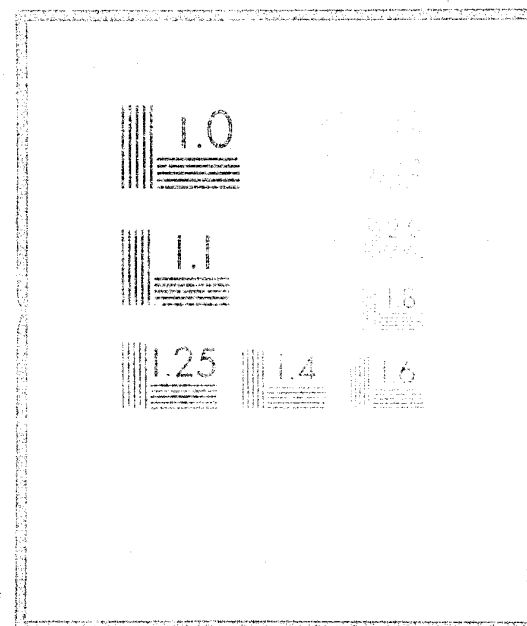


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7/7/77
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Juvenile Corrections Recidivism Evaluation

PREPARED BY:
Division of Program Planning
and Evaluation - Feb. 1976



COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
HARRISBURG

CHARLES P. McINTOSH
BUDGET SECRETARY

I am pleased to present this evaluation of the State's Juvenile Corrections System.

A thorough and continuing evaluation of programs for juvenile offenders is essential if we are to improve the level of effectiveness in reducing anti-social behavior.

This study represents the first comprehensive tabulation of recidivism among the various components of juvenile corrections. As such, it must be regarded as an initial base line, a starting point, from which to conduct more detailed inquiries into the relationship between rates of recidivism and program content.

It is my hope that this study will stimulate such on-going assessments of the Commonwealth's efforts in this area.

NCJRS

JUN 25 1977

ACQUISITIONS

Sincerely,

Charles P. McIntosh
Budget Secretary



ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

The following information was obtained from the records of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, regarding the land in question. The land is located in the State of California, County of San Diego, and is owned by the United States of America. The land is situated in the vicinity of the town of San Diego, and is bounded by the following landmarks: to the north by the town of San Diego, to the south by the town of San Diego, to the east by the town of San Diego, and to the west by the town of San Diego. The land is situated in the vicinity of the town of San Diego, and is bounded by the following landmarks: to the north by the town of San Diego, to the south by the town of San Diego, to the east by the town of San Diego, and to the west by the town of San Diego.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Part I - Title of Study

Juvenile Corrections Recidivism Evaluation

Part II - Program Title and Responsible Agencies

Programs and Responsible Agencies:

1. Reintegration of Juvenile Delinquents—Department of Justice, Juvenile Court Judges' Commission
2. Youth Development Services—Department of Public Welfare, Office of Children and Youth

Part III - Purpose of Study

To evaluate the relative effectiveness of the various components of Pennsylvania's juvenile correctional system by means of their respective recidivism rates.

The term correctional system component is used in this study to designate the form of correctional services rather than their substance, e.g., institutional services versus vocational training. Information concerning the programmatic content of the various components was not collected and is not presented here.

For the purposes of this study, recidivism is defined as a subsequent contact with the juvenile or adult justice system which results in the substantiation of a complaint within three years of release from a juvenile institution or placement on probation by a juvenile court in Pennsylvania. A substantiated case may result in probation, institutional placement or dismissal.

Part IV - Conclusions and Justifications

Conclusion A: No component of the juvenile corrections system was more effective (or ineffective) than any other at reducing recidivism among male juvenile offenders, with the exception of the Philadelphia Day Treatment Center. The relative success of the Day Treatment Center is attributed to factors such as screening and transferring out of high risk offenders and participation of non-adjudicated juveniles in the Center's program rather than to any inherent rehabilitative effect of the Center.

Justification: As stated above, no significant differences in recidivism rates could be found among the components of the juvenile corrections system for males. Taking the analysis a step further, the juvenile population studied was stratified according to characteristics such as age, number of prior offenses, type of offense together with family structure and income. The purpose was to determine the effects on recidivism of the different correctional components within specific age groups, types of offense, and so on. In spite of these controlled factors, no consistent pattern of statistically significant differences in recidivism among the correctional components was found. A similar finding resulted when the data were aggregated into Statewide rates. Hence, any differences found must be attributed to chance, i.e., random differences rather than differences caused by diverse abilities of the components to rehabilitate juveniles. The apparent lone exception to this finding, the Philadelphia Day Treatment Center, was examined to discover if any biasing factors could account for its relative success. Discussions with the Center's staff revealed that (1) a substantial percentage of the Center's population (approximately 20%) are referred to other programs by the court for new complaints before completion of the Center's program, and (2) up to 50% of the Center's population are non-court referrals. Thus, the study population for the Center probably consisted mainly of those who were most likely to succeed. It is felt that those factors are sufficient to account for a substantial measure of the Day Treatment Center's apparent effectiveness rather than something inherent in the Center's program.

Conclusion B: Institutional placement was more effective than placement on probation for female juvenile offenders with the following characteristics: non-white, first-time offender, or juvenile status offender.

Justification: Statistically significant differences were found between the institutional and probation recidivism rates for non-white females, first-time offenders and females adjudicated for juvenile status offenses (e.g., truancy, runaway, etc.). The rates for institutional placement were significantly lower than rates for placement on probation for each of these three categories of females.

Part V - Caveats

Compiling recidivism data involves a process of tracking released offenders through separate segments of the system. In many cases, these segments themselves are a conglomeration of autonomous agencies such as the county probation offices. Consequently, the tracking process results in a data bank which may be imprecise because of differences in record keeping, varied interpretations of terms and divergent classification schemes between agencies. The tracking process used here, however, is believed to have resulted in recidivism data which are more accurate than any yet developed in this State for released juvenile offenders.

Part VI - Corroboration

Since this was the first attempt to obtain recidivism rates for released juvenile offenders in Pennsylvania by tracking individuals through the various sub-units of the juvenile justice system, it was somewhat difficult to find corroborating evidence for the study's findings. A study by the New York State Division for Youth employed a similar tracking procedure for released juveniles and arrived at rates that were quite comparable to the rates in this study.

Other corroborating evidence of a general nature was obtained in a report put out by the Urban Institute, "Deinstitutionalization—Delinquent Children," in which little difference in rehabilitative effectiveness was reported for correctional methods ranging from community treatment to incarceration.

ABSTRACT

Society has had great difficulty in understanding and dealing with juvenile delinquency, a pressing and complex problem believed by some to be "inherently a part of our social system."

Because of a lack in the development of alternative programs for dealing with delinquency, juvenile corrections has traditionally centered around two basic methods of correctional treatment: institutionalization and probation.

At present (September, 1975), the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is in the process of developing alternative correctional methods for juveniles. While the immediate purpose of this study is to evaluate the rehabilitative effectiveness of the different components of the existing juvenile correctional system, the information here is particularly valuable as baseline data for later evaluations of new programs and methods. The term correctional system component is used in this study to designate the form of correctional services rather than their substance, e.g., institutional services versus vocational training. Information concerning the programmatic content of the various components was not collected and is not presented here.

In order to evaluate the rehabilitative effectiveness of juvenile corrections in Pennsylvania, recidivism data were developed by tracking youths either released during the last six months of 1970 from a State-owned or State-supported institution for juveniles or placed on probation during the first six months of 1971. Any of these youths who were again referred to a juvenile or criminal court in the State by December 31, 1973, were considered recidivists if the complaint against them was substantiated.

In order to control for factors that might bias the results, information on selected offender characteristics (e.g., age, race, number of prior referrals, etc.) was obtained. This evaluation assumed that each component was equally responsible for the rehabilitation of similar types of juveniles so that direct comparisons could be made between the recidivism rates of the different components within any particular category of the control variables.

For the male study population, no consistent pattern of statistically significant differences could be found among the recidivism rates of the different components; this led to the conclusion that no component of the juvenile corrections system in Pennsylvania is any more effective than any other at rehabilitating juveniles. There was some evidence, however, that particular institutions were more successful than others at rehabilitating juveniles.

Some specific findings for the male study population were:

- Based on recidivism data for other States somewhat comparable in size and programming for juvenile offenders, Pennsylvania's rate of recidivism for juveniles is about average.
- Recidivism and, possibly, criminal activity in general, appear to decline with increasing age for juveniles.
- The State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill may be effective at lowering the recidivism rate for certain first-time offenders but the data here are inconclusive and not always statistically significant.
- By the time a youth has two or more referrals in the juvenile system, the probability of his being referred again in the future is between 40% and 60%, depending on where he lived.
- There is some evidence that, as a general approach, institutionalization was more effective than probation for youths from lower income (under \$5,000) families although this finding was not statistically significant and was somewhat offset by the related finding that institutionalization was no better than probation regardless of the presence or absence of both natural parents.
- Although youths once involved with the juvenile system and later with the adult system can be traced to all components, Camp Hill and the YDC's had the highest rates of recidivists over 16 years of age entering the adult system.
- A youth placed on probation was more likely to be white, from a family where both natural parents were present or from a family with a yearly income of more than \$5,000 (in 1970); a youth released from an institution was more likely to be non-white, from a family where at least one natural parent was missing or from a family with a yearly income of less than \$5,000.

- Youth Development Day Treatment Center had significantly lower recidivism rates for almost every category of juvenile offender. This apparent success, however, was attributed to such factors as the likelihood that mostly low risk youths eventually graduate from the program, and the participation of non-adjudicated youths in the program (up to 50%) rather than to some inherent rehabilitative effect of the Center's program.

The problem of female juvenile delinquency has usually received much less attention than male delinquency, primarily because both the relative size and nature of female delinquency have appeared insignificant in comparison to male delinquency.

The analysis of the study data, however, led to several noteworthy findings:

- As a general correctional approach, institutionalization was more effective than probation for female delinquents although this was only statistically significant for females who (1) had had no prior referrals in the juvenile system, (2) were adjudicated for a juvenile (non-criminal) offense, or (3) were non-white.
- Some of the particular components (private and semi-private institutions) were more successful than others (YDC, probation) at rehabilitating female juvenile delinquents.
- While over 50% of the total female population studied had been involved in juvenile-type (non-criminal) offenses, 71% of those released from institutions had been adjudicated for juvenile offenses.

THE PROBLEM—REHABILITATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

Juvenile delinquency is one of the most pressing and complex problems facing society today. A complete study of the problem would require consideration of its social, psychological, economic and biological causes which, even then, might leave the investigator with an insufficient understanding of the etiology of juvenile delinquency. As Reckless and Dinitz point out after many years of study and research:

"There is, of course, no specific explanation, in the usual sense of that word, for delinquency. Instead, it is necessary to view delinquency, and more broadly, various forms of deviancy, as inherently a part of our social system." ¹

Faced with an incomplete understanding of the causes of juvenile delinquency, society is seriously hampered in its efforts to deal with the problem.

This is especially apparent for juvenile authorities who are expected to change youths who come from and most likely will return to environments that may well have contributed to the development of deviant behavior and who, perhaps, have no desire to be "rehabilitated" or "treated." By the time many youths come into the custody of juvenile correctional authorities, it may well be too late to bring about any real change in their attitudes and behavior through rehabilitation.

Ideally then, the problem should be handled in the community by programs aimed at the factors known to be associated with juvenile crime so that youths are prevented from ever having to enter the juvenile justice system. Such programs, however, are often expensive, politically disadvantageous and sometimes unworkable. A brief review of the literature on the causes of juvenile crime indicates that dealing with the problem at its roots would be a profound and probably unattainable task, at least for the immediate future.

