validity

1. Interaction of Testing and Treatment

This threat to external validity should present no problems since there are no pre-tests that could sensitize subjects, since these designs are replicative rather than repetitive, and since the measures of outcomes variables are nonreactive.

2. Interaction of Selection and Treatment

Since these designs are replicative and hence the individuals measured and treated each year change somewhat, there is little reason to believe that there is something unique about the subjects under study that would make them unusually amenable or resistant to the treatment effect. However, to the extent that the localities chosen for inclusion in the time series study are unusual in terms of demographic variables, the threat of the interaction between selection and treatment can be a rival hypothesis. Demographic analysis of the localities under study can provide a check on this rival hypothesis.

3. Reactive Arrangements

Since unreactive measures of the outcome variables are used, this should provide no serious threat to external validity.

4. Multiple Treatment Interference

Since multiple interventions are not introduced in a serial order, there should be little threat from this source of invalidity. However, as we indicated earlier and in our discussion of the client outcome design, one

must guard against uncritically attributing a change in the time series to the treatment technology used in the community-based program. An equally plausible hypothesis is that the observed changes are the result of changes in administrative decisions or guidelines. Again, one must keep in mind that this system-wide evaluation design is an evaluation of the effectiveness of a community-based program strategy rather than of a community-based technology.

NOTES

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- 2 Paul Lerman, Community Treatment and Social Control (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).
- 3 Donald T. Campbell and Julian C. Stanley, Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1963).
- 4 Lerman, op. cit.; Paul Lerman, "Evaluating Institutions for Delinquents," Social Work, 13 (July 1968), pp. 55-66.
- 5 Lerman, 1975, op. cit.
- 6 Lerman, 1975, op. cit., pp. 30-33.
- 7 Daniel Glaser, Routinizing Evaluation (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973).
- 8 Henry W. Riecken and Robert F. Boruch, Social Experimentation (New York: Academic Press, 1974).
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- 10 Donald T. Campbell, "Reforms as Experiments," American Psychologist, 24 (1969), pp. 409-429.
- 11 Riecken, loc. cit.
- 12 Lerman, 1968, op. cit.
- 13 Donald T. Campbell, "Administrative Experimentation, Institutional Records, and Nonreactive Measures," ed. Julian C. Stanley, Improving Experimental Design and Statistical Analysis (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1967).

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