The many problems arising in attempts at prevention programs have been well documented by Schafer and Knudten. Citing several sources, these two authors point to problems encountered by contemporary prevention and control programs:

"Any attempt at control is, however, frustrated by doubts among practitioners, researchers, jurists and lawyers over precisely what should be controlled. Even the preliminary questions of 'what assistance communities need in preventing juvenile delinquency' and how potential delinquents may be identified before they commit their antisocial acts cannot be answered with authority. Programs developed to define the particular needs that must be met if delinquency is to be prevented have not yielded encouraging results." ²

Finally, Reckless and Dinitz sum up the near impossibility of instituting a workable, systematic prevention approach:

"To prevent and control the problem, substantial alterations in the social structure would be required—changes few of us would be willing to accept. Delinquency, along with other social pathologies, is the stiff price exacted for the modern, affluent, twentieth-century life style." ³

Much research and experimentation as well as change in public thinking on delinquency is needed before prevention programs become a working reality. The present approach to juvenile delinquency involving arrest and processing through the juvenile justice system after an offense has been committed is, therefore, the program which receives the most attention and resources at this time.

In 1974, the total population of juveniles committed to training schools or other juvenile correctional facilities in Pennsylvania was 2,742 according to the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare. This does not include the 370 youths admitted to the State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill (SCIC) in 1974.

¹ Reckless, Walter C. and Simon Dinitz, *The Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency: An Experiment*, Ohio State Press: Columbus (1972), p. 4.

² Schafer, Stephen and Richard D. Knudten, *Juvenile Delinquency: An Introduction* (New York: 1970), Random House, p. 350.

³ Op. Cit., Reckless, Walter C. and Simon Dinitz.

The training schools include five Youth Development Centers (YDC's) and three Youth Forestry Camps (YFC's). The other facilities are mainly private juvenile institutions to which the State reimburses 50% of the cost per youth committed. A more complete description of the place of these facilities in the overall system is provided in the Appendix.

The juvenile corrections system in Pennsylvania may be on the brink of a complete restructuring. The Department of Public Welfare has recently received Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) funds from the Office of National Priority Programs, U. S. Department of Justice, in order to implement a "Reintegrative Offenders Project for Youth." The objectives of the project as stated in the funding proposal are twofold:

1. "... to immediately develop an alternative network of rehabilitative and treatment services for 392 juvenile offenders presently incarcerated in an adult medium security penitentiary and to effect their immediate transfer to the programs of the community-based alternative network consistent with the public safety." This objective was specifically designed to bring the State into conformity with the Juvenile Court Act of 1972, Section 27, which states that, "A child (under 18 years) shall not be committed or transferred to a penal institution or other facility used primarily for the execution of sentences of adults convicted of a crime unless there is no appropriate facility available, in which case the child shall be kept separate at all times."
2. "The project, through an expansion of (the) network of services, will develop more effective and less expensive alternative rehabilitation and treatment services for the majority of Pennsylvania's juvenile offenders presently incarcerated in large juvenile correction institutions in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." This project was designed to meet the lack of alternative programs for court adjudicated youth in Pennsylvania.

As this project is implemented, juvenile corrections in Pennsylvania may be radically altered.

It is implied throughout the proposal that the present juvenile correctional system has been unable to make any serious headway in the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders. Indeed, for many years, the present system has been open to similar criticisms from many others both within and outside of it, although few alternatives have been proposed until now.

The analysis that follows describes the present system* in terms of its effects on juvenile offenders in order to provide both an evaluation of the present system and baseline performance data for evaluations of future programs.

Recidivism rates are used as a measure of the efficacy of the system's performance. While they may not be ideal measures of the ability of the system to rehabilitate offenders, recidivism rates do provide indicators of this ability by measuring the capacity of the system to prevent those once processed from returning to the system.

* Although the study involves those originally in the system in 1970-71, it should be noted that the system has not changed much since then.

EVALUATION DESIGN

Introduction

One of the biggest gaps in the body of knowledge concerning the juvenile justice system in Pennsylvania is information on the effectiveness of juvenile corrections.

This study is one of the first attempts to fill this gap by examining recidivism rates of youths either released from one of the State's institutions (public or private) for juveniles during the last six months of 1970, or placed on probation by the court during the first six months of 1971.

The components of the juvenile correctional system examined are:

1. Youth Development Centers (YDC's)
2. Youth Forestry Camps (YFC's)
3. Youth Development Day Treatment Center (Philadelphia only)
4. Maximum Security Prison (State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill)
5. Private institutions
6. Probation

The "Program Background and Description" section of this study (See Appendix) provides a description of the juvenile justice system in Pennsylvania outlining the differences and similarities among these system components.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is committed to a policy of rehabilitation for juvenile offenders as indicated in the objective statement for the program subcategory, "Reintegration of Juvenile Delinquents," found in the 1975-76 Commonwealth budget document:

"To reduce the recurrence of juvenile delinquency through replacement of criminal behavior with socially acceptable behavior." (p. 439)

Recidivism rates measure the ability of the juvenile correctional system to achieve this objective in the negative sense that they indicate the degree to which the system is failing to achieve it. In other words, recidivism rates reflect the percentages of youths who do not demonstrate socially acceptable behavior subsequent to release from a correctional institution or placement on probation. Note that the word "reflect" is used here. Clearly, recidivism rates do not give a "pure" measure of all released youths who have not demonstrated socially acceptable behavior nor have all youths given subsequent referrals to juvenile court necessarily failed to demonstrate socially acceptable behavior. In the final analysis, however, recidivism rates provide the most easily accessible and objective measure of the failure of a correctional system to rehabilitate offenders.

In addition, the development of recidivism data in such a way that the resulting product provides a credible measure of the phenomenon of recidivism, as well as a measure of the rehabilitative ability of juvenile corrections, is useful for establishing a baseline for evaluations of future correctional programs.

Hypothesis

Since this study is basically exploratory in nature, it would, perhaps, seem inappropriate to make hypotheses on the anticipated differences in recidivism rates between the correctional components examined. Even if one desired to formulate hypotheses, the lack of information on the programmatic differences of the diverse components would preclude credible a priori statements since there would be no basis for them. Hence, no hypotheses on the expected outcome of the analysis have been formulated. Instead, the study probes an area that has, until the present, remained virtually unexplored in hopes of shedding some light on the performance of the juvenile correctional system in Pennsylvania.

Methodology

The methodology employed is straightforward.

Comparisons of recidivism rates for each correctional component are made in order to assess the relative effectiveness of each component at rehabilitating juvenile offenders.

In order to introduce some degree of control for differences in the populations of the components, as well as environmental differences, the following variables are introduced at different points of the analysis:

Primary Variables—

1. Sex
2. Residential location

Secondary Variables—

1. Age
2. Number of prior juvenile court or adult court referrals
3. Reason for referral (type of offense)
4. Race
5. Family living arrangements
6. Family income

The analysis is structured around these sets of variables. The two main subdivisions are according to sex. The analysis for the male youths is then subdivided by the secondary variables and each of these subdivisions is further divided by residential location: Philadelphia County, Allegheny County, Other Urban Areas and Other Rural and Suburban Areas.

The necessity of controlling for a variable such as residential location is due to the desire to account for those factors that are thought to vary between different environments (e.g., degree of urbanization, chance of gang membership, etc.) and that might bias the recidivism rates. For example, if factors occurring in a heavily urban environment contribute to increased rates, and adjudicated youths from Philadelphia are more likely to be referred to a YDC, then YDC's may show unusually large rates for the whole State when, in reality, this only applies for YDC's receiving adjudicated youths from Philadelphia.

A similar rationale exists for each of the other control variables.

Essentially, then, control variables are used in the analysis to compare recidivism rates between correctional components for youths similar in those characteristics that might increase (or decrease) the tendency to recidivate.

No one control variable can lead to complete comparability among the populations in the different components since no single variable can account for all possible sources of bias. The use of control variables, however, reduces the chances that any differences in recidivism rates among components are attributable to factors extraneous to the components themselves. Using the "prior referrals" variable to illustrate this: each component is assumed to be equally responsible for the rehabilitation of those youths committed to it who have two or more prior referrals; hence, each component should, theoretically, have similar rates unless real differences in the components' effectiveness exist.

Under this methodology, a component can legitimately be evaluated according to the sizes of its recidivism rates relative to the sizes of rates for the other components without being overly concerned with uncontrollable differences in population characteristics between components.

The analysis of the female data proceeds along slightly different lines. The residential location control variable is not introduced and only certain of the other variables are selected for the analysis. The primary rationale for this different analytical approach is that by the time both an environmental and secondary variable are introduced into the analysis, the numbers become too small and insignificant for most of the data displays.

Finally, less attention is given to the analysis of the female data simply because the total number of females in the study population makes up only a small part of the total. The reader will note that only three correctional components are used for handling female delinquents:

1. YDC's (only one in the State)
2. Private institutions (6 private, 1 semi-private)
3. Probation

In order to allow for a greater number of data tables with significant numbers of cases, the first two components are combined so that recidivism rates are compared between institutional (YDC or Private institutions) and non-institutional (Probation) components.

The Data

This juvenile recidivism study officially began on January 9, 1974, with a letter of intent from the Budget Secretary to the Bureau of Correction, the Governor's Justice Commission (GJC), the Juvenile Court Judges Commission and the Department of Public Welfare, announcing an evaluation of the State's attempt to rehabilitate juvenile offenders.

After consultation with the Department of Public Welfare, twenty-four delinquency institutions were contacted in January, 1974, requesting a list of youths released from custody during the last six months of 1970. In addition to each youth's name, date of birth, race, sex and date of commitment were also requested. By April, 1974, a list of over 1,500 youths had been compiled from responses to the original request. In addition to youths institutionalized in delinquency facilities, a separate effort was made to develop a comparable list of young offenders released from the State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill, a maximum security facility for juvenile offenders.

In order to provide a non-institutionalized population for comparison, a second list consisting of all youths placed on probation was also developed. The source of this study population was the Governor's Justice Commission's (GJC) computerized reports of juvenile court referrals.

Providing a comparable list of youths on probation for the same six months of 1970 proved to be impossible, however, due to the absence of names on the GJC 1970 tapes. Fortunately, GJC had resolved most of the confidentiality controversy by 1971 and names were reported. Consequently, a probation population of about 4,000 youths was drawn from the first six months of 1971.

The different time frame for the institutionalized and probationary populations was not believed to be critical to the question of recidivism. All youths in the study were returned to the community during the same one-year period.

Data collection consisted of several different tasks. Initially, a data record was compiled for each member of the study populations containing both demographic data and information relevant to the particular referral that led either to institutionalization followed by release in the last six months of 1970 or to the youth's being on probation during the first six months of 1971. This baseline data included:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Name | 7. Number of prior referrals |
| 2. County court number | 8. Living arrangements at the time of the referral |
| 3. Sex | 9. Family income (except Philadelphia probationers) |
| 4. Race | 10. Location of residence (urban-rural-suburban) |
| 5. Date of birth | 11. School and/or employment status |
| 6. Offense that led to the referral | 12. Educational ability (relative to age) |

For those on probation, this data was immediately available for all but Allegheny County on the GJC's Juvenile Court Statistical Card files. For those released from institutions, the first five items above were obtained from the releasing institution and the rest from county probation offices. Again, these items were obtained from Juvenile Court Statistical Cards.

In two instances, special field trips were necessary to collect additional baseline data because of the differences in record keeping in several of the county juvenile courts. Since Allegheny County does not normally report supplementary demographic and offense data on the Juvenile Court Statistical Card, case paper records had to be read for both probation and institutionalized youths.

Philadelphia case records had to be read for the institutionalized cases in order to obtain the additional data because case numbers had been assigned in such a way as to make it impossible to match the records obtained from the institutions to Philadelphia Family Court records.

Finally, since some of the counties did not record certain items, these are missing for many cases. For instance, family income is not reported for Philadelphia County probationers and is, therefore, missing from the analysis.

Juvenile recidivists were identified by a computer matching of last names in the study population against juvenile court referral records and adult court conviction records for 1971, 1972 and 1973. Positive identification of recidivists was made by manually checking first names, dates of birth, race, sex and county.

Recidivism is defined for purposes of this study as new offenses indicated on the Juvenile Court Statistical Card as a complaint substantiated either with or without a petition (official or unofficial handling, respectively). Cases substantiated with a petition are assumed to be adjudications of delinquency and, therefore, meet legal requirements of recidivism. Cases substantiated without a petition represent de facto recidivists for this study because they are treated informally, but require further supervision or services.

A final important dimension of recidivism is represented by those in the study population who were subsequently convicted of adult offenses after they had reached legal maturity in terms of age (18 years old).

The data bank that resulted contained a listing of each study population record (the baseline data record) followed by any subsequent GJC records for the same person (trailer record) found either in the Juvenile Court Referral Records (Juvenile Court Statistical Cards) or Adult Conviction Records for the years 1971, 1972 and 1973.

¹See Appendix: Program Background and Description for discussion of methods of handling cases. (page 39)

Each case in the study population was then given a recidivism designation according to the number and type of subsequent trailer records found following the baseline data record. These designations and a description of each were as follows:

1. Non-recidivist--no trailer records found
2. Unofficial Juvenile Recidivist--the only trailer record(s) found was a Juvenile Court Referral and indicated that the person was handled without a petition
3. Official Juvenile Recidivist--only Juvenile Court Referral trailer records were found and at least one indicates that the person was handled with a petition
4. Adult Recidivist--at least one of the trailer records found for a person was an adult conviction record

Finally, a second data bank was created by transferring all of those pieces of baseline data as well as each person's recidivism designation to a separate computer tape. This data was then processed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) in order to obtain crosstabulation displays and significance levels (Chi square). It is in this form that the data are analyzed here.

THE ANALYSIS--THE MALE STUDY POPULATION

An Overview

The following table summarizes the correctional experience in terms of recidivism of 5,272 male Pennsylvania youths either placed on probation during the first six months of 1971 or released from a juvenile institution during the last six months of 1970. The recidivism rates give some indication of the rehabilitative effectiveness of the different components which constitute the State's juvenile correctional system.

JUVENILE RECIDIVISM RATES FOR CORRECTIONAL COMPONENTS BY TYPE OF RECIDIVISM

Summary Table: Pennsylvania					
Correctional Component	Study Population Size	Juvenile (with a petition)	Type of Recidivism		Total Rate
			Juvenile (without a petition)	Adult	
YDC	496	21.0%	3.8%	21.7%	46.5%
YFC	88	13.6%	6.8%	23.8%	44.2%
Camp Hill	240	0.8%	0.8%	36.3%	37.9%
Private Institutions	286	24.8%	4.5%	15.4%	44.7%
Youth Development Day Treatment Center (Philadelphia)	103	15.5%	0.0%	16.5%	32.0%
Probation	4,059	25.3%	6.8%	9.7%	41.8%
Total	5,272	23.3%	6.0%	12.7%	42.0%

No significant differences are apparent between the overall rates for each component except in the case of the Youth Development Day Treatment Center which cannot be validly compared to other correctional programs for reasons that will be explored below. The 42% overall recidivism rate for the entire study population is close to the rate reported by other States, although data from these States are sketchy. Compared to recidivism data reported by other States, 42% is neither a significantly large nor significantly small rate.¹

The following tables contain the recidivism rates by residential location, type of recidivism (juvenile or adult) and correctional component for the entire male population either released from an institution for juveniles during the last six months of 1970 or placed on probation sometime during the first six months of 1971:

Table 1: Philadelphia County

Correctional Component	Study Population Size	Juvenile (with a petition)	Type of Recidivism		Total Rate
			Juvenile (without a petition)	Adult	
YDC	175	24.6%	1.1%	31.4%	57.1%
YFC	12	16.7%	0.0%	58.3%	75.0%
Camp Hill	92	2.2%	0.5%	44.6%	47.3%
Private Institutions	131	31.3%	3.1%	23.0%	57.3%
Youth Development Day Treatment Center	102	14.7%	0.0%	16.7%	31.4%
Probation	1,319	28.0%	3.5%	16.4%	47.8%

¹ A report, "Deinstitutionalization--Delinquent Children," The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C., December 1973, mentions recidivism information on several States including Utah, Massachusetts and California. Additional recidivism data were also obtained from New York, Ohio and California.

Table 2: Allegheny County

Correctional Component	Study	Population Size	Type of Recidivism			Total Rate
			Juvenile (with a petition)	Juvenile (without a petition)	Adult	
YDC		128	20.3%	5.5%	14.1%	39.8%
YFC		16	18.8%	0.0%	18.8%	37.5%
Camp Hill		22	0.0%	4.5%	31.8%	36.4%
Private Institutions		11	9.1%	27.3%	9.1%	45.5%
Probation		409	30.3%	8.3%	4.2%	42.8%

Table 3: Other Urban Areas

Correctional Component	Study	Population Size	Type of Recidivism			Total Rate
			Juvenile (with a petition)	Juvenile (without a petition)	Adult	
YDC		125	16.8%	6.4%	16.8%	40.0%
YFC		37	13.5%	10.8%	21.6%	45.9%
Camp Hill		64	0.0%	1.6%	37.5%	39.1%
Private Institutions		90	21.1%	4.4%	11.1%	36.7%
Probation		1,449	27.3%	10.1%	7.8%	45.3%

Table 4: Rural and Other Suburban Areas

Correctional Component	Study	Population Size	Type of Recidivism			Total Rate
			Juvenile (with a petition)	Juvenile (without a petition)	Adult	
YDC		68	20.6%	2.9%	20.6%	44.1%
YFC		23	8.7%	8.7%	13.0%	30.4%
Camp Hill		61	0.0%	0.0%	23.0%	23.0%
Private Institutions		54	18.5%	3.7%	5.6%	27.8%
Probation		882	15.5%	5.4%	6.7%	27.6%

The overall total rates for each residential location were as follows:

Residential Location	Recidivism Rate
Philadelphia County	48.6%
Allegheny County	41.9%
Other Urban Areas	44.2%
Other Rural and Suburban Areas	27.3%

A delineation of the most noticeable results in these tables is provided below:

1. Few recidivists are handled unofficially or "without a petition" as evidenced by the consistently low percentages under this heading in all of the tables.
2. Those released on probation who recidivated within 2 to 3 years were more likely to recidivate as a juvenile type offender than as an adult type offender for each residential location. In relation to the rates for the other components, those on probation consistently had relatively larger juvenile rates and relatively lower adult rates.
3. Those completing their probation periods in the Youth Development Day Treatment program in Philadelphia showed relatively lower recidivism rates across the board (Table 1).
4. For those released from a YDC, the total rates were either substantially higher or about average in comparison to the rates for other components. Looking back to page 9 of this analysis, though, the YDC's had the highest overall recidivism rate of all of the components. In regard to the types of recidivism associated with the YDC's, note that there are about equal proportions of adult and juvenile recidivations throughout the five tables shown so far.
5. Those released from a Youth Forestry Camp (YFC) also had large rates for both adult and juvenile type recidivations, although the results differ by residential location, and small sample sizes throw some doubt on the significance of these rates.
6. The rates for those released from private or semi-private institutions also differed by residential location with relatively larger rates in Philadelphia and Other Urban Areas for both juvenile and adult type recidivations, and relatively moderate rates in Other Suburban or Rural Areas, and Allegheny County with juvenile type recidivations being in the majority in both instances.
7. Those released from the juvenile facility at the State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill (SCIC) show a tendency to recidivate almost exclusively as adult type offenders.

These seven findings give a summary view or description of the correctional segment of Pennsylvania's juvenile justice system in regard to the differing components' abilities to treat juvenile offenders and return them to the community in such a manner that they do not re-enter the system.

The Age Variable

The inclusion of an age variable (age at release from an institution or at beginning of probation) was believed to be important both because of the anticipated reduction of recidivism rates brought on by the maturation process and because of the contribution such a delineation might add to a description of the system.

RECIDIVISM RATES FOR CORRECTIONAL COMPONENTS BY AGE CATEGORIES

	Summary Table A: Pennsylvania			
	13 and Under	14-15	16-17	18 and Over
YDC	41.7% (12) *	60.2% (123)	43.8% (267)	37.2% (94)
YFC	- - - -	60.0% (5)	48.2% (56)	33.3% (27)
Camp Hill	- - - -	- - - -	41.9% (43)	36.7% (196)
Youth Development Day Treatment Center (Philadelphia)	- - - -	0.0% (6)	35.5% (93)	0.0% (4)
Private Institutions	50.0% (24)	47.0% (100)	42.9% (154)	37.5% (8)
Probation	44.8% (669)	46.7% (1,505)	37.0% (1,814)	27.1% (70)
Overall	45.0% (705)	47.6% (1,739)	38.4% (2,427)	34.6% (399)

*Each cell in the tables contains a recidivism rate followed in parentheses by the total number of individuals in that category. For example, 41.7% of the 12 individuals who were 13 and under when released from a YDC in Pennsylvania during the last six months of 1970, recidivated.

Table 5: Philadelphia County

	13 and Under	14-15	16-17	18 and Over
YDC	50.0% (6)	67.4% (43)	52.5% (99)	59.3% (27)
YFC	- - - -	100.0% (1)	80.0% (10)	0.0% (1)
Camp Hill	- - - -	- - - -	42.9% (21)	47.9% (71)
Private Institutions	64.3% (14)	61.9% (42)	53.3% (75)	- - - -
Youth Development Day Treatment Center	- - - -	0.0% (6)	34.8% (92)	0.0% (4)
Probation	48.6% (243)	53.5% (465)	44.1% (572)	30.8% (39)
Overall	49.4% (263)	54.8% (557)	45.2% (869)	43.7% (142)

Table 6: Allegheny County

	13 and Under	14-15	16-17	18 and Over
YDC	0.0% (2)	51.3% (39)	39.1% (64)	26.1% (23)
YFC	- - - -	100.0% (1)	30.0% (10)	40.0% (5)
Camp Hill	- - - -	- - - -	0.0% (1)	38.1% (21)
Private Institutions	- - - -	40.0% (5)	50.0% (6)	- - - -
Probation	54.7% (53)	51.8% (164)	31.7% (189)	33.3% (3)
Overall	52.7% (55)	51.7% (208)	33.9% (271)	32.7% (52)

Table 7: Other Urban Areas

	13 and Under	14-15	16-17	18 and Over
YDC	100.0% (2)	55.2% (29)	37.3% (67)	26.0% (27)
YFC	- - - -	50.0% (2)	55.0% (20)	33.3% (15)
Camp Hill	- - - -	- - - -	53.8% (13)	35.3% (51)
Private Institutions	33.3% (6)	41.2% (34)	31.8% (44)	50.0% (6)
Probation	48.8% (258)	48.2% (548)	41.9% (627)	18.8% (16)
Overall	48.9% (266)	48.1% (613)	41.5% (771)	31.3% (115)

Table 8: Rural and Other Suburban Areas

	13 and Under	14-15	16-17	18 and Over
YDC	0.0% (2)	75.0% (12)	40.5% (37)	35.3% (17)
YFC	- - - -	0.0% (1)	31.3% (16)	33.3% (6)
Camp Hill	- - - -	- - - -	25.0% (8)	22.6% (53)
Private Institutions	25.0% (4)	26.3% (19)	31.0% (29)	0.0% (2)
Probation	23.5% (115)	32.0% (328)	22.5% (426)	25.0% (12)
Overall	23.1% (121)	33.1% (360)	24.6% (516)	25.6% (90)

A general association between age and recidivism is apparent from the "overall" rates in the above four tables. The rates are higher for the two younger categories with the peak generally in the 14-15 year group after which the rates drop off somewhat until they seem to reach the lowest level in the 18 and over group. The "16-17" categories consistently had the largest sample sizes. This conforms to the preceding finding since many of the 14 or 15-year-olds who recidivated will be in the 16-17 group upon release from a subsequent term. It is also possible that many 16 and 17-year-old, first-time offenders entered the system at this point.*

*Some degree of caution must be used throughout this entire analysis interpreting the sample sizes in parentheses since they are only indirect indicators of entrances into the system. This stems from the fact that the institutional sample sizes are exits from the system and may be unrepresentative of the numbers of entrants.

The fact that the recidivism rates progressively fall off after the peak for the "14-15" year group as well as the consistently smaller sample sizes for the "18 and over" groups seem to point to a reduction of juvenile crime activity with approaching adulthood. While this might be generally attributed to the effects of maturation, it also should be kept in mind that the consequences of being apprehended for criminal activities become increasingly more serious as one approaches legal adulthood (18 years old). At that point one receives a criminal record and can face more stringent punishment if arrested and found guilty of a criminal offense. One possible interpretation of this reduction in the rates, then, is that it is evidence of a deterrent effect caused by the threat of adult imprisonment.

As performance indicators, the recidivism rates shown here indicate little difference between the rehabilitative effectiveness of the different components. Within any one age category, no real pattern of statistically significant* differences appears. Where there are large enough numbers to make comparisons, the probation rates are, in most cases, consistently lower than those for the YDC's, YFC's, private institutions and Camp Hill (except in Other Urban Areas), although these differences are not statistically significant. The only noticeable and statistically significant difference appears in the "16-17" year group for the Philadelphia Day Treatment Center (See Table 6), but, as will be discussed later, this result can be attributed to extraneous factors involving the type of offenders received and released from this Center.

Number of Prior Juvenile or Adult Court Referrals

Prior involvement in the justice system has usually been considered a reliable predictor of further involvement in the system.² Hence, this control variable has been included here.

RECIDIVISM RATES FOR CORRECTIONAL COMPONENTS
BY NUMBER OF PRIOR COURT REFERRALS

Summary Table B: Pennsylvania

	0 Prior	1 Prior	2 or More Priors
YDC	42.0% (169)	39.8% (88)	52.3% (239)
YFC	29.6% (27)	40.0% (15)	54.3% (46)
Camp Hill	23.5% (68)	25.0% (28)	47.2% (144)
Youth Development Day Treatment Center (Philadelphia)	18.3% (71)	73.3% (15)	50.0% (16)
Private Institutions	44.0% (109)	30.2% (53)	51.6% (124)
Probation	33.4% (1,699)	42.5% (1,505)	56.7% (855)
Overall	33.8% (2,144)	42.0% (1,704)	54.4% (1,424)

Table 9: Philadelphia County

	0 Prior	1 Prior	2 or More Priors
YDC	47.4% (57)	55.6% (27)	63.7% (91)
YFC	50.0% (2)	50.0% (2)	87.5% (8)
Camp Hill	25.0% (20)	25.0% (4)	55.1% (69)
Private Institutions	54.9% (51)	57.9% (79)	59.0% (61)
Youth Development Day Treatment Center	18.3% (71)	73.3% (15)	50.0% (16)
Probation	16.7% (6)	41.2% (894)	62.6% (419)
Overall	36.2% (207)	42.4% (961)	61.6% (664)

* Chi-square Statistic was used for all significance tests in this Analysis. For a discussion of this statistic, see: Hubert M. Blalock, *Social Statistics*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. (Second Edition, 1972), pp. 275-287.

² See Metznev, R.; "Predicting Recidivism: Base Rates for Massachusetts Correctional Institutions-Concord," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* (1963), Vol. 54.

Table 10: Allegheny County

	0 Prior	1 Prior	2 or More Priors
YDC	38.7% (75)	36.8% (19)	44.1% (34)
YFC	33.3% (9)	33.3% (3)	50.0% (4)
Camp Hill	30.0% (10)	20.0% (5)	57.1% (7)
Private Institutions	57.1% (7)	0.0% (1)	33.3% (3)
Probation	36.4% (159)	44.7% (179)	47.9% (71)
Overall	38.7% (261)	43.0% (207)	47.1% (119)

Table 11: Other Urban Areas

	0 Prior	1 Prior	2 or More Priors
YDC	43.0% (21)	26.9% (26)	43.6% (78)
YFC	28.6% (7)	44.4% (9)	52.4% (21)
Camp Hill	50.0% (8)	22.2% (9)	40.4% (47)
Private Institutions	32.1% (28)	21.1% (19)	16.5% (43)
Probation	40.7% (910)	50.4% (274)	55.8% (265)
Overall	40.5% (974)	46.0% (337)	51.1% (454)

Table 12: Rural and Other Suburban Areas

	0 Prior	1 Prior	2 or More Priors
YDC	37.5% (16)	37.5% (16)	50.0% (36)
YFC	22.2% (9)	0.0% (1)	38.5% (13)
Camp Hill	13.3% (30)	30.0% (10)	33.3% (21)
Private Institutions	30.4% (23)	7.1% (14)	41.2% (17)
Probation	21.8% (624)	34.2% (158)	41.0% (100)
Overall	22.1% (702)	32.2% (199)	41.7% (187)

The predictive ability of the number of prior referrals variable is quite evident from these tables. The overall recidivism rates consistently increase with increasing number of prior referrals.

The distribution of the sample sizes in the table cells provides a picture of commitment patterns in which those with fewer previous records are more likely to be put on probation than be committed to an institution, although there are noticeable deviations in certain residential locations. For instance, in some residential locations, rather substantial numbers of offenders with no previous juvenile records were apparently being committed to institutions while only a relatively small number were being put on probation. The most plausible explanation of this finding is that in certain jurisdictions first-time offenders are either dismissed or institutionalized depending on the seriousness of the offense and home background of the offender; whereas, in other jurisdictions the courts are more likely to impose a probationary sentence on first-time offenders. Apparently, some jurisdictions are more committed to diverting youths from ever entering the system and, thus, are more inclined to dismiss first-time less serious offenders.

The rather sizable numbers of first or second-time offenders released from the maximum security facility at Camp Hill would seem to counter any belief that commitment to this type of facility is, as some juvenile authorities seem to believe, strictly a last resort measure when all else has failed. Relatively low recidivism rates for these Camp Hill releases may indicate that some degree of success has been achieved by committing certain offenders to a maximum security facility before they have time to develop into a system's veteran.

More general evidence of the advantages of institutionalizing "new" offenders as opposed to putting them on probation is indicated by the rates for those with one prior referral who were released from juvenile institutions. These rates are generally lower than the rates for those placed on probation in three of the four tables above (Tables 10, 11 and 12). This point requires much further study as it may refer to only a certain class of juvenile offenders.

The importance of diverting new offenders from the system or preventing newcomers from becoming system's veterans is indicated by the almost consistently large increases in the recidivism rates for each component as the numbers of prior referrals increase. It seems evident that the more contact an offender has had with the system in the past, the more likely will be his chances of future involvement no matter which component he is placed in. By the time a youth has two or more referrals in the juvenile system, the probability of his being referred again is anywhere from about 40% to 60%, depending on where he lived.

Finally, the Philadelphia Day Treatment Center again appears to have had more success than any of the other components, but the data here show clearly that this success was limited to only those with no prior records.

Two major points must be raised in reference to the youths eventually released from the Day Treatment Center. The first is that only those who have completed the program are included in the study population. Since the Center's program is a non-residential one, situated in the community, youths who might be in need of closer supervision can be identified and referred to other agencies either by the Center's staff or other authorities (e.g., the police) so that transfers out of the Center may tend to lower the recidivism rate for this approach. The second is that many of the youths in the study population who completed the program at the Center had never been referred to juvenile court but came to the program through a transfer by the Philadelphia School District. Hence, a portion of the Center's study population (up to 50%) does not qualify as adjudicated delinquents and, therefore, may be less likely to recidivate.

Type of Offense

Several past studies of adult offenders³ have demonstrated some relationship between type of offense and recidivism rates. Therefore, offense type is used as a control variable in this study.

³ See for example: "Community Service Center Statistics and Analysis-1974," Pa. Bureau of Correction, Planning and Research Division Report, unpublished mimeo; and, "A 20-Year Comparison of Releases and Recidivists from June 1, 1946 to June 30, 1966," Pa. Board of Parole, Statistical Unit Report (1966).

RECIDIVISM RATES FOR CORRECTIONAL COMPONENTS BY OFFENSE TYPE

Summary Table C: Pennsylvania

	Homicide	Assault	Theft	Anti-Social, Destructive Behavior	Drugs	Sex Offenses	Juvenile Offenses	Traffic
YDC	33.3% (3)	61.5% (39)	46.3% (216)	52.0% (77)	33.3% (12)	16.7% (6)	36.5% (85)	- - - - -
YFC	- - - - -	0.0% (5)	52.5% (40)	61.1% (18)	60.0% (5)	- - - - -	23.1% (13)	- - - - -
Camp Hill	33.3% (3)	52.0% (54)	47.1% (87)	36.7% (30)	0.0% (2)	0.0% (1)	13.3% (15)	- - - - -
Youth Development Day Treatment Center (Philadelphia)	- - - - -	50.0% (6)	47.0% (32)	44.4% (9)	0.0% (1)	- - - - -	20.0% (10)	- - - - -
Private Institutions	0.0% (2)	38.5% (26)	50.4% (119)	47.2% (36)	37.5% (8)	0.0% (3)	32.5% (40)	- - - - -
Probation	50.0% (14)	39.9% (361)	44.2% (1,980)	38.8% (737)	39.6% (270)	36.8% (38)	42.1% (534)	27.2% (125)
Overall	41.0% (22)	42.6% (491)	45.0% (2,474)	40.7% (907)	39.3% (298)	31.3% (48)	39.6% (697)	27.2% (125)

Table 13: Philadelphia County

	Homicide	Assault	Theft	Anti-Social, Destructive Behavior	Drugs	Sex Offenses	Juvenile Offenses	Traffic
YDC	100.0% (1)	66.7% (21)	60.3% (78)	69.2% (13)	100.0% (1)	0.0% (2)	38.5% (13)	- - - - -
YFC	- - - - -	- - - - -	75.0% (8)	100.0% (2)	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
Camp Hill	0.0% (2)	56.8% (37)	55.2% (29)	50.0% (6)	0.0% (1)	- - - - -	0.0% (1)	- - - - -
Private Institutions	0.0% (2)	43.0% (14)	59.6% (52)	76.9% (13)	0.0% (1)	- - - - -	58.3% (12)	- - - - -
Youth Development Day Treatment Center	- - - - -	50.0% (6)	46.9% (32)	44.4% (9)	0.0% (1)	- - - - -	20.0% (10)	- - - - -
Probation	50.0% (14)	42.5% (207)	50.0% (807)	51.0% (108)	50.0% (72)	50.0% (8)	38.4% (99)	0.0% (4)
Overall	42.1% (19)	46.3% (285)	51.5% (1,006)	55.0% (151)	48.7% (76)	40.0% (10)	38.5% (135)	0.0% (4)

Table 14: Allegheny County

	Homicide	Assault	Theft	Anti-Social, Destructive Behavior	Drugs	Sex Offenses	Juvenile Offenses	Traffic
YDC	- - - - -	37.5% (8)	43.0% (56)	45.2% (31)	16.7% (6)	- - - - -	21.1% (19)	- - - - -
YFC	- - - - -	0.0% (3)	100.0% (2)	75.0% (4)	- - - - -	- - - - -	20.0% (5)	- - - - -
Camp Hill	- - - - -	50.0% (2)	44.4% (9)	50.0% (2)	- - - - -	- - - - -	0.0% (1)	- - - - -
Private Institutions	- - - - -	0.0% (1)	100.0% (3)	0.0% (1)	100.0% (1)	- - - - -	33.3% (3)	- - - - -
Probation	- - - - -	21.1% (38)	51.7% (143)	37.0% (135)	40.5% (42)	50.0% (4)	56.1% (47)	16.7% (6)
Overall	- - - - -	23.1% (52)	50.2% (213)	39.3% (173)	38.8% (49)	50.0% (4)	42.0% (69)	16.7% (6)

Table 15: Other Urban Areas

	Homicide	Assault	Theft	Anti-Social, Destructive Behavior	Drugs	Sex Offenses	Juvenile Offenses	Traffic
YDC	0.0% (2)	75.0% (8)	32.1% (56)	42.1% (19)	66.7% (3)	33.3% (3)	44.1% (34)	- - - - -
YFC	- - - - -	0.0% (1)	42.1% (19)	55.6% (9)	60.0% (5)	- - - - -	33.3% (3)	- - - - -
Camp Hill	- - - - -	36.4% (11)	46.7% (30)	31.3% (16)	0.0% (1)	- - - - -	33.3% (6)	- - - - -
Private Institutions	- - - - -	50.0% (8)	43.2% (44)	33.3% (18)	50.0% (4)	0.0% (1)	13.3% (15)	- - - - -
Probation	- - - - -	43.8% (96)	46.8% (632)	44.9% (303)	41.2% (102)	36.8% (19)	46.3% (244)	37.7% (53)
Overall	0.0% (2)	45.2% (124)	45.5% (781)	43.8% (365)	42.6% (115)	34.8% (23)	44.0% (302)	37.7% (53)

Table 16: Rural and Other Suburban Areas

	Homicide	Assault	Theft	Anti-Social, Destructive Behavior	Drugs	Sex Offenses	Juvenile Offenses	Traffic
YDC	- - - - -	50.0% (2)	42.3% (26)	64.3% (14)	0.0% (2)	0.0% (1)	36.8% (19)	- - - - -
YFC	- - - - -	0.0% (1)	45.5% (11)	33.3% (3)	- - - - -	- - - - -	20.0% (1)	- - - - -
Camp Hill	100.0% (1)	50.0% (4)	36.8% (19)	33.3% (6)	- - - - -	0.0% (1)	0.0% (7)	- - - - -
Private Institutions	- - - - -	0.0% (3)	35.0% (20)	25.0% (4)	0.0% (2)	0.0% (2)	30.0% (10)	- - - - -
Probation	- - - - -	30.0% (20)	25.9% (398)	23.6% (191)	22.2% (54)	14.3% (7)	34.0% (150)	21.0% (62)
Overall	100.0% (1)	30.0% (30)	28.1% (474)	26.6% (218)	20.7% (58)	9.1% (11)	32.5% (191)	21.0% (62)

Assault, theft, anti-social or destructive behavior (e.g., vandalism, drunkenness, disorderly conduct, etc.), juvenile offenses (e.g., running away, truancy, etc.), and drug law violations are the major offense categories for which juveniles enter the system according to these data.

The distributions of the parenthesized sample sizes in these tables seem to differ little between offense categories in terms of the relative proportions of institutionalized and probationary youths, which may be a result of the philosophy of the State Juvenile Court: "... the child's total situation, rather than the specific delinquent conduct, is given primary consideration in determining dispositions." (See 58th Annual Report of the Family Court Division of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia, p. 20).

Within the different offense categories, there were no significant differences between the recidivism rates of the different components. Apparently, there is little, if any relationship between type of offense and the effectiveness of correctional programs, i.e., particular programs do not work better with offenders who have committed a particular type of offense.

Race

Race was included as a control variable in order to examine the possibility that differential treatment, in terms of both the manner in which cases are handled and the way in which dispositions are determined, may occur between racial groups. This situation might occur because of the weight placed on the family or socio-economic background during the processing of juvenile offenders through the courts. Since minority racial groups, in particular, blacks, are more likely to be faced with conditions associated with poverty and social and family disorganization*, it might be reasonable to expect both their commitment patterns and recidivism rates to differ from whites.

RECIDIVISM RATES FOR CORRECTIONAL COMPONENTS BY RACE

Summary Table D: Pennsylvania

	White	Other
YDC	39.3% (219)	52.3% (277)
YFC	38.6% (57)	54.8% (31)
Camp Hill	29.8% (114)	45.2% (126)
Youth Development Day Treatment Center (Philadelphia)	16.7% (12)	34.1% (91)
Private Institutions	46.2% (91)	52.2% (115)
Probation	38.7% (2,616)	47.3% (1,440)
Overall	38.5% (3,109)	47.6% (2,080)

Table 17: Philadelphia County

	White	Other
YDC	16.7% (6)	58.6% (169)
YFC	- - - -	75.0% (12)
Camp Hill	27.3% (11)	50.0% (82)
Youth Development Day Treatment Center	9.1% (11)	34.1% (97)
Private Institutions	64.1% (39)	55.0% (87)
Probation	45.7% (269)	48.4% (1,049)
Overall	45.5% (336)	49.4% (1,490)

* According to U.S. Census estimates: in 1972 about 10% of white individuals under 65 and 33.5% of black individuals under 65, in the entire country, lived below the poverty level; in 1973, 12.2% of white families and 36.8% of black families had at least one parent missing.

Table 18: Allegheny County

	White	Other
YDC	40.0% (65)	39.7% (63)
YFC	25.0% (8)	50.0% (8)
Camp Hill	18.2% (11)	54.4% (11)
Private Institutions	50.0% (4)	33.3% (3)
Probation	40.1% (284)	48.8% (125)
Overall	39.4% (372)	46.2% (210)

Table 19: Other Urban Areas

	White	Other
YDC	38.8% (85)	42.5% (40)
YFC	50.0% (28)	33.3% (9)
Camp Hill	39.0% (41)	39.1% (23)
Private Institutions	46.2% (26)	38.1% (21)
Probation	45.5% (1,210)	44.3% (237)
Overall	45.0% (1,399)	43.0% (330)

Table 20: Rural and Other Suburban Areas

	White	Other
YDC	41.3% (63)	80.0% (5)
YFC	28.6% (21)	50.0% (2)
Camp Hill	25.5% (51)	10.0% (10)
Private Institutions	13.6% (22)	75.0% (4)
Probation	26.3% (853)	24.1% (29)
Overall	26.9% (1,010)	32.0% (50)

The only significant evidence of differential treatment between races indicated in these tables is the consistently smaller proportion of the total populations in the "Other" categories who were on probation as compared to these proportions for those in the "White" categories. This could well indicate that black and other minority offenders are more likely to be incarcerated in an institution than white offenders. The evidence on this point is far from conclusive, however.

Comparisons of recidivism rates between the different correctional components within the race categories again fail to demonstrate any consistent patterns of differences in the effectiveness of the components. Hence, it appears that for both white and non-white juvenile offenders alike, the particular correctional component used makes no difference in the chances of their being rehabilitated.

The one exception to this is indicated by the relatively smaller rates for the Day Treatment Center in Philadelphia which, again, demonstrates some indication that this component may be more effective than the others and the data here shows that this occurs for whites and non-whites alike (particularly for whites). The above discussion on outside factors that might bias the findings in favor of the Center should, again, be kept in mind while considering this evidence.

Family Living Arrangements

The juvenile court's emphasis on social and family background in determining case dispositions makes it important to examine these variables. Also, as pointed out in a study of juvenile correctional methods by The Urban Institute in Washington, "The appropriateness of particular alternatives, especially probation, correctional day care, specialized foster homes and group homes may be based largely on the family structure of the delinquent."⁴

RECIDIVISM RATES FOR CORRECTIONAL COMPONENTS BY FAMILY LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

Summary Table E: Pennsylvania

	Both Parents	One Parent & One Stepparent	One Parent	Relatives or Foster Home	Institutionalized	Independent or Other
YDC	45.0% (176)	35.7% (42)	48.8% (162)	40.0% (35)	77.0% (13)	0.0% (4)
YFC	36.4% (33)	69.2% (13)	55.2% (29)	25.0% (4)	0.0% (1)	- - - - -
Camp Hill	42.2% (64)	37.5% (16)	43.5% (85)	41.2% (17)	71.4% (7)	33.3% (3)
Youth Development Day Treatment Center (Philadelphia)	47.8% (23)	14.3% (7)	39.3% (28)	33.3% (3)	- - - - -	- - - - -
Private Institutions	43.5% (85)	40.5% (37)	44.0% (91)	46.7% (15)	60.0% (5)	50.0% (2)
Probation	39.8% (2,228)	46.8% (312)	45.2% (1,266)	38.6% (197)	7.1% (14)	16.7% (30)
Overall	40.3% (2,609)	45.0% (427)	45.5% (1,661)	39.1% (271)	47.5% (40)	17.9% (39)

Table 21(a): Philadelphia County

	Both Parents	One Parent & One Stepparent	One Parent	Relatives or Foster Home	Institutionalized	Independent or Other
YDC	56.8% (37)	18.8% (16)	66.2% (65)	62.5% (8)	100.0% (3)	- - - - -
YFC	100.0% (2)	100.0% (3)	100.0% (3)	0.0% (1)	0.0% (1)	- - - - -
Camp Hill	68.8% (16)	50.0% (8)	46.3% (41)	44.4% (9)	100.0% (2)	- - - - -
Youth Development Day Treatment Center	47.8% (23)	14.3% (7)	39.3% (28)	33.3% (3)	- - - - -	- - - - -
Private Institutions	64.3% (28)	53.8% (13)	53.5% (43)	55.6% (9)	50.0% (2)	- - - - -
Probation	48.1% (620)	45.5% (77)	48.2% (533)	49.4% (77)	0.0% (2)	30.0% (10)
Overall	49.7% (726)	42.9% (124)	49.9% (713)	49.5% (107)	60.0% (10)	30.0% (10)

Table 22(a): Allegheny County

	Both Parents	One Parent & One Stepparent	One Parent	Relatives or Foster Home	Institutionalized	Independent or Other
YDC	34.5% (55)	61.5% (13)	38.2% (34)	22.2% (9)	66.7% (3)	- - - - -
YFC	66.7% (3)	0.0% (1)	44.4% (9)	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
Camp Hill	50.0% (6)	- - - - -	37.5% (8)	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
Private Institutions	80.0% (5)	- - - - -	50.0% (2)	100.0% (1)	- - - - -	0.0% (1)
Probation	36.4% (206)	55.6% (45)	47.4% (137)	40.0% (15)	- - - - -	0.0% (1)
Overall	37.1% (275)	55.9% (59)	45.3% (190)	36.0% (25)	66.7% (3)	0.0% (2)

⁴ Op. Cit., "Deinstitutionalization --Delinquent Children."

Table 23(a): Other Urban Areas

	Both Parents	One Parent & One Stepparent	One Parent	Relatives or Foster Home	Institutionalized	Independent or Other
YDC	42.3% (52)	37.5% (8)	37.0% (54)	42.9% (7)	100.0% (2)	0.0% (2)
YFC	29.4% (17)	83.3% (6)	50.0% (12)	50.0% (2)	- - - - -	- - - - -
Camp Hill	31.8% (22)	33.3% (6)	40.0% (26)	60.0% (5)	66.7% (3)	33.3% (3)
Private Institutions	37.1% (35)	40.0% (15)	33.3% (33)	25.0% (4)	50.0% (2)	100.0% (1)
Probation	45.0% (828)	51.3% (117)	46.5% (428)	36.1% (61)	0.0% (3)	9.0% (11)
Overall	44.0% (954)	50.0% (152)	44.6% (552)	38.0% (79)	50.0% (10)	17.6% (17)

Table 24(a): Rural and Other Suburban Areas

	Both Parents	One Parent & One Stepparent	One Parent	Relatives or Foster Home	Institutionalized	Independent or Other
YDC	53.1% (32)	20.0% (5)	33.3% (9)	36.4% (11)	60.0% (5)	0.0% (2)
YFC	27.3% (11)	33.3% (3)	60.0% (5)	0.0% (1)	- - - - -	- - - - -
Camp Hill	30.0% (20)	0.0% (2)	45.5% (11)	0.0% (3)	50.0% (2)	- - - - -
Private Institutions	17.6% (17)	22.2% (9)	38.5% (13)	0.0% (1)	100.0% (1)	- - - - -
Probation	24.4% (574)	35.6% (73)	30.4% (168)	22.7% (44)	11.1% (9)	12.5% (8)
Overall	25.8% (654)	32.6% (92)	32.5% (206)	23.3% (60)	35.3% (17)	10.0% (10)

Note that by combining "Family Living Arrangement" categories and comparing percentages of the two general dispositional categories, institutional-probation, some significant information on commitment patterns arises:

Table 25: Comparison of Population Sizes in General Dispositional Categories for Dichotomized Family Living Arrangements Categories

	Study Population Sizes (%)	
	Both Parents	Other Arrangements*
Overall		
Institutional **	358 (39%)	555 (61%)
Probation	2,228 (55%)	1,805 (45%)
Philadelphia County		
Institutional **	83 (27%)	227 (73%)
Probation	620 (47%)	697 (53%)
Allegheny County		
Institutional	69 (47%)	78 (53%)
Probation	206 (51%)	198 (49%)
Other Urban Areas		
Institutional	126 (41%)	183 (59%)
Probation	828 (57%)	617 (43%)
Rural and Other Suburban Areas		
Institutional	80 (52%)	75 (48%)
Probation	574 (66%)	293 (34%)

* Does not include juveniles under The Family Living Arrangement Category, "Institutionalized."
** Does not include those released from The Day Treatment Center program.

A somewhat consistent pattern appears here in which youths released from institutions were more likely to be from homes where both parents were not present while the reverse is true for youths placed on probation. Apparently, family structure has some relationship to dispositional outcome and this relationship is in the direction indicated by the above table, i.e., both parents present-probation; both parents not present-institutionalization. Possibly, this pattern results from the emphasis placed on a youth's "whole situation" in determining dispositions.

These relationships may indicate that a juvenile living at home with both parents has more of a chance of being placed on probation rather than in an institution as compared to those with other types of living arrangements.

A comparison of the recidivism rates for each correctional component again leads to no significant differences in effectiveness of the components. The differences between components that are apparent usually occur in isolation within a single location and are not consistent throughout the four areas. For instance, note that in Table 24(a), under the "Both Parents" category, YDC had, by far, the highest rate (53.1%), Private Institutions, the lowest (17.6%) and Probation was in between these other two (24.4%), while in Table 22(a), under the "Both Parents" category, the order of these rates is completely reversed.

If both Family Living Arrangements and Correctional Component categories are, again, combined so that two dichotomous variables are formed, similar results are obtained for comparisons between the rehabilitative effectiveness of institutionalization and the rehabilitative effectiveness for probation.

RECIDIVISM RATES FOR DICHOTOMIZED CORRECTIONAL COMPONENTS
BY DICHOTOMIZED FAMILY LIVING ARRANGEMENT CATEGORIES

Summary Table E(b): Pennsylvania

	Both Parents	Other Arrangements*
Released from an Institution**	43.3% (358)	44.7% (555)
Placed on Probation	39.8% (2,228)	44.3% (1,805)

Table 21(b): Philadelphia County

	Both Parents	Other Arrangements*
Released from an Institution**	61.1% (83)	54.3% (227)
Placed on Probation	48.1% (620)	47.8% (697)

Table 22(b): Allegheny County

	Both Parents	Other Arrangements*
Released from an Institution	39.1% (69)	41.0% (78)
Placed on Probation	36.4% (206)	48.5% (198)

Table 23(b): Other Urban Areas

	Both Parents	Other Arrangements*
Released from an Institution	37.3% (126)	39.9% (183)
Placed on Probation	45.0% (828)	45.7% (617)

* Does not include juveniles under the Family Living Arrangement Category, "Institutionalized."

** Does not include those released from the Day Treatment program.

Table 24(b): Rural and Other Suburban Areas

	Both Parents	Other Arrangements*
Released from an Institution	36.0% (80)	32.0% (75)
Placed on Probation	24.4% (574)	30.0% (293)

Checking for statistically significant differences here shows that for each residential location as well as for the aggregate State data, there are no significant differences between the rates for probation and those for institutionalization within either category of the "Dichotomized Family Living Arrangements" variable. Hence, there is no basis, according to this data, on which to accept the proposition that there is a difference in rehabilitative effectiveness between institutionalization and probation either for youths from traditional family situations (both parents) or youths from other types of family situations (at least one parent absent). In other words, these findings indicate that, regardless of the family structure from which a juvenile comes, institutionalization cannot be viewed as any more effective (or ineffective) than probation in affecting his chances of being rehabilitated.

Family Income

Family income appears in this analysis as an indicator of socio-economic background. The usefulness of this measure as an indicator of social or family background lies in its close relationship to the demographic differences subsumed by socio-economic designations. The relationship between such things as poverty and crime rates is well documented,⁵ and leads to an expectation that a similar relationship exists between recidivism rates and levels of poverty, or more generally, between recidivism and income levels.

RECIDIVISM RATES FOR CORRECTIONAL COMPONENTS BY FAMILY INCOME

Summary Table F: Pennsylvania (except Philadelphia County)

	Public Assistance	Under \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,000	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$10,000 and Over
YDC	49.0% (135)	52.4% (21)	47.4% (78)	50.8% (124)	34.4% (32)
YFC	61.5% (13)	100.0% (3)	33.3% (12)	30.4% (23)	57.1% (7)
Camp Hill	39.3% (56)	36.4% (11)	59.5% (37)	37.5% (40)	12.5% (8)
Youth Development Day Treatment Center (Philadelphia)	34.8% (23)	0.0% (2)	50.0% (14)	37.5% (16)	0.0% (1)
Private Institutions	46.0% (63)	0.0% (6)	52.6% (38)	42.3% (71)	33.3% (21)
Probation	46.3% (307)	46.3% (41)	37.1% (291)	36.6% (934)	37.7% (385)
Overall	46.1% (597)	44.0% (84)	42.1% (470)	38.3% (1,208)	37.0% (454)

Table 26: Philadelphia County

(Data Not Available)

* Does not include juveniles under the Family Living Arrangement Category, "Institutionalized."

** Does not include those released from the Day Treatment program.

⁵ See for example: Nye, Ivan F., James F. Short and Virgil J. Olson, "Socio-economic Status and Delinquent Behavior," American Journal of Sociology (January 1958); and Lamar T. Emery and Maynard Erickson, "Hidden Delinquency and Social Status," Social Forces (1966).

Table 27: Allegheny County

	Public Assistance	Under \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,000	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$10,000 and Over
YDC	36.0% (36)	100.0% (4)	60.0% (15)	51.5% (33)	15.4% (13)
YFC	75.0% (4)	100.0% (1)	0.0% (1)	25.0% (4)	50.0% (2)
Camp Hill	28.6% (7)	- - - -	100.0% (1)	66.7% (3)	0.0% (2)
Private Institutions	- - - -	0.0% (1)	100.0% (1)	50.0% (4)	50.0% (62)
Probation	45.5% (99)	50.0% (6)	41.4% (29)	43.8% (137)	29.0% (62)
Overall	43.2% (146)	66.7% (12)	42.6% (47)	45.3% (181)	27.2% (81)

Table 28: Other Urban Areas

	Public Assistance	Under \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,000	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$10,000 and Over
YDC	46.0% (37)	50.0% (2)	35.7% (28)	39.5% (38)	44.4% (9)
YFC	66.7% (3)	100.0% (1)	0.0% (4)	27.3% (11)	100.0% (2)
Camp Hill	35.7% (14)	50.0% (4)	36.4% (11)	39.0% (18)	0.0% (2)
Private Institutions	33.3% (18)	0.0% (4)	33.3% (12)	36.7% (3)	37.5% (8)
Probation	53.4% (148)	61.0% (23)	43.1% (168)	43.5% (446)	52.0% (175)
Overall	49.5% (220)	53.0% (34)	40.5% (215)	42.4% (543)	51.0% (196)

Table 29: Rural and Other Suburban Areas

	Public Assistance	Under \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,000	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$10,000 and Over
YDC	37.5% (8)	43.0% (7)	60.0% (10)	57.1% (21)	33.3% (6)
YFC	33.3% (3)	- - - -	33.3% (3)	16.7% (6)	33.3% (3)
Camp Hill	0.0% (4)	0.0% (2)	62.5% (8)	33.3% (9)	0.0% (2)
Private Institutions	14.3% (7)	- - - -	60.7% (3)	27.3% (11)	12.5% (8)
Probation	29.3% (58)	16.7% (12)	27.0% (100)	25.1% (347)	23.3% (146)
Overall	27.5% (80)	23.8% (21)	33.1% (124)	26.9% (394)	23.0% (165)

An examination of the distribution of the probation population sample sizes in each of these three tables reveals that the majority of those placed on probation were from families with incomes of \$5,000 or more, while a comparison of sample sizes of those released from institutions shows that a majority of these juveniles were from families with incomes of less than \$5,000, except in Table 29 where a slight majority was from families with incomes of more than \$5,000. This may be an indication that in deciding dispositional outcomes, probation is a preferred method for youths from middle and upper income families while institutionalization is preferable for youths from lower income and poverty families. Again, this may be a reflection of the courts' manner of deciding dispositional outcome.

By comparing recidivism rates for probation with those for the overall populations under each "Family Income" category in these tables, some evidence of the rehabilitative effectiveness of institutionalization appears. The fact that the rates for probation are higher than the overall rates for the "Public Assistance" categories in all three tables and in the "Under \$3,000" and "\$3,000-\$5,000" categories in Table 28 indicates that, as a group, those released from institutions in these categories had lower recidivism rates than those in these categories placed on probation although the differences are not statistically significant. For the higher income categories ("\$5,000-\$10,000" and "Over \$10,000"), the differences between the overall rates and probation rates are inconsistent and usually smaller.

The evidence here would seem to indicate that institutionalization may have been somewhat effective with juveniles from lower income families (under \$5,000) relative to the alternative use of probation although chance cannot be ruled out as the factor explaining this difference.

The Institutions

So far in this analysis, differences between the recidivism rates for the different correctional components have been somewhat vague and insignificant. This may very well result from the grouping of institutions which actually differ in rehabilitative effectiveness. For example, some YDC's may be highly effective (low recidivism) while others are highly ineffective (high recidivism), and grouping them causes something of an "averaging out" with the YDC's with the larger population contributing more to this average rate than the YDC's with smaller populations.

While controlling for residential location may lessen this undesired effect, an investigation of each institution's rates is necessary in order to totally eliminate it.

TABLE 30: RECIDIVISM RATES FOR INSTITUTIONS AND PROBATION BY TYPE OF RECIDIVISM

Institutions (Study Population Size)	Juvenile (with a petition)	Juvenile (without a petition)	Adult	Overall
Youth Development Centers				
Cornwell Heights (130)	26.5%	2.6%	26.5%	55.6%
Loysville (59)	22.0%	3.4%	17.0%	42.4%
New Castle (171)	10.5%	3.5%	21.0%	35.0%
Philadelphia (32)	18.8%	0.0%	50.1%	68.9%
Warrandale (83)	32.5%	8.4%	7.2%	48.1%
Camp Hill (240)	0.8%	0.8%	36.3%	37.9%
Semi-Private Institutions				
Glenn Mills (95)	29.5%	3.2%	17.9%	50.6%
Private Institutions				
Berks County Boys' Home (8)	37.5%	0.0%	12.5%	50.0%
New Life Boys' Ranch (11)	36.4%	0.0%	9.1%	45.5%
Harborcreek School for Boys (16)	6.3%	6.3%	0.0%	12.6%
George Junior Republic (85)	18.8%	5.9%	8.2%	32.9%
Saint Gabriel's Hall (70)	27.1%	5.7%	25.7%	58.5%
Youth Forestry Camps				
Camp # 1 - Raccoon Creek (30)	16.7%	6.7%	13.3%	36.7%
Camp # 2 - Hickory Run (45)	8.9%	6.7%	35.6%	51.2%
Camp # 3 - Trough Creek (13)	23.1%	7.7%	7.7%	38.5%
Youth Development Day Treatment Center (103)				
	15.5%	0.0%	16.5%	32.0%
Probation (4,059)	25.3%	6.8%	9.7%	41.8%

A comparison of the rates under the "Overall" heading for those categories containing several institutions shows clearly that there are, indeed, sizable and statistically significant differences between the rates of similar types of institutions. Differences are also apparent between the distributions of the rates in the three "Types of Recidivism" categories for similar types of institutions. This latter finding may point to differences in offender characteristics and, in particular, age distributions of the populations received by similar types of institutions with those having larger "Adult" rates receiving a larger proportion of 16, 17 and 18-year-olds than those with smaller "Adult" rates.

As points of reference, the rates for probation, which supposedly handles the "least" serious offenders in the study population with the least stringent measures, and the rates for Camp Hill, which supposedly handles the "most" serious offenders in the study population with the most stringent measures, can be viewed as benchmarks to which the rates of the other institutions can be compared. The interpretation of comparisons between these two benchmarks and the rates for the other institutions is as follows:

1. If an institution had an overall recidivism rate smaller than these two benchmarks, it can be considered a relatively effective rehabilitative program.
2. If an institution had an overall recidivism rate larger than these two benchmarks, it can be considered a relatively ineffective rehabilitation programs.
3. If an institution had an overall recidivism rate that fell somewhere between these two benchmarks, it can be considered "up to the standard" of rehabilitative effectiveness relative to the other institutions.

Using these interpretations, it is clear that the majority of institutions overall and within the different categories (Excl. YFC) can be considered relatively less effective rehabilitative programs.

Adult Recidivism

Juvenile offenders who have spent time either on probation or in an institution for juveniles and later are convicted of an offense in the adult justice system (criminal court) represent the final failures from the Juvenile Correctional System and, in a sense, of the Juvenile Correctional System.

There are four general criteria by which a juvenile can be referred to criminal court according to the Juvenile Court Handbook (p. 8):

1. If the welfare of the public requires disposition of cases in the criminal courts when the juvenile has previously been declared delinquent and the processes of the juvenile court have been tried without beneficial result;
2. If the offense with which the juvenile is charged is of unusual magnitude;
3. If there are some unusual circumstances which require the processes of another court; and,
4. If it is apparent that the child will need the formal control of State resources beyond his minority.

The recidivists in the following tables include both juveniles convicted in criminal court because of one of these criteria as well as those who were arrested for offenses after they turned 18 years of age.

ADULT RECIDIVISM RATES FOR CORRECTIONAL COMPONENTS BY AGE CATEGORIES

Summary Table G: Pennsylvania

	Under 14	14-15	16-17	18 and Over
YDC	0.0% (12)	8.1% (123)	24.7% (267)	34.0% (94)
YFC	- - - - -	20.0% (5)	19.6% (56)	33.3% (27)
Camp Hill	- - - - -	- - - - -	37.2% (43)	35.7% (196)
Youth Development Day Treatment Center (Philadelphia)	- - - - -	0.0% (6)	18.5% (92)	0.0% (4)
Private Institutions	4.2% (24)	8.0% (100)	21.4% (154)	37.5% (8)
Probation	0.9% (669)	4.0% (1,505)	17.1% (1,814)	22.9% (70)
Overall	1.0% (705)	4.5% (1,739)	18.7% (2,426)	32.6% (399)

Table 31: Philadelphia County

	Under 14	14-15	16-17	18 and Over
YDC	0.0% (6)	9.3% (43)	37.4% (99)	52.0% (27)
YFC	- - - - -	100.0% (1)	60.0% (10)	0.0% (1)
Camp Hill	- - - - -	- - - - -	38.1% (21)	46.5% (21)
Youth Development Day Treatment Center (Philadelphia)	- - - - -	0.0% (6)	18.5% (92)	0.0% (4)
Private Institutions	0.0% (14)	16.7% (42)	30.6% (75)	- - - - -
Probation	0.8% (243)	7.7% (466)	29.4% (572)	25.6% (39)
Overall	0.8% (263)	8.6% (557)	29.8% (869)	32.1% (142)

Table 32: Allegheny County

	Under 14	14-15	16-17	18 and Over
YDC	0.0% (2)	7.7% (39)	15.7% (64)	21.7% (23)
YFC	- - - - -	0.0% (1)	10.0% (10)	40.0% (5)
Camp Hill	- - - - -	- - - - -	0.0% (1)	33.3% (21)
Private Institutions	- - - - -	0.0% (5)	16.7% (6)	- - - - -
Probation	1.9% (53)	0.6% (164)	7.9% (189)	0.0% (3)
Overall	1.8% (55)	1.9% (209)	9.9% (271)	26.9% (52)

Table 33: Other Urban Areas

	Under 14	14-15	16-17	18 and Over
YDC	0.0% (2)	10.3% (29)	16.4% (67)	26.0% (27)
YFC	- - - - -	0.0% (2)	15.0% (20)	33.3% (15)
Camp Hill	- - - - -	- - - - -	46.2% (13)	35.3% (51)
Private Institutions	0.0% (6)	0.0% (34)	16.0% (44)	50.0% (6)
Probation	0.8% (258)	2.5% (548)	15.0% (627)	18.8% (16)
Overall	0.8% (266)	2.7% (613)	15.7% (771)	31.3% (115)

Table 34: Rural and Other Suburban Areas

	Under 14	14-15	16-17	18 and Over
YDC	0.0% (2)	0.0% (12)	21.6% (37)	35.3% (17)
YFC	- - - - -	0.0% (1)	6.3% (16)	33.3% (6)
Camp Hill	- - - - -	- - - - -	25.0% (8)	22.7% (53)
Private Institutions	0.0% (4)	5.3% (19)	7.0% (29)	0.0% (2)
Probation	0.9% (115)	2.7% (328)	8.0% (426)	25.0% (12)
Overall	0.8% (121)	2.8% (360)	9.1% (516)	25.5% (90)

As one might expect, and as these tables show clearly, the vast majority of juvenile releasees who recidivated as adults (i.e., had conviction records in a State Criminal Court within three years of release) were 16 years or older at release. It is difficult to determine exactly how many of the recidivists in the 16-17-year group were actual adult offenders (i.e., offenders whose cases went directly to criminal court because of the offenders' ages) and how many were juveniles whose cases were transferred to criminal court from juvenile court. Since over 2/3 of these recidivists had only adult conviction records after release, most were probably actual adult offenders. It is almost certain that most, if not all, of those in the 18 and over group were actual adult offenders who were no longer considered juveniles.

The adult recidivism rates for the "16-17" and "18 and Over" groups indicate that all of the components release offenders who eventually end up in the adult system although the YDC's and Camp Hill have the highest rates. Because these two components are charged with handling offenders who are judged to be in need of the most stringent correctional measures, their higher rates are probably to be expected.

Finally, looking at adult recidivism system-wide, 671, or 12.7%, of the 5,272 youths in the study population recidivated as adult offenders. These figures are probably the most significant of all the figures on adult recidivism because it is, in a sense, the whole system rather than particular components that fail to prevent some percentage of its "graduates" from entering the adult justice system wherein a person's criminal status, and all this entails, officially begins.

THE ANALYSIS--THE FEMALE STUDY POPULATION

Introduction

Until recently, little attention has been focused upon the issue of female delinquency simply because no serious problem was believed to exist. Female involvement in crime has been viewed as being concentrated primarily in a limited number of offense categories, and the total number of female delinquents arrested and institutionalized for the commission of crimes has been very small in comparison to the number of male delinquents processed. Hence, the most serious problems were seen to exist among males.

In Pennsylvania, of 25 State-run or State-supported institutions for juveniles, five received female commitments. The percent of juveniles processed by juvenile courts in Pennsylvania who were female has, since 1970, been consistently just below 20%, and about 40% of the females processed yearly were referred to juvenile court for offenses pertaining to juveniles only (non-criminal offenses) as compared to a figure of around 13% for males.¹

These figures support the tendency to view female delinquency as a secondary problem in comparison to male delinquency. Not only are the numbers much smaller as compared to numbers of male delinquents, but the nature of the problem is also less severe as evidenced by the smaller proportions of females processed for criminal-type offenses.

The problem of female delinquency when viewed next to male delinquency may appear insignificant, but when viewed in terms of the resources, both human and monetary, expended on the processing of the nearly 8,000 female juveniles who pass through the system each year, the problem suddenly becomes a real concern.

According to the study data, 212 females were released from juvenile institutions in Pennsylvania during the last six months of 1970, while 761 were placed on probation during the first six months of 1971. Out of these 973 youths, 296, or 25.8%, had subsequent referrals to a juvenile court within three years. The breakdown by correctional components was as follows:

RECIDIVISM RATES BY CORRECTIONAL COMPONENTS

Summary Table

Correctional Component	Sample Size	Recidivism Rate
YDC	95	27.4%
Private Institutions*	73	13.7%
Semi-Private Institution (Sleighton Farms)	44	11.4%
Probation	761	27.6%
Overall	973	25.8%
Significance Level		p < .05

*Includes the following institutions: Gannon-Jale School for Girls, Gilmary School for Girls, Good Shepherd (Lourdesmont and St. Joseph's), Peter Claver School, and Tekakawitha Hills School.

Note that there are apparent differences between the recidivism rates which are significant at the .05 level (i.e., p = .05)** according to the Chi-Square Statistic.² The fact that probation had the highest rate may be preliminary evidence that institutionalization may be more effective for delinquent females than a program of supervision in the community such as provided by probation.

This, and other points, will be examined in the tables that follow. Each of these tables contains recidivism data on female delinquents with a particular control variable introduced for reasons already discussed (See the "Evaluation Design" section). In order to obtain significant numbers in each cell of these tables, the data for those released from institutions are grouped together into a category, "Institutional," and all comparisons made here are between this category and "Probation."

¹ Source: Pennsylvania Department of Justice, Office of Criminal Justice Statistics.

² For a discussion of Chi-Square, see Blalock, Hubert M., Social Statistics, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co. (Second Edition, 1972), pp. 275-287.

**In this entire analysis, all p's less than or equal to .05 are considered significant.

RECIDIVISM RATES FOR CORRECTIONAL APPROACHES BY OFFENSE TYPE CATEGORIES

Table 4

	Anti-Social, Destructive Behavior	Assault	Juvenile Offenses	Drug Law Violation	Theft	Traffic	Sex Offenses
Institutionalized	14.3% (14)	16.7% (6)	18.9% (132)	22.0% (9)	25.0% (16)		12.5% (6)
Probation	37.2% (36)	28.4% (14)	23.6% (177)	24.7% (85)	21.3% (122)	16.7% (6)	9.1% (11)
Overall	34.0% (100)	27.5% (50)	26.1% (509)	24.5% (94)	21.7% (138)	16.7% (6)	10.5% (19)
Significance Level	p > .05	p > .05	p < .05	p > .05	p > .05	p > .05	p > .05

The fact that the overall rates range from 34.0% to 10.5% may indicate a significant association and, although an examination of this association is not intended, it is important to note that there may be differences in the tendency to recidivate between offense categories for female juveniles.

While most differences in rates between the institutional and probation populations for the offense type categories are not statistically significant due probably to small institutional populations, the rates do seem to differ considerably for some offense types, especially under the "Anti-Social, Destructive Behavior" and "Assault" categories.

The only statistically significant difference between the rates of the two approaches occurs under the "Juvenile Offenses" category, which is noteworthy since over half of the entire female study population can be found here. Apparently, institutionalization worked significantly better than probation at rehabilitating those female juveniles adjudicated for non-criminal-type offenses (e.g., truancy, running away, etc.).

It should be kept in mind that the significant difference in rates may be due to many of the juvenile-type (non-criminal) offenders in the probation population being under 13 years old and, therefore, unqualified for institutionalization. Since these younger juveniles are known to be more likely to recidivate than older ones, the probation rate may be inflated by the preponderance of younger juveniles on probation.

Although the rehabilitative effectiveness of institutionalization on female juveniles under 13 is unknown, there is the possibility that the significant difference could disappear if some younger female juvenile-type offenders were institutionalized instead of placed on probation.

Finally, it should be noted that while slightly over one-half (509 out of 973) of the entire study population were juvenile-type offenders, 71% (132 out of 185) of the institutional release population were juvenile-type offenders. Apparently, the courts saw more of a need to institutionalize troubled females than delinquent (criminal) females.

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APPENDIX:
PROGRAM BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION

APPENDIX: PROGRAM BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION

The juvenile justice system in Pennsylvania is made up of two segments: juvenile court services and juvenile correctional institutions.

The juvenile courts regulate all matters which fall into the following three categories: (1) adjudication, (2) administration, and (3) probation.

There are five types of juvenile correctional institutions concerned primarily with the administration and/or operation of public and non-public institutions: (1) Youth Development Centers, (2) Youth Forestry Camps, (3) Youth Development Day Treatment Center (Philadelphia only), (4) Private or semi-private institutions, and (5) State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill.*

Juvenile Court and Juvenile Probation

The juvenile court judge acts as both the first judicial and the first administrative officer of the juvenile court. He (or she) is concerned primarily with adjudicating juvenile cases and administering juvenile probation.

The jurisdiction of the juvenile court extends over all cases involving youths under the age of eighteen alleged to be dependent, neglected or delinquent. The court may transfer a youth between the ages of fourteen and eighteen to criminal court if it believes that the offender could not benefit from treatment as a juvenile. The case of murder is the one exception which almost always comes under criminal court jurisdiction.

A juvenile's case may be handled either in the home county of the offender or the county in which the offense was committed. However, it is general practice for probation services to be provided in the offender's county of residence regardless of the location of the committed offense.

Juvenile Probation

The provision and administration of probation services to youths is one of the major responsibilities of the juvenile court. Juvenile probation services, unlike those provided to adults, are not provided by the State. The State's influence in regard to juvenile probation services is applied through the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission, which is a part of the Department of Justice, and through the financial and technical assistance provided the county probation offices by the State. The Commission, primarily an advisory council, is composed of nine judges appointed by the Governor and staffed by an Executive Director and five consultants.

The services made available by juvenile probation departments to youths vary from one county to the next. The county's size and wealth determine the staff's size and the caseload per staff member.

The juvenile probation office plays a dual role. First, it serves as a social agency through which youths are counseled and referred to other agencies, and second, it acts as an extension of the court which provides supervision to youths after adjudication.

Juvenile probation officers can be vital forces contributing much to the overall effectiveness of the court system through investigation, supervision and counseling of juvenile clients.

Processing

A youth's entry into the juvenile court system commences with the intake interview held at the probation office. To arrive at this interview the juvenile must have a complaint filed against him. A complaint can originate from the police department or from such non-police sources as schools, parents or social agencies.

During the intake interview, the probation officer chooses the manner in which the juvenile's case should be handled. To deal with the varying degrees of immediacy or gravity of cases and complaints, the probation officer has two alternative ways of handling juvenile cases: officially or unofficially.

An unofficial case is handled by the probation office and is not petitioned for a juvenile court hearing. Such a case is either given services within the office itself or referred to another social agency.

* It should be noted that, although probation is administered within the juvenile court services segment of the system, it is a correctional alternative; so that, conceptually, the two segments of the system can be viewed as overlapping on the matter of probation.

Because an unofficial case is not adjudicated, it is the judge's policies that must guarantee and protect the legal and constitutional rights of a juvenile and his parents. The judge's policies in such cases are governed by criteria approved by the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission as set forth in the Juvenile Court Handbook and Directory.

If it is decided that a case should be handled officially, then the youth must appear before the court for formal disposition. Prior to the hearing, the juvenile can exercise the right to legal counsel.

Detention

The discussion of manners of handling juvenile cases is incomplete without mention of the temporary placement (detention) of a juvenile in a facility designated for that purpose. Detention is employed when one or more of the following conditions exist:

1. A juvenile is a runaway risk,
2. A juvenile is likely to become involved in additional offenses,
3. A juvenile needs secure custody to insure his own protection and welfare.

Because detention is a limitation of the child's rights, a number of recommendations have been made to prevent the unwarranted use of this procedure. The most important of these recommendations, developed by the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission, states that a child should not be held longer than twenty-four hours unless a petition has been filed against him (or her) with the court.

Dispositions

Basically, a judge has three alternatives when deciding a juvenile case. He may dismiss the case, place the youth on probation, or commit the youth to a correctional institution.

A case is dismissed if the court finds either that the juvenile is innocent of any wrongdoing or that a juvenile who has actually committed a delinquent act would benefit more from a reprimand than from formal adjudication as a delinquent.

Juveniles are placed on probation when the court believes that they need supervision and counseling and can benefit from such services without being removed from their home surroundings.

The court commits to correctional institutions juveniles twelve years and older who demonstrate through overly aggressive behavior or repeated involvement in unlawful activity, a need for structured environments. Section II of the Juvenile Court Act prohibits the commitment of a youth under the age of twelve years unless the child has failed to respond to the probation program.

Juvenile Corrections

Responsibility for the correctional component of the juvenile justice system rests with both the Department of Public Welfare and the Department of Justice, Bureau of Correction. The Secretary of Public Welfare, working through the Bureau of Youth Services in the Office of Children and Youth, enforces standards in all institutions which provide care for adjudicated delinquents in Pennsylvania and makes available technical, professional and financial assistance to community programs offering services to juveniles.

Presently, there are twenty-five State-funded juvenile correctional institutions in Pennsylvania. Ten of these institutions are State-owned, two are semi-private, and thirteen are privately-owned, but State-supported.

In the case of public institutions, youths are committed by a county juvenile court. To be released, a youth must receive a favorable recommendation from the administrator of the institution which must be approved by the court. Counties now share the cost of public facilities with the State.

Youths may be committed to semi-private and private facilities either by the State or by their own parents. When juveniles are committed by the court, the State and county each pay one half of the cost if the parents cannot assume financial responsibility.

The ten State-owned juvenile correctional facilities include: six Youth Development Centers, three Youth Forestry Camps, and one Day Treatment Center.

Youth Development Centers

Youth Development Centers, or "YDC's", resemble boarding schools. These facilities provide rehabilitation services to youths both male and female of varying ages who have an intelligence quotient of seventy and above.

The YDC's are organized on a cottage plan, with small numbers of youths living together with a houseparent in each cottage. Three cottages make up one unit which is supervised by a social worker or a counselor. Situated in remote rural areas, YDC's attempt to promote an "open door" concept within cottages as much as possible.

Through the educational and counseling services that are made available, YDC's encourage the development of non-delinquent behavior patterns. Length of stay in a YDC usually varies from eight to twelve months.

Youth Forestry Camps

The approach at Youth Forestry Camps is based upon the correctional philosophy that a program of hard work in a rural environment can lead to some degree of rehabilitation. Male youths from fifteen to eighteen years of age who are in top physical condition work in cooperation with the Department of Environmental Resources, the Game Commission and the Fish Commission to help improve and maintain parks and other lands owned by the State. The work details assigned include such tasks as planting and trimming trees, cleaning up recreational sites and building dams.

Youth Development Day Treatment Center

The one Youth Development Day Treatment Center in the State, located in Philadelphia, has a dual role: it serves as a non-residential school for Philadelphia boys fifteen and one-half through seventeen years of age who have been referred from either the juvenile division of the police department, the school district, or the court; and it serves as short-term residential diagnostic center for those youths for whom no treatment plan has been devised.

Referral to the Center by the school district or by the police juvenile division may precede adjudication by the court. Referrals of this type are frequently made for truants or youths who are believed to be heading for involvement in delinquent acts.

The court refers youths who have been adjudicated delinquent and placed on probation. These youths are required to attend the Center as a condition of probation.

The approach employed at the Center places much emphasis upon education. Youths are required to attend school for 120 days, which includes six hours of vocational and academic instruction each day. Following the successful completion of this program, youths graduate and are given certificates which attest to the youths' qualification for employment at training levels in certain trades.

Semi-Private and Private Institutions

The categorization of semi-private and private institutions by different treatment approaches is virtually impossible since there are no easily identifiable differences between these non-public institutions. Each institution sets its own admission policies, education programs and treatment philosophies.

The non-public facilities can, however, be grouped by the sex of their residents. Of the two semi-private institutions, one, Glen Mills, is run exclusively for males and the other, Sleighton Farms, is for females. Among the eleven private institutions, there are three facilities for females and the remaining eight provide services for males.

State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill

The final component of juvenile corrections is the State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill, included also in the adult correctional system. Camp Hill, serving male offenders between the ages of 15 and 21, is a maximum security facility for both adult offenders committed by criminal courts under general sentences and juveniles sentenced by a juvenile court for an indeterminate period.

After the date at which the Juvenile Court Act came into effect (February, 1973), it was declared unlawful to commit juvenile offenders to this institution unless no other secure facility were available.

